

40

1 Nov – 31 Dec 1957

Second Series

Selected works of Jawaharlal Nehru



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“So the story of Jawaharlal Nehru is that of a man who evolved, who grew in storm and stress till he became the representative of much that was noble in his time. It is the story of a generous and gracious human being who summed up in himself the resurgence of the ‘third world’ as well as the humanism which transcends dogmas and is adapted to the contemporary context. His achievement, by its very nature and setting, was much greater than that of a Prime Minister. And it is with the conviction that the life of this man is of importance not only to scholars but to all, in India and elsewhere, who are interested in the valour and compassion of the human spirit that the Jawaharlal Nehru Memorial Fund has decided to publish a series of volumes consisting of all that is significant in what Jawaharlal Nehru spoke and wrote.... the whole corpus should help to remind us of the quality and endeavour of one who was not only a leader of men and a lover of mankind, but a completely integrated human being.”

Indira Gandhi

**Selected
works of
Jawaharlal
Nehru**



AT A CHILDREN'S RALLY, NEW DELHI, 14 NOVEMBER 1957

Selected works of Jawaharlal Nehru

Second Series

Volume Forty

(1 November – 31 December 1957)

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FOREWORD

Jawaharlal Nehru is one of the key figures of the twentieth century. He symbolised some of the major forces which have transformed our age.

When Jawaharlal Nehru was young, history was still the privilege of the West; the rest of the world lay in deliberate darkness. The impression given was that the vast continents of Asia and Africa existed merely to sustain their masters in Europe and North America. Jawaharlal Nehru's own education in Britain could be interpreted, in a sense, as an attempt to secure for him a place within the pale. His letters of the time are evidence of his sensitivity, his interest in science and international affairs as well as of his pride in India and Asia. But his personality was veiled by his shyness and a facade of nonchalance, and perhaps outwardly there was not much to distinguish him from the ordinary run of men. Gradually there emerged the warm and universal being who became intensely involved with the problems of the poor and the oppressed in all lands. In doing so, Jawaharlal Nehru gave articulation and leadership to millions of people in his own country and in Asia and Africa.

That imperialism was a curse which should be lifted from the brows of men, that poverty was incompatible with civilisation, that nationalism should be poised on a sense of international community and that it was not sufficient to brood on these things when action was urgent and compelling—these were the principles which inspired and gave vitality to Jawaharlal Nehru's activities in the years of India's struggle for freedom and made him not only an intense nationalist but one of the leaders of humanism.

No particular ideological doctrine could claim Jawaharlal Nehru for its own. Long days in jail were spent in reading widely. He drew much from the thought of the East and West and from the philosophies of the past and the present. Never religious in the formal sense, yet he had a deep love for the culture and tradition of his own land. Never a rigid Marxist, yet he was deeply influenced by that theory and was particularly impressed by what he saw in the Soviet Union on his first visit in 1927. However, he realised that the world was too complex, and man had too many facets, to be encompassed by any single or total explanation. He himself was a socialist with an abhorrence of regimentation and a democrat who was anxious to reconcile his faith in civil liberty with the necessity of mitigating economic and social wretchedness. His struggles, both within himself and with the outside world, to adjust such seeming contradictions are what make his life and work significant and fascinating.

As a leader of free India, Jawaharlal Nehru recognised that his country could neither stay out of the world nor divest itself of its own interests in world affairs. But to the extent that it was possible, Jawaharlal Nehru sought to speak objectively and to be a voice of sanity in the shrill phases of the 'cold war'. Whether his influence helped on certain occasions to maintain peace is for the future historian to assess. What we do know is that for a long stretch of time he commanded an international audience reaching far beyond governments, that he spoke for ordinary, sensitive, thinking men and women around the globe and that his was a constituency which extended far beyond India.

So the story of Jawaharlal Nehru is that of a man who evolved, who grew in storm and stress till he became the representative of much that was noble in his time. It is the story of a generous and gracious human being who summed up in himself the resurgence of the 'third world' as well as the humanism which transcends dogmas and is adapted to the contemporary context. His achievement, by its very nature and setting, was much greater than that of a Prime Minister. And it is with the conviction that the life of this man is of importance not only to scholars but to all, in India and elsewhere, who are interested in the valour and compassion of the human spirit that the Jawaharlal Nehru Memorial Fund has decided to publish a series of volumes consisting of all that is significant in what Jawaharlal Nehru spoke and wrote. There is, as is to be expected in the speeches and writings of a man so engrossed in affairs and gifted with expression, much that is ephemeral; this will be omitted. The official letters and memoranda will also not find place here. But it is planned to include everything else and the whole corpus should help to remind us of the quality and endeavour of one who was not only a leader of men and a lover of mankind, but a completely integrated human being.

Indira Gandhi.

New Delhi
18 January 1972

Chairman
Jawaharlal Nehru Memorial Fund

EDITORIAL NOTE

This volume covers two months of Nehru's Prime Ministership, from 1 November to 31 December 1957, and the items comprising it show the wide range of his interests in both national and world affairs.

One of Nehru's major concerns in this period was food scarcity. He laid emphasis on the need to multiply the rate of agricultural yield to increase the production of food. Intensive cultivation and cooperative farming figured prominently in his prescription for achieving rapid growth in agricultural production. Nehru also missed no opportunity to make the point that people had to be made aware of their duty to avoid all waste and extravagance in the consumption of foodstuffs.

While the Second Five Year Plan recognized the importance of industrial development for India's long-term progress, Nehru was faced with some criticism that the Plan was overambitious. Disagreeing with this contention, Nehru rejected demands to prune or rephrase the Plan. Though he was not averse to credits from the industrially advanced countries to accomplish the developmental projects envisaged in the Second Plan, he wanted greater emphasis on generation of resources internally, and highlighted the importance of the cooperative movement and reliance on self-help.

The recommendation of the Official Language Commission to replace English by Hindi for official purposes caused some apprehension in South India. Though Nehru fully appreciated the importance of the growth of Hindi as the national language, he was of the view that a decision in the matter of replacing English could only be largely by consent and could not be imposed by a majority over a minority.

Nehru took special interest in the North-Eastern region of India. He realized that the region demanded intelligent interest and help from the rest of India. In the Naga areas, the problem of insurgency had been largely brought under control. At a public meeting in Shillong, Nehru reiterated his assurance to the Nagas about non-interference with their customs and traditions but made it clear to the hostiles that there could be no further truncating of the country.

Of special mention is the large number of items in this volume about Nehru's views on children. He was deeply concerned about the proper nurturing of children and he constantly reminded the people that children are the future of the country. He wanted the municipalities, corporations, legislative assemblies and other public institutions to have a motto inscribed on their walls that children must be given the first place in our thinking and in the various things that the family or the group or the State does.

In the international arena, Nehru once again demonstrated his moral stature when he was called upon by intellectuals from India and abroad to exert his influence on the United States and the Soviet Union to bring about a cessation of the armaments race. His appeal to the leaders of these countries for disarmament and stopping of nuclear test explosions drew a positive response. India also played a constructive role in the United Nations by formulating a resolution on the peaceful coexistence of nations which was passed by the General Assembly.

The Kashmir issue created some anxious moments for India in the UN Security Council, where a draft Anglo-US resolution sought to revive the Graham Mission. The exchange of telegrams between Krishna Menon and Nehru on this matter reveal how adroitly the sting was taken out of the resolution and a milder one passed.

As regards Pakistan, Nehru was sure that no superficial approach would solve India's difficulties with that country. All the governments that had existed in Pakistan had based themselves on an anti-India policy, trying to divert the people's minds from other questions. He was, however, optimistic that a time would come when the people of Pakistan would try to face the issues before them in a more reasonable manner.

This volume contains a large number of speeches which throw light on the working of Nehru's mind. One seminal aspect of these speeches is his tireless references to Mahatma Gandhi's leadership during the freedom movement. Nehru wanted the heritage of India, including the principles for which Mahatma Gandhi stood, to be essential subjects in schools and colleges, and a compulsory paper on this subject for the higher competitive examinations.

Access to the papers of Jawaharlal Nehru and other relevant collections was kindly granted, as in the past, by the Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Shrimati Sonia Gandhi graciously permitted us to consult the papers in her possession referred to as the JN Collection. The Cabinet Secretariat, the Prime Minister's Secretariat, the Ministries of External Affairs and Home Affairs, the National Archives of India, the Sahitya Akademi, the Planning Commission and All India Radio have allowed us to use relevant material in their possession. We also acknowledge the help of our research staff, namely, Ms Geeta Kudaisya, Shri Amrit Tandon, Shrimati Shantisri Banerji, Dr Etee Bahadur, Shri Syed Ali Kazim and Shri Anish Ravindran, and the contribution of Shrimati Malini Rajani, Shrimati Saroja Ananthakrishnan, Shrimati Bimala Rani and Shri Chandra Murari Prasad for the secretarial and computer work.

MRIDULA MUKHERJEE

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ABBREVIATIONS

AEC	Atomic Energy Commission
AICC	All India Congress Committee
AINEC	All India Newspaper Editors' Conference
AIR	All India Radio
AIRF	All India Railwaymen's Federation
AITUC	All India Trade Union Congress
BEL	Bharat Electronics Limited
CID	Criminal Investigation Department
CIE	Companion of (the Order of) the Indian Empire
COAS	Chief of Army Staff
CPI	Communist Party of India
CPWD	Central Public Works Department
CS	Commonwealth Secretary, Ministry of External Affairs
CSIR	Council of Scientific and Industrial Research
DDPA	Delhi Development Provisional Authority
DIB	Director, Intelligence Bureau
FAO	Food and Agriculture Organization
FS	Foreign Secretary
GCIE	Knight Grand Commander (of the Order) of the Indian Empire
GCSI	Knight Grand Commander (of the Order) of the Star of India
GOC	General Officer Commanding
HAL	Hindustan Aircraft Limited
IAF	Indian Air Force
IFS (B)	Indian Foreign Service (B)
ILO	International Labour Organization
INTUC	Indian National Trade Union Congress
KCIE	Knight Commander (of the Order) of the Indian Empire
LIC	Life Insurance Corporation

MEA	Ministry of External Affairs
MHA	Ministry of Home Affairs
MLA	Member of Legislative Assembly
MP	Member of Parliament
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NCC	National Cadet Corps
NEFA	North East Frontier Agency
NES	National Extension Service
NHTA	Naga Hills-Tuensang Area
NMML	Nehru Memorial Museum and Library
PCC	Pradesh Congress Committee
Pepsu	Patiala and East Punjab States Union
PMS	Prime Minister's Secretariat
PSP	Praja Socialist Party
PWD	Public Works Department
RSP	Revolutionary Socialist Party
SEATO	South East Asia Treaty Organization
SG	Secretary General, Ministry of External Affairs
SUNFED	Special United Nations Fund for Economic Development
TCM	Technical Cooperation Mission
Telco	Tata Engineering and Locomotive Company
TISCO	Tata Iron and Steel Company
UK	United Kingdom
UN/UNO	United Nations Organization
UNCIP	United Nations Commission for India and Pakistan
Unesco	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UP	Uttar Pradesh
UPSC	Union Public Service Commission
US/USA	United States of America
USSR	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
WHO	World Health Organization

GENERAL PERSPECTIVES

1. The Cooperative Approach to Problems¹

It is the tradition that we meet one day before the Lok Sabha session begins.

I have just returned from Bhakra-Nangal. Let me tell you that every time I go there—and I have gone there quite often; this visit was after ten months²—I am struck by its gigantic structure. What a huge and complex thing it is! The work is being done very systematically there. Drawings are first prepared showing where each and everything will be placed. The location of even a small wiring or a peg is shown in the drawing. It is a very large project and one is somewhat amazed at the vastness of the whole enterprise. The work is progressing well and according to schedule, though there have been some hurdles of foreign exchange, as in other matters. But that difficulty is not insurmountable. And the work is certainly not stopped because of that. It may take a little time to get the sanctions.

Every effort is being made to see that even if the dam is not complete before the next monsoon, it is constructed to at least an extent that it may be possible to store water in the reservoir. The dam may take two, three years to be completed. I think originally its height was to have been 200 feet, but it has been increased to 740 feet. Now I think the matter is being examined to see if the height should be increased by another 15 feet—755 feet in all. Even at 740 feet this would perhaps be the highest dam in the world. At 755 feet it would be higher still.

A year or so ago, we came up against a tremendous difficulty there—the soil turned out to be soft and clay-like. So the digging had to be deeper, but fortunately it turned out to be only a strip of soft soil. We could not take the risk of the foundation being even slightly weak when such a huge construction was taking place. As a matter of fact the strength of the foundation is going to be two times of what is required as per engineering calculations. Many of you must have been there. Every time I go there I am struck afresh by it. I think every month thousands of people, ten-fifteen thousand people, foreigners and Indians, go there. Everything is planned—designs, maps of what is to be done. It has to be done methodically. Otherwise even if one part of a machine goes awry, it can affect the entire system.

1. Speech at a meeting of the Congress Parliamentary Party, New Delhi, 10 November 1957. Tape No. M-28/C, NMML. Nehru first spoke in Hindi.

2. Nehru had gone to Bhakra-Nangal with Chou En-lai in December 1956.

Well, I was talking about Punjab. There is a Hindi agitation going on there. However, I did not go there because of that. It was an old promise of mine to go there to see Chandigarh and especially Bhakra. But since I had gone there, obviously I had to say something about the so-called Hindi Raksha Samiti. They greeted me with an attempt at a strike and today's papers must be full of that. I addressed a public meeting in Chandigarh.³ Chandigarh is a small place. You might be aware that in all there is a population of about thirty, thirty-five thousand including the Government employees. But in that public meeting there were at least seventy, eighty thousand people. It was a huge gathering. People had come from far-off places and the meeting was very successful. I told them that I had repeatedly said how harmful and wrong this kind of agitation is. And I said that, after all, we don't have any enmity with anyone that we should unnecessarily attack or abuse anybody. We want that all of us should work together in all the great tasks that are before us. But they don't seem to understand. We invite them to come—we don't stand on false pride or feel that we would lose face in the process. I told them where they were wrong in principle and what its consequences are. My words had a great deal of effect. The satyagraha is still going on but most of the *satyagrahis* do not come from Punjab. They come—are, in fact, brought—from other places. So this satyagraha—for one thing, it is not quite right to call it by that name—becomes a false satyagraha, because the people taking part are from other places. Therefore, I hope that they will give it up and there is no question of anyone abusing the others. That is not possible.

In this connection you may have heard that sometime ago, a terrible incident took place in one of the jails in Ferozepur. We must examine that incident carefully—the Punjab Government should. We must not think that the incident in Ferozepur, where some jail wardens committed excesses, has no connection with the agitation or that it is a separate thing. A judge of the Punjab High Court was appointed to enquire into the incident and he submitted his report two or three weeks ago. Some of the findings of the enquiry and its recommendations have been published.⁴ The full report has not been published, not because there is any difficulty in doing so. But the Punjab Government felt that some of the

3. See *post*, pp. 417-429.

4. Justice S.B. Capoor enquired into the lathi-charge on the Hindi Raksha Samiti undertrials on 24 August in the Ferozepur Jail. He held that the use of excess force was in contravention of rule 145 of the jail manual and would also, in appropriate cases, be an offence under the criminal law. He added that though "the circumstances were such that it was not easy to fix individual responsibility, there was incontrovertible evidence that the undertrials were beaten up inside their barracks and the primary responsibility for the excess committed was that of Sumer Singh, Deputy Superintendent of Jail."

findings should be published quickly so that action can be taken and in due course the whole report can be published, particularly the important parts. The Punjab Government fully intend to punish the culprits. There is no question of hiding or suppressing facts because there is no doubt that the things that happened there were really wrong.

This morning, when I was going from Chandigarh to Nangal I stopped on the way at a village situated half a mile away from the road. It was one of the NES block villages. There were no irrigation facilities there earlier so I wanted to see what was happening there. Well, I do not know how far that village was representative of the conditions in other villages, but I was rather pleased to see the progress that village had made in the last two-three years—even before it came into the NES block; and now it has become a part of the NES block. It was a small village with, I think, a population of about 800. There was no irrigation, and the soil was not very fertile, and people had to depend on sundry other activities for their livelihood. But in spite of all that, as far as I could make out, the per capita income of that village is about a thousand rupees, which is excellent compared to the rest of India. If that could become an all-India average, it would be fine. And make no mistake, it can be done. We are progressing rapidly, and there is no reason why it cannot be done.

Since we met last, I have been to Japan for a few days.⁵ The newspapers here gave that visit wide publicity. But even I was surprised at the welcome we received there, from the Government, of course, but surprisingly from the people. I have been to many countries and have always received a very warm welcome. But I don't think it would be an exaggeration to say that I have never received such a tumultuous welcome anywhere outside India. And there was nothing personal about it. It indicates to a certain extent the way the mind of the Japanese is working. They are in a dilemma just now—not knowing which way they should lean.

Obviously, the Japanese are far ahead of us. They were in a bad shape twelve years ago when the War ended. But since then, they have made great progress. It is true that they have done this with a great deal of American aid which they continue to get even now. In a manner of speaking, their economy is rather tied up with this. They made a lot of profit during the Korean War. The American forces are still there and though they will ultimately go, they have many bases there. But it is not really a matter of aid only. The Japanese are tremendously hard working and they have risen by their own toil. And they are very methodical too. Take farming, for instance. I saw that even the land up to six feet from railway lines was cultivated. They cultivate all available land—they

5. Nehru visited Japan from 4 to 13 October 1957.

do what is called intensive cultivation. We do extensive cultivation—actually we plant the seed and then sit and wait for the rain gods to make it grow. Well, I don't say that farming can be independent of the rains. It does depend on the rains to some extent. But the Japanese make their farms into gardens by this intensive cultivation. They look after them as if these are gardens, and the yield is very very high. They also have big factories in Japan. But what impressed me more than anything else is the way they do everything, big and small tasks—they do everything with great care. There is very little waste and an effort is made to extract the maximum benefit from whatever they do. Well, we cannot teach them anything in these matters. Obviously, we can learn from them.

But the War dealt a tremendous shock to the Japanese pride for they were a nation which had never in its history been defeated, nor had it been invaded by another country. They had become very proud and believed that there was divine celestial power which protected them. There was tremendous discipline—the basis of which in those days was emperor worship. They did just what the emperor ordered them to do. Well, whatever their defects may have been they had tremendous discipline. There is no doubt about the fact that in the last fifty, sixty or seventy years, they achieved a great deal by discipline and emperor worship. They did what the emperor ordered them to do—there was no question of argument. Actually, it was not always the emperor who gave the orders but his advisers who did so in his name and they were obeyed. In this way within ten or twenty years they had brought about great changes in Japan. Now this emperor worship has disappeared after the War and with it, to a large extent, the discipline has also become less, though even now there is a lot of discipline—especially as compared to us—but it is less than before. That worries some people there. But what can be done? Should the emperor be brought back? Such questions agitate their minds. Then there are other problems: to whom should Japan turn—to Europe or to Asia? Japan had been thinking a great deal about Asia before the War, but, to tell the truth, their thoughts were mingled with contempt. They regarded the Asian countries as backward and poor and tried to model Japan on the pattern of European countries and succeeded too to some extent. Now after the shock of defeat in the War, they are beginning to think again about the world and their role in it. Not that they have reached a definite conclusion but one effect of that has been that they are leaning more towards some countries in Asia—not in the old way, but in the quest of a new relationship. It is difficult to predict which way the quest will end.

But one thing is obvious that it is a tremendous country, hard-working, intelligent and trained. No one can subjugate a country like this for long—just as Germany did not stay vanquished for long. Both Germany and Japan lost in the War and are on their feet ten years later, stronger than before. From this it is

obvious that it is the quality of a nation that counts, and it is reflected in its policies. Any policy, right or wrong, has a man behind it and his quality. A country must have quality—the capacity and training for hard work. These qualities Germany and Japan had, and so they are on their feet again within ten years. Yes, it is true that they had a large number of trained men, with modern training—I mean people like engineers and scientists who have put Japan on her feet. So training is very essential. It is not enough to pass a law in Parliament, if you do not have men—I do not mean administrators, though they are also necessary, but trained scientific and engineering personnel—to implement it. In Japan, of course, they have a surfeit of such men and they were spread out all over, in Manchuria, Formosa, whichever country was occupied by Japan. I think when Japan left Formosa, as far as I can remember, 27-28 thousand Japanese engineers went back to Japan. Many must have gone back from Manchuria too. So you can imagine how Japan was filled with mechanics and engineers.

There is yet another thing which impressed me about Japan. I cannot, of course, judge how good their educational system is for it is in another tongue. But it is very evident that they give a lot of thought to their children's upbringing and education. Education is compulsory for every child—boys and girls. I asked them how many children were being educated and was given the figures up to last May. I remember two crores and twenty-five lakh boys and girls are studying in schools and colleges and universities. And the entire population of Japan is nine crores. These figures did not include the children in kindergartens. Lots of children are sent to kindergartens though that is not compulsory. But the regular school and college goers were two crores and twenty-five lakhs which means that practically every child of that age group is being educated. And the education is good. They give free lunch and other things to children in primary schools and perhaps in the secondary schools also, and I think the cost of that is borne by the municipality. Municipal taxes are very high because they have to provide for all these things. And the municipalities spend the maximum amount on education.

The roads in Japan are not very good; their drainage system is very bad—in fact, it is non-existent. Except in some posh areas of the bigger towns, the drains have to be cleaned by the residents themselves. Street lighting is not adequate. They feel that residents and owners of commercial houses and shops should provide lights on their streets. That they do to some extent. The municipality concentrates most of its attention on education and the social sciences, that is, the betterment of human beings. The taxation is heavy and the income, especially from the bigger towns, is very large. Most of it is spent on education.

I must tell you that all the students wear uniforms. Wherever I went, I saw them wearing similar uniforms—one type of uniform for the entire student population of Japan. I would not say it is a very attractive uniform—it consists of black trousers and high-necked black coats.

Someone: Like a railway guard's?

JN: Yes, yes, as you say, like a railway guard's; only hats differed with each institution. The girls' uniform was different. But you could easily tell the students apart. That is why I was surprised to see them in such large numbers to greet me.

I was really impressed after seeing all this. Since the people of Japan gave me such a warm welcome, I also talked to them freely—I don't mean the people in Government but the public—just as I talk to the Indian public. I did not try to conceal the fact that we did not approve of Japan's policies before the War and that we used to think that they had made mistakes; that they had become too arrogant and attacked others; that they did all this and they received a blow and fell. I also told them that that is all history and now we have to understand the modern world, etc. This is generally what I told them.

People often ask me, in the press also, as to what I got out of my visit to Japan. "We are facing foreign exchange shortages; did you get any assistance or not?" Apart from the fact that it is not really right to expect too much from Japan—of course they can, and probably will, give us some assistance—people do not seem to realize that I did not go there to ask for anything, nor do I do so anywhere else. I may mention our difficulties incidentally; that is different. I go in search of, to ask for, something else which you cannot weigh on a pair of scales. It is a thing of the mind and heart. In this way, the sphere of friendship increases. Secondly, India cannot hope to have a direct influence on a country's policy. There are other methods of doing this certainly, by bribes, or pressures, etc. But we can neither put pressure nor give bribes. So what should be our method? It can only be an indirect one of friendship and by drawing their attention towards understanding our policy, whether it is right or not. They may agree with us if they think we are right. It would be impertinent for one to go and argue with them or to tell them that they are wrong and we are right, so they should agree with us. That would be neither good manners nor would there be any benefit. I can talk to their governments. After all they are experienced people and understand these matters quite well. Nobody tries to hide anything but we cannot sit and criticize each other's policies. We have to accept the fact that in some things they are opposed to us—not opposed perhaps, but not with us either. So we try to find out where we agree—meaning, we try to look for

common policies and thus the ambit of common policies widens. And gradually the mind becomes more receptive to these things. In turn it has an influence on policies. You can read all our statements made in Japan or elsewhere. You will see that the emphasis is always on the common factors, not on the ones we are opposed to. This has been my constant endeavour wherever I have been, to emphasize the good points in that country, not the points that we may not like. That is beneficial to us and their minds also open out and we come closer to each other. This does not mean that we forget our basic policies. This is the reason for the great respect and affection for India in other countries. Apart from this, being accustomed as they are to the cold war techniques, our techniques surprise them and also reassure them that we are not ranged against them.

Now I think I should say a few words in English.

Today, I went to Bhakra-Nangal. In fact, I had my lunch there today, and after that I came back here via Chandigarh. Whenever I go to Bhakra and, I believe, whoever goes to Bhakra, however much he may have read about it and seen pictures of it, is nevertheless astounded at the colossal nature of this undertaking. It is amazing; every time I go I am amazed, although I know it so well.

Amazing is the bigness of it, the enormous proportions, the working out of all these hundreds of thousands of details of the plan and then implementing them. There are, I do not know, how many thousands of miles of tubing, and this and that, every single inch is worked out in the plan before it is put there. There are miles and miles of corridors, underground corridors under the dam that has been built; everything has been worked out. It is just amazing and you see standing there—it almost looks like some fantastic picture which we used to see in our childhood in Jules Verne's pictures—people way down in the heart of the earth working away, and people high up, huge cranes coming and dumping down stuff and which immediately gets spread out, another crane comes! It is an astonishing sight. I have seen it grow in the last six or seven years. Well, it is making good progress and naturally in spite of our difficulties we do not want to allow anything to come in the way of this progress. That will be costly. Our foreign exchange difficulties have, by and large, not been allowed to come in the way of its progress, although a certain severe check, I believe, is now applied and that check sometimes delays sanctions a little, which previously it did not do. But, broadly speaking, it is not meant to stop anything but only to see that it is absolutely essential. They expect, according to their schedule, that this dam will be high enough and strong enough for them to start collecting water by the next monsoon season, July and August, and to try to build up the

reservoir over there and a dam. It is a tricky business. One very grave difficulty has been and a costly difficulty apart from engineering—the engineering part becoming much more complicated—that they suddenly found a layer of soft clay, of softest clay, and they could not take the risk of building on the clay. So they had to dig another fifty feet down and put cement and all that there and on the sides too. The lower part has now been done, the sides have yet to be done. So they hope to begin this reservoir then and I should say that in about a little less than two years from now, that is, in the second half of 1959, all the major difficulties will be over. Work, of course, will go on still, but the major problems will be solved. I think that Bhakra is truly a magnificent undertaking, magnificently carried out.

I referred to my visit to Japan which impressed me greatly. One is always impressed, of course, emotionally impressed, when one meets with emotions on the other side. To put this in another way, if you put out the emotion, you evoke emotion on the other side. It is a two-way traffic, whether between individuals or nations. And I become more and more convinced that in solving problems—domestic, international or any other—it is this approach, this friendly approach, almost affectionate approach, is more important than anything else. I do not mean to say that by just loving phrases you solve problems. We do not do it, of course not; problems are tougher. But you prepare the ground for its solution, you prepare the minds, you prepare the atmosphere which helps in their solution. Of course, in the world today we see something which is directly opposed to this, that is, the cold war technique, which is the technique, instead of friendliness and affection, of hatred and fear and apprehension and inevitably this arouses the same feeling on the other side and the conflict continues. It is, as you may be looking at the world today, that the basic problems have become psychological. Of course, we know all these other problems, disarmament and financial problems and all that, they are there, but the basic problems are psychological requiring almost psychological treatment on a vast scale.

Forgive me if the personal element comes in, but in recent months I have been to countries as varied and as various as Japan on the one side and the Scandinavian countries on the other—Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Finland—as different as any two countries can be. A little earlier than that I went to the United States of America and I have been to most countries of Europe. It has been my good fortune to be welcomed, and welcomed not superficially or by the big people of the government only, but by the common people almost in every country I have been to, whether it is a communist country or a non-communist or an anti-communist country. And this has always posed a problem to me: why is this so? It is obvious that there was very little of the personal element in that welcome, except insofar as a person gets tied up to an idea, to a

certain background for the moment, he is supposed to represent that idea. It is astonishing and one small reason that I would give myself was how, deliberately, always our country attempts to be friendly with other countries, even those with whom we disagree.

So, in Japan, I had the most extraordinary of welcomes, again from the people, and which, I believe, surprised even the Government there very much. The Government, of course, was very friendly and very hospitable and they helped in every way. Nevertheless, the popular welcome was something much greater than anybody else would have got or greater than they had expected. And it showed, I thought, that the mind of the people of Japan—the young people and even the older people—was, after all the setbacks, sufferings and defeats that they had endured, in search for something and had not quite found its anchorage. The old anchorage before the War was a very firm one and based on extreme pride and conceit of their country and of themselves—they believe in themselves. They were the top nation of the world, undefeated always, never defeated; that had received a terrible shock in the War and defeat. Many old things had gone, emperor worship and the like. The one or two things that had not gone were their discipline and their capacity for hard work. So they seized hold of those things that were still there, their capacity for hard work and discipline, and without murmuring, without complaining, without shouting, they set themselves to work to build their country up, realizing that it is no good complaining, that when they were strong enough, well, then they might express themselves in stronger language. It was no good for the weak to complain. They built themselves up and no doubt will go on building themselves up. They have terrific problems far greater in a basic sense than ours. They are a much more developed nation, they are full of trained engineers, trained people, very well educated people, the nation as a whole, but their problems are different. The fact is that theirs is a highly industrialized country with no raw materials. The iron, steel, iron ore, etc., that they used to get from Manchuria and elsewhere—all that is taken away. An enormous population growing all the time with practically no raw materials and all the skill to work them—it is a tremendous problem that is why they want our iron ore and, of course, we gladly sell them our iron ore.

So here is this country facing tremendous problems ever since the last War, having got accustomed to a certain economy intimately connected with America and wondering what the future will bring. Before this last War, Japan, in spite of saying a great deal about Asia and co-prosperity sphere in Asia, was essentially not Asia-minded, but Europe-minded in the sense that the Great Powers of Europe were models and they wanted to equal them and go ahead of them; and they thought that the Asian countries were poor, backward and to be despised.

Therefore, really they have no respect for Asian countries. But, now after the shock they have had, they are somewhat revising their estimates and their outlook. In doing so, the first thing they come up against is, well, their neighbour country China. It is patent that, normally speaking, Japan should have intimate trade relations with China. China can supply them with raw materials which they lack. China can supply them with the market for some of their finished goods, it does not matter that China is communist. They want the goods and they want to sell their raw materials. It is a natural exchange beneficial to both. But that comes in the way of wider policies which they have adopted because of their intimate connection at present with United States policies. It is obvious that some time or other in the future they will have to develop their trade relations with China because it is a compulsion of geography. But I do not really know. I am merely suggesting that it seems to me inevitable for geographical reasons. Then, looking around again, obviously they see India as a country which is trying to make good—trying to make good in the sense of going ahead industrially, higher standards, scientifically and all that, and which is exceedingly likely to make good. Therefore, not only Japan, but most other countries of the world are interested in India, not because of what you might perhaps think of our culture or our past background. There are individuals who may be interested but not countries. They are interested in India because they think India is going to make good industrially, and in this sense it becomes the symbol of today, that is, industrial growth becomes a symbol of not only higher living conditions, but even of power, naturally.

So countries are interested in India. Japan is interested also because I believe its own outlook of rather not looking with favour or respect to Asian countries has changed and is changing. It is very evident that the younger generation especially was full of questions about their own future, about which way they should look. The mind of Japan is full of queries today. But, as I said just now in Hindi, whatever the answers to those questions they might give, the basic fact remains that the Japanese people are disciplined, well-trained and hard-working and I wish if our people had those qualities. And of course I need not mention to you the intensity of Japanese patriotism. I am not talking of any instance. I saw—I know it is just amazing. I do not think any country in history has shown that intensity of just patriotism as the Japanese have. You know how in the War—they may be fighting for a wrong cause, as, I believe, they did commit many atrocities; put that aside, but I am merely talking about the individual Japanese capacity, amazing capacity, for the uttermost self-sacrifice for his country. Can you imagine anything more than for a human being to agree to become a live bomb? Many faced death in the battlefield or elsewhere but to agree deliberately to become a live bomb, to be used as such as they were used

in the War! It is an amazing thing—to splinter them into a million pieces. But all their history shows that, especially later history. So there can be no doubt that whatever their difficulties might be, and there are many in Asia with those qualities, they are bound to make good. How can you crush a nation like that or a people like that just as you cannot crush Germany. After a defeat it came up.

Now, you will see we discussed, and most people discuss so much, economic and like policies, communism, capitalism, and the like, and we should certainly discuss them and see what virtue there is. But behind all this discussion lies the fact of the quality of the people. If the quality is good, it just does not matter what policy you adopt, it will succeed. If the quality is not good then the best of policies will fail. That is the conviction I arrived at which has grown in me. Of course, we tried to build up qualities and we tried to adopt right policies. Naturally, both are important otherwise the quality may be wasted somewhat. But Japan was very impressive to me. I did not like certain things in Japan, and it is natural. I told them so. I told them quite frankly about their past, that we did not like their policies, we thought that they were very conceited and proud and tried to overawe others, but that is past history, and then I spoke of their good qualities. So I have come back greatly impressed. The Japanese also have the astonishing capacity to make small things go a long way. Now, we in India went the other way under the British rule, that is, the gap between us and the British—the industrial, the scientific, etc.—the gap was big. The British imposed upon us an administrative system which certainly served their purpose. It was official in that sense, but which was something quite removed from our life.

Now, the Japanese took to industry also. There was no foreign imposition of it. So as they took to industry and science and education; they had to keep in view their conditions. They did not impose something at the top of the huge gap in between. They grew into it and the gap was ever great and they had to make do with what they had. Therefore, this amazing capacity in everything to make a little go a long way. In land, as I said, you cannot find a square feet of land which can be irrigated, which is not irrigated. Fields come right up to the railway line almost or to the road, every hill is full of terraces all over, and the way they make everything—that really is quite astonishing. Take the bamboo, the way they use the bamboo in millions of ways. We have got bamboo, but who uses it excepting in some very simple ways? And one thing that I should mention—the astonishing artistry of the Japanese people, the aesthetic sense, their love of nature, of flowers, their houses. Japanese houses are simple, soothing, no cluttering of furniture. They sit on the floor, they do not have chairs and other things. They sit on cushions on the floor, the mattress there and the cushions put there to sit on it. But in the poorest houses the way you will find—they will have one vase with a flower in it carefully chosen, changing

the flower with the seasons to be in fitness of the seasons. They may have just one picture in the whole house which will be one painted scroll which will be put in a special place of honour with a flower in front. In so many ways, their artistry plus simplicity is very impressive.

Well, I thought I might give you some ideas of it. Now, you know that, apart from my inconsequential travels, there were other more consequential and important voyages abroad. For instance, that of our Finance Minister to America and some countries of Europe.⁶ He went, as you know, for the meeting of the World Bank⁷ but he utilized that opportunity, first of all, to meet a number of people to remove many misapprehensions and create a good atmosphere there from the financial point of view; secondly, to try to arrange long-term credits or loans, because you all know that we had a difficulty. It is a serious difficulty coming in the way of all our planning and Second Five Year Plan and all that. There is a difficulty of internal resources. But the much greater difficulty of external resources of foreign exchange and undoubtedly lack of foreign exchange can hit us hard in our Second Five Year Plan, even the core of it, leave out the fringes of it. And after all what we wanted was not free gifts but loans, long credits and the like, which is quite natural; every country has had it including the United States in its earlier stages. So our Finance Minister had many talks there⁸. Unfortunately all these countries, whether it is the United States or England⁹—not all I would say but most of them are themselves experiencing difficulties of their own type. England certainly is in a pretty difficult position. The United States is not in that way but still facing internal difficulties. There is, financially speaking or industrially speaking, some slight indications of a slump there, not much perhaps but still, and it was not a very favourable time to make these approaches. But, anyhow, we have to make them, because for us it was a

- 6 The Finance Minister, T.T. Krishnamachari, returned to New Delhi on 25 October 1957 after a five-week tour of the USA, the UK and West Germany.
7. The joint sessions of the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund were held in Washington from 23 to 26 September. On 25 September, T.T. Krishnamachari warned the Governors of the World Bank against the possible political effects of a slow-down in India's economic objectives.
8. On 4 October, Krishnamachari addressed the Far Eastern Conference sponsored by the Far Eastern American Council of Commerce and Industry in New York. He also met President Eisenhower, the Secretary of State, John Foster Dulles, Treasury officials and top businessmen.
9. Krishnamachari visited London from 11 to 17 October where he had talks with Prime Minister Harold Macmillan and leading bankers and industrialists. From London he flew to Bonn and stayed there till 23 October. He had discussions with the Government and industrialists of West Germany.

vital matter at the present moment. Well, everywhere that he went he partly created a favourable atmosphere. But, of course, a favourable atmosphere by itself is not enough to result in something. It is difficult to say now what the ultimate result will be. Some relatively minor results have followed—Germany and elsewhere—and it may be that other results may follow also from the United States or other countries, one or two others, as there are not many countries like that. It may be that results come but not to the extent that we would like them to come.

Now, obviously, it would be very wrong for us to complain and shout publicly that other countries are not helping us. I am saying that because some newspaper correspondents at a conference some time ago seemed to think that it is the duty of the United States to help us or Canada or every country. I just do not understand this attitude. You may think it advantageous to them and advantageous to us if we get help. What business have we to tell the United States of America that this is your business to help us. It is a most irritating thing to say to anybody—as if we are the centre of the world and it is everybody's duty to look after us. We have failed to look after ourselves competently. Therefore, we should not get into a temper if we do not get exactly what we want from other countries. That is the worst way of dealing with the situation and we are not justified in that. We can logically argue that to be good for others; as for ourselves, if we get that help, that is a right thing. Anyhow I cannot give you any definite information nor indeed, I believe, the Finance Minister, except to say that there is a great deal of goodwill towards helping India. That goodwill may well result in help coming to us—to what extent we cannot say; possibly not to the extent we would like. But whatever the measure of help that may come to us, it is clear, it always has been clear, that the burden will have to be borne by our people, one way or the other. And it is a bad thing for our people to get into the habit of expecting others to do the job for us. The basic thing is to encourage a feeling of self-reliance, self-dependence. Then, of course, taking all the help you can get. I have no objection, but not at the expense of feeling of self-reliance, because that is a more valuable commodity than any help that we can get. Well, this session of ours is going to last about six weeks or so, relatively brief.¹⁰

There is quite a long list of legislation, some pending, some new Bills. Most of them, I believe, are not very complicated or very controversial, though some are. You must have heard the Official Language Commission's Report which has been referred to a Committee of both Houses. Now obviously, it will be improper

10. The winter session of the Lok Sabha, which began on 11 November, was scheduled to conclude on 22 December 1957.

for me to express my views about matters which are being considered by a Committee of Parliament.¹¹ But I have been somewhat distressed at what appears to be a growing excitement about this matter, chiefly in the South—not about this entire subject but nevertheless dealing with the language problem, education, Services, etc. I would commend that resolution¹² again to your notice. You see the main trouble about the language—I am not referring to other aspects, there are many important aspects. But one of the troubles is a feeling among the non-Hindi knowing people that they will be placed in a disadvantageous position whether it is Services, whether it is other matters of national concern, and that apprehension is to some extent justified. It is obvious. Suppose, we said today that no one will be admitted into the all-India Services unless he passes, let us say, an examination in Hindi. Suppose we did that today, is there any doubt that it would be a great advantage given to the Hindi-speaking people, who can more easily pass the examination in Hindi than the others; some of the others might not. Therefore, the Congress Working Committee, because they were anxious that there should be no disadvantage to non-Hindi speaking people, said that in selecting people for the all-India Services, Hindi should not be a compulsory test. After selection Hindi should, of course, be learnt; that is a different matter. So, that is the approach, not to place non-Hindi speaking people at the slightest disadvantage. It is bad enough to deal with all these language complexes. And, as you very well know, passions are raised from language as communal. Now, we should avoid that as far as we can. But we should at least make it perfectly clear that no decision is a right one which places people in part of India at a marked disadvantage. That should be avoided. And that decision should be arrived at cooperatively and not giving a sense of imposition. These are the two broad things I would like you to consider. In spite of all this opposition to Hindi in some parts of the South, the fact is that Hindi is being learnt by large numbers of people. Let us welcome that and let us not upset all this by creating a wrong kind of psychology by any element, or what people might think are pressure tactics and imposition.

Well, we shall be meeting very often in this session so I do not see why I should detain you any more.

11. A thirty-member Joint Parliamentary Committee was constituted to consider the recommendations of the Official Language Commission. A 21-member Official Language Commission, which was appointed in June 1955, had submitted its report in August 1956 which had been placed before both houses of Parliament in August 1957.
12. Nehru was probably referring to the Congress Working Committee resolution of 5 April 1954 on the desirability of retaining English as the language of examinations for the all-India Services. See also *post*, p. 240.

2. Adopt the Path of Peace and Friendship¹

You might ask me: “How have you come to this conference² when ordinarily you are not to be seen on such occasions?” I am myself in a quandary and I cannot understand why I am here. I do not mean to say that I do not respect the work of the religious conference. But showing respect is one thing and intervening in these religious questions, of which I do not know much, is another.

I shall not tell you anything about religion. It is beyond me. I have, however, seen that in matters religious, political or any other, merely preaching to others does not have much effect. This effect can come by your own deeds and actions. When any man takes a flag in his hand and begins to preach to the rest of the world, then the world does not like it. Nobody likes to learn a lesson from another.

I remember many people used to ask Gandhiji to undertake a lecture tour of America and Europe. The name of America was specially mentioned as often things are measured there in terms of money. Gandhiji was told that out of this tour he could make lakhs of rupees. But Gandhiji always answered: “If I have a principle and a message, then I can preach it by acting on it myself in India and not making speeches. If I am correct and successful, then the whole world will see it.” In his later life, except for attending a round table conference in London, Gandhiji did not travel abroad. Yet Gandhiji was able to wield a strong influence on the world, not by making speeches but by his actual work, by the way he led his life. After his death, Gandhiji’s influence increased all the more in the world.

While it is all right for some people to talk of high principles it is also necessary to see what these very people do in practice. In our country we do not even practise the ancient principles fully. We all talk of *Vasudheva Kutumbakam* (all people living on this earth are members of one family). Yet, we do not believe in this family. We fight amongst ourselves, sometimes in the name of language or province and at other times for this or that. It is a strange thing. It appears that

1. Speech at the Vishva Dharma Sammelan (World Conference of Religions), Ramlila Grounds, Delhi, 17 November 1957. From *The Hindu*, 18 November 1957.
2. The conference, sponsored by Jain Muni Sushil Kumar, was held in Delhi on 17 and 18 November 1957. Explaining the objectives of the conference, to which leaders of all religions and schools of thought were invited, Muni Sushil Kumar said that it was intended to help in the creation of “a healthy atmosphere and eradication of destructive imperialist, materialist and totalitarian tendencies by means of spirituality.” The conference was inaugurated by President Rajendra Prasad.

our minds are divided into two parts. One part is for preaching and telling people what they should do and the other part is to regulate our behaviour in our own home. This kind of approach of 'two parts of one mind' can no longer hold good. The world can be influenced not by speeches but real deeds and actions. Whether we talk of peace or ahimsa, we have to practise peace and ahimsa. If we merely talk, then nobody will listen to our voice in the world.

You saw at the time of the States reorganization, how easily we got excited and forgot India and began to talk of language, religion, caste and province and considered these to be real and India as something separate. Everyone must ponder over it deeply.

I commend the high sense of patriotism of the Japanese people. There are many good things in the Japanese people. There may also be many things in them which you may not like. But I do not think you will come across anywhere else in the world—individuals apart—the sense of high patriotism for their country, which is found among the Japanese people as a whole.

One reason why India's foreign policy has made an impression on the world is that we have acted on this independent policy of trying to befriend not only those who agree with us but also those who do not agree with us on many matters.

Merely thinking of the olden *rishis* and *munis* and saying that 'we are their descendants' would not help. The descendants of even the *rishis* and *munis* had been both good and bad. The question is not what the *rishis* and *munis* were, but what you are yourself. We have to develop today's India and not merely think of India of a thousand years ago. If we make sacrifices and act according to our own principles, we will not only help others but help ourselves also.

Today the world is taking a mighty turn with prospects of interplanetary travel opening out before it. Nobody can say to what use the new forces in the hands of man would be put—whether for his betterment or his destruction. Once powerful missiles are released nobody can bring them back or control them.

As you know, there is a cold war going on between some nations of the world. The cold war can only poison the minds of men with malice and violence and no question can be solved by following that path. Even though this is realized, there are people who get excited because of anger or stupidity. In these circumstances, nobody knows what might happen if some mad man does something to set off a world conflagration.

The world has to leave the path of violence and take to the path of peace and friendship in which there is no enmity for each other. The world has no other alternative. It is something inevitable.

3. The Role of Bharat Sewak Samaj¹

Sisters and brothers,

This is supposed to be an open session of the Bharat Sewak Samaj.² If all the people assembled here belong to the Bharat Sewak Samaj, then it must have become a massive organization. It is obvious that many among you are members of the organization and others are citizens of Kanpur who have come out of curiosity. I am glad to have this opportunity of talking to the people of Kanpur and meeting them even though from a distance. I have also been able to visit this largest city in Uttar Pradesh. Many changes have occurred since I came here last. Roads have been broadened, which is a good thing, and new housing colonies are coming up. I have heard that a programme of slum clearance is going on, though I have not looked into it. All these developments are good. I hope it will be speedily done.

I am glad that the new housing colony has been named Kidwai Nagar in memory of a great man of our State and of our country³. There is no doubt about it that the residents of the colony will be comfortable in the new houses. But it would have been better if the Municipal Corporation had paid more attention to its aesthetics also.

Kanpur is a progressive city. There are big industries and mills abounding here, and mill-owners in large numbers. But the city seems to be devoid of aesthetics. I have yet to meet people in this city who are connoisseurs of aesthetics. Perhaps the people here are so busy making money that they have no time for these things. It would be a good thing to invite some good architects with an eye for beauty to design the houses. The engineers may be excellent. But that is not enough. Beautiful buildings need not necessarily cost more money. We do not have unlimited resources. But you can build a thing of beauty without spending too much. Everything about the cities and villages of India, even the houses and the huts, should be aesthetically pleasing.

1. Speech at the fifth All India Convention of the Bharat Sewak Samaj, Kidwai Nagar, Kanpur, 29 November 1957. AIR tapes, NMML, and *National Herald*, 30 November 1957. Original in Hindi.
2. The Bharat Sewak Samaj, constituted in August 1952, is a non-official and non-political voluntary organization sponsored by the Planning Commission with the object of enabling individual citizens to contribute to the implementation of the national development plans. Nehru was President of the Bharat Sewak Samaj.
3. Rafi Ahmad Kidwai.

I visited Japan two months ago and was given a warm welcome there. It made a profound impression on me. One thing which amazed me was the industriousness of the Japanese people. They use even the most insignificant things to produce goods. They make thousands of things with bamboo which grows wild in our forests. They use bamboo for their roofs and produce beautiful useful artifacts. We can also do the same thing. The Japanese people have a tremendous capacity for producing beautiful things and possess a great aesthetic sense. Even in a poor household, you can find an attempt to make the surroundings and the home attractive. Ostentatious display of wealth is not necessarily beautiful. It is stupid. A flower can lend more beauty than gold or silver, provided it is effectively displayed.

I would like to tell everyone in India that we should imbibe the aesthetic sense from the Japanese. Aesthetics is not merely a matter of show but it influences our outlook and thinking too. For instance, when we meet people on the social plane, we can do so either as a ruffian or with courtesy and dignity befitting a cultured people. Or we can be oblivious to all this. These are small matters but even small things have an impact on the life of a society.

Anyhow, we have met here at the conference of the Bharat Sewak Samaj. What is Bharat Sewak Samaj? Why was it started? This institution was established five years ago for a special purpose. One important aspect of our five year plan is people's cooperation. In fact, it is essential that the people must shoulder the burden. The Government cannot implement the plan on its own. All the officials, ministers and laws in India put together cannot make the plan work successfully unless the people understand it and extend their cooperation. The officials can only give direction and guidance. But a job which involves millions cannot be accomplished by officials or ministers. The people must shoulder the burden themselves and learn to stand on their own feet.

When Gandhiji came to India from South Africa more than fifty years ago, we were a crushed, downtrodden nation under British rule. We were out of heart and even for trivial things we had to depend on the collectors and other officials and the governor, etc. You must have heard that collectors were addressed as *mai-baap*. We had been crippled, unable to help ourselves, and so we looked to the government for everything. Our spirit had been crushed. The worst possible thing for any nation or race is when its spirit is broken, its hopes are crushed and it is unable to rely on its own strength and self-confidence. We were in this pathetic condition when Mahatma Gandhi came. He taught us many lessons, the most important of which was to be fearless and to have confidence in ourselves.

Take, for instance, the question of employment. Now, it is not proper that we should keep waiting for one more mill to come up and provide employment to a

few thousand people. Gandhiji taught us spinning the charkha wherein millions of people could participate. People often argue that by spinning the charkha one cannot earn enough money. They do not realize that Mahatmaji was starting an action which animated the lives of crores of people. It was better to spin than to remain idle. Moreover, the charkha served as a great symbol. It developed self-confidence and self-reliance among the masses. Gandhi also taught peace and non-violence to people. Even the senior leaders in the country at that time, whom we respected, wondered what Gandhi could achieve through his methods. Gradually, Gandhiji's magic cast its spell in the country. Remember that the senior leaders of that time were not the first to come under the spell of Gandhiji's magic, but the masses. When the leaders saw a great transformation taking place in the masses, their opinion about Gandhiji changed. Well, that was a long time back.

Anyhow, nearly forty years have gone by since the Gandhian era began. Then Gandhiji was killed at the hands of an Indian youth. Though his passing away caused great grief to us, Gandhiji could not have died a better death. He brought a great revolution in India and freed millions of Indians from bondage. It was freedom in the real sense, emotional freedom, not mere legal freedom. He was at the peak of his powers, intellectual, spiritual and physical too, even at the age of eighty when he died. I would not like anyone to die a slow, lingering death of illness and old age, too weak to speak, move about or think. Instantaneous death after doing the work of one's choice is the best.

Well, everyone has to die sometime. The point is what we do with our lives while we are alive, whether we do something constructive or merely moan about our fate, looking to government officials to help us. It is true that the officials must do their job. But what is our duty? It is obvious that we cannot uplift the 36-37 crores of human beings by passing laws or through the efforts of officials. There is no power on earth which is strong enough to do this. India's millions must learn to stand on their own feet.

Take another example. The Congress was born seventy-two years ago and it worked for India's independence since then. Great leaders came to the fore. You must have heard of Dadabhai Naoroji; Gopal Krishna Gokhale; Lokmanya Tilak who was a revolutionary figure. Then there were others. Gandhiji appeared on the scene and he brought about a revolution, turning the entire country topsy-turvy. Thousands of families were drawn into the vortex. Gandhiji's revolution was directed not so much against the British Government as towards the hearts and minds of the Indian people. We were transformed. When Gopal Krishna Gokhale went to South Africa and saw Gandhiji at work, he said that here was an extraordinary man who could infuse life into figures of clay and transform them into great heroes. In a sense Gandhiji infused new life and

spirit, and ignited a spark in figures of clay like us.

Ten years have gone by since India became independent and Gandhiji passed away. But, for most of our youth, the events of that era have become a story to be read about in books. They have had no direct experience. We shout *Mahatma Gandhi ki jai* sometimes. But how far are we able to understand what that great man did, how he infused new strength and spirit into a crushed, downtrodden nation? We must not forget the lessons taught by Gandhiji, the lessons of national unity, cooperation and discipline. Please remember that Gandhiji was like a soldier, a commander of a non-violent army. Those who worked with him acquired a soldierly bearing and discipline. He did not like chaotic crowds. In soft, gentle tones, he used to train people to behave like soldiers.

I do not like to think that we have begun to forget Gandhiji's lessons. I am mentioning this because though the world and India have changed a great deal, the fundamental ideals which Gandhiji advocated are absolutely relevant for today and tomorrow. After all, national unity and levelling of disparities are not goals which can ever be lost sight of. You may recall that he laid great stress on the uplift of Harijans. The Hindu society had committed great atrocities on its own people and weakened the fabric of national unity through the caste system. The caste system is a phenomenon unique to India. Gandhiji laid his finger right on the root of the malaise by taking up the cause of the downtrodden Harijans.

I do not say that everyone can be exactly alike; physical and mental differences in human beings are quite natural. But everyone must get equal opportunities instead of only the rich and the well-born having all the advantages and the others are left behind. I feel very sad when I go to the villages and find that beautiful little children are not being properly looked after. They do not get enough to eat or proper clothes to wear. There are no arrangements for their education. Those little children may belong to different families. But to me they are the children of India. It is not right that we should shout slogans of *Bharat Mata ki jai* and neglect her children badly. The children of today will be the India of tomorrow.

There are great tasks ahead and very little time. We want to get results quickly because, for one thing, we want to alleviate the sufferings of the people as soon as possible. Secondly, the world is in a revolutionary ferment and unless we progress quickly, we will lag behind and become backward. Thirdly, the population in the country is growing very fast. Unless we produce enough foodgrains and other essential consumer goods to keep pace with the population growth, the country will become poorer. Everything will be in short supply if we fail to produce enough to meet the needs of the growing population. We need more goods, clothes, houses, schools in order to meet the basic needs of the people.

So, one aspect of the problem is to curb the rate of growth of population. When I talk about this people tend to laugh it off. But it is now no longer a laughing matter. It is a question of India's future. Otherwise we will be crushed under the burden of our own enormous population. India's soil cannot bear such a heavy burden. We read in the *Ramayana* and the *Mahabharata* about the conditions in India in ancient times. We do not know how far those accounts are really true because poets are given to exaggeration. They do not adhere strictly to facts. But we read of great prosperity and plenty in the times of King Dashrath and Ramchandrajai. Perhaps it was so. But have you ever thought what the population of India in the days of Rama was? It was very little compared to what it is today. It may not have been more than a crore in those days as against 38 crores today. You can imagine the difference it makes. India could easily carry the burden of a crore of people. Now the size of the country remains the same and the burden has increased tremendously. There are other steps which need to be taken. But the rapid growth in population is fast becoming a matter of serious concern because the burden on land, family and all other aspects of society is overwhelming. So one of the most urgent tasks before us is to educate the masses in family planning through clinics, etc. You have them here and I want that there should be more of them everywhere. We must be sensible about this.

Anyhow, what I really want to tell you is that we have come to the end of our long journey towards freedom. But our work is by no means complete because freedom has only opened the doors to further progress. Now it is up to us to use that opportunity. The Western countries have become extremely affluent. But you must remember that they have advanced only because they have worked very very hard, even now they work hard. No nation or race can progress without hard work.

The biggest problem that we faced when India became independent was to eradicate the terrible poverty which afflicted the country. It is not easy for there is no magic formula. We cannot get anywhere by counting beads. Some people perform *yagyas*, wasting a lot of ghee, in the hope that war may be averted. Others look to the stars. They ought to be careful, now that artificial satellites are being launched, or they might get confused. Anyhow, man must progress through his own efforts, mental and physical effort, mutual cooperation and confidence in himself. Those who do not rely on these things will not get any help from the stars or God.

Look at the thousands of years of India's history. So long as the people of India were self-reliant and fearless, they travelled to the far corners of the earth carrying their art, culture, religion. There was no rigid caste system then in India, nor any taboos on travelling outside the country. People travelled thousands

of miles and went to Tibet, Mongolia, China, Japan, Java, Sumatra, Kamboj and elsewhere. You can find traces of India's influence in those places even today. They did all this fearlessly because there were no restrictions and taboos. So India's culture flourished and made an impact far and wide.

You can get traces of Indian influence in the art and language of Mongolia to this day. You will be amazed to know that they hark back to the time 1,500 years ago when a great Indian went to Mongolia, married a Mongolian woman and founded a dynasty. A similar thing happened in Cambodia. I am trying to show you how India was full of vitality and spirit of adventure with no restrictions on movement of the people. Then came a time when all our energies began to be concentrated on thinking of meaningless rituals and taboos, about whom to marry or have social intercourse with. Where was the time to do anything constructive when our thinking was concentrated on trivial matters? So the world advanced and we lagged behind.

We must once again try to create conditions which generate vitality, inner strength, and spirit which can lead the country to progress. Gandhiji did a great deal in this regard. But unless we carry on doing what he taught, his work will come to nought. So we have adopted planning to tackle the problem of poverty and achieve economic independence. The country has been in a mire of poverty for centuries and so it will take time to get out of it. Other countries too have faced similar problems. Some have overcome them through violent revolutions and others by a process of gradual change. Just a couple of centuries ago India was considered to be richer than the European countries. But then we lagged behind while the West advanced. Some backward nations like the Soviet Union went through a tremendous revolutionary upheaval. Today, the Soviet Union has its present position after forty years of hard labour, sacrifice and privation, as also excesses.

Anyhow, no matter which ideology you choose, socialism, communism, capitalism or Gandhism, underlying each one of them is the need for hard work and cooperation among the people. Nothing can be achieved without effort and hard work. Today the Soviet Union is a great power. But it has taken them forty years of effort to reach that stage. In forty years, India too will have been transformed. I do not wish to use coercion or to increase our military might. We want to improve the standard of living of the masses as quickly as possible.

China has had a revolution. The Chinese are facing the same problems as we do. They are a communist country while we have adopted a socialist pattern of society as our goal. I am trying to show that the communist and socialist slogans have some relevance but not too much. Times have changed. We must have equality of opportunity and equal rights for all. The ideological battles are no

longer of any relevance.

New forces are at work in the world today. A hundred years ago, a great German thinker, Karl Marx, had propounded the theory of communism. But you must remember that he wrote his treatise based on his observations of the times and conditions prevailing in Europe then. The world has changed a great deal in the hundred years since then. It would be stupid to apply the same prescription for our ills a hundred years later. We have to take into account the conditions which exist in our country and the malaise which needs to be treated. A hundred years ago, science and technology had not advanced very far. Railways had just been invented. Today we have electricity, telephone, wireless, aeroplanes and satellites. The world has been transformed by man's curiosity to discover the hidden sources of natural energy and harness them for his own use.

Take electricity, for instance. What is electricity? People had seen lightning in the sky for thousands of years but they worshipped it out of fear and ignorance. Then someone discovered that it was a form of energy which could also be artificially produced by friction and used to perform the work of thousands of men in factories and elsewhere. I am speaking through the microphone which functions on electricity. Once the mystery is resolved, the nature's energy can be harnessed to great advantage. In the last decade or so yet another source of energy has been discovered. Atomic energy is thousands times more powerful than other sources of energy. Its power was revealed twelve years ago. Man is thinking now of going to the Moon and this also requires the use of energy.

So, the world has been completely transformed and nobody knows what changes will occur in the next ten to fifteen years. If we continue to repeat outdated slogans it will not be very wise. It would mean that we do not fit into the modern revolutionary world. Revolution does not mean violence and chaos but social change, change in lifestyle, etc. It is strange that many people who claim to be great revolutionaries and communists are in fact extremely backward and reactionary in their thinking and outlook. A man who loses the faculty of reasoning becomes backward.

Anyhow, we must try to understand the world we live in and prepare ourselves to shoulder the country's burdens. We have adopted planning in order to utilize our meagre resources to the best possible advantage. We want to set up industries in the country. That means that we must have large quantities of steel and huge machines, etc. It is not possible to import all the steel and machines that we need from Germany, Japan and the United States. So it is essential to produce the machines in our country. But it means that we must produce enough steel to build machine-building industries. We have to draw up plans to get our priorities right. We are setting up three huge steel plants. There is already one set up by

the Tatas in Jamshedpur. You must have heard about the great river valley projects in Bhakra-Nangal and other places where power will be generated and canals will supply water for irrigation.

You can judge a country's progress by two things—the amount of steel and power that are produced there. We must produce more steel and power because we have to open up new avenues of work, apart from land, to provide employment to the people and produce new wealth in the country. How can the people's income go up until we produce more wealth in the country? We can spend only as much as our national income permits. Otherwise the country will go bankrupt. It is true that wealth must not be concentrated in the hands of a few. But all the wealth in the hands of India's rich will not be enough to go around among the people. That is not right. There is not enough wealth in the country to eradicate poverty. We must certainly reduce the disparity between the haves and the have-nots, but even if every penny is taken from the rich and distributed among the poor, the poverty will not be removed. It is true that we have to work in such a way as to remove disparities among people.

We must keep two things in mind. One, every human being must have the basic necessities of life like food, clothes, shelter, health care, education for his children and the means of earning a livelihood. Everybody must have equal opportunities. The more intelligent of them may go farther. But equality of opportunity is essential. To ensure that it is necessary to produce more wealth in the country which means increasing the production of essential goods. This is what the five year plans aim at.

Agricultural production must be stepped up. At the moment we are facing some problems about that. The fact is that there is rapid industrialization in the country. But unfortunately crops have failed for three years consecutively. That has imposed a tremendous burden on the farmer and we have had to import foodgrains from outside at exorbitant prices. For a poor country like India, it is a great drain on her foreign exchange reserves and our attempts at industrialization also suffer. The first priority therefore is to step up production of agricultural goods. We can slightly postpone making machines. But the population cannot be allowed to starve. It is not impossible to attain self-sufficiency in the matter of food. Our average yield per acre is very low. In other countries, the production is three or four times as much. Our farmers are hard-working. Then why is our yield so low? The fact is that we have fallen into a rut and continue to follow outdated methods of agriculture. We must at least double the present average yield of 10-11 *maunds* of wheat per acre. If we succeed in doing that, immediately our national wealth will be doubled and the standard of living of the masses will improve. There will be a surplus which we can use as capital for industrialization.

So the most urgent priority today is to increase agricultural production. Arrangements should be made for irrigation so that whether it rains or not, crops do not suffer. I think there are nearly 25 crore acres of land under cultivation in the entire country out of which perhaps 10 crores have irrigation canals or have good rainfall, particularly in the South. Even if we manage to double the production in 10 crore acres of land, which can be done over a period of time, our problems can be solved. We will not have to go round with a begging bowl. This is a very urgent task.

The fact of the matter is that development has to be on many fronts simultaneously. Agriculture must be improved. But that does not mean that we stop all progress on the industrial front. Both must go on simultaneously. We must progress on the educational front, in health care facilities. Improvement in health care has created a new problem. I do not know if you are aware of the great improvement in the health of the nation. There are many yardsticks for judging this. One is the mortality rate and the average life span of the people. About 15 or 20 years ago, the life expectancy in India was 20 or 25 years. That does not mean that people did not live beyond the age of 25, but infant mortality rate was very high. I think now it has gone up to 35 years within the last 10 years. In fact mortality rate has gone down—malaria and other killer diseases are gradually being brought under control. Innumerable lives were lost in the past due to malaria in Bengal. It is a good thing that malaria is being gradually eradicated from the country. At the same time, one direct consequence of the improvement in health care is that the population is growing very rapidly. We have to keep the entire picture before us.

The five year plans aim at improving production in every possible way. We require capital for that. But more important than that is trained manpower. We need more and more skilled and trained human beings to run the steel plants and other industries. Here in Kanpur there are mostly textile mills with outdated technology. There are many new, sophisticated machines in the market today. We want to train engineers in all these new fields of technology as quickly as possible.

As you know, there is tremendous unemployment in India. You will find that unemployment is mostly among the graduates and postgraduates. You will not find unemployment among engineers, overseers and foremen except in very rare cases. Things are changing. We have no use for BA and MA degrees. People must look for other avenues of employment. We need large numbers of engineers. We have found that there are 70 thousand engineers in the country today. I was quite surprised to learn about it. We are opening engineering colleges and technical institutes everywhere to train more engineers. You may have heard that every year

fifty or sixty thousand engineers graduate in the United States. The modern age belongs to engineers and scientists. Some people may still make money by doing business and trading. But they do not contribute anything new to the world. It is the scientists and engineers who advance the cause of science and technology.

We must keep this entire picture in our mind. The most important thing is to increase the nation's wealth because until we do so, we will not have much to distribute. If you produce less or nothing, the nation's wealth decreases. The effect of strikes and lockouts is an example and the whole country has to pay the price. Therefore, it is absolutely essential to increase production. India is a large country and sometimes there is a problem to find a market. But all that will be gradually brought under control. The world trends too have an effect. But anything which stops production is bad. You may argue that you have every right to strike. I fully agree. I have no doubt about it that it is this right which has made the workers strong. But rights are many and sometimes they can do harm too. Very often resorting to strikes without thinking causes harm. We must find a way by which the nation does not suffer and yet the workers' grievances are removed. The fact of the matter is that India is gradually moving towards socialism. Socialism cannot be brought about by law. The country has to change gradually. Our way of life and social behaviour have to change. It cannot be done by shouting slogans.

Our effort at the moment ought to be to remove injustice and grievances without the workers having to resort to strikes or lockouts. I will not go into it but merely give you a hint because it has become necessary to take these steps. Some people have not yet understood the times that we are living in. This is the age of satellites and space travel and what not. If we weaken now, we cannot hold on our own in the world. We must maintain unity and remove the feelings of chauvinism and casteism from our mind. There are great challenges ahead and we have to march ahead with self-confidence.

Now, where does Bharat Sewak Samaj fit in with all this? When it was started five years ago, we had set out some goals. One was that members of the Bharat Sewak Samaj will not get any official posts or rewards. As you know, very often it is the charm of office which makes people join such institutions. It happens in government and in other organizations and people fight over the posts of president and secretary. So we said that there will be no official posts or rewards in the Bharat Sewak Samaj.

Secondly, the Bharat Sewak Samaj is not a political organization. Its sole aim is to serve the country in various ways by encouraging people to do manual work in order to inculcate in them a belief in the dignity of labour. Unfortunately, many people in India consider manual work to be lowly. The lesser the work a

person does, the greater the respect he commands! This is absurd. In the olden days, rulers and *talukdars*, zamindars, *jagirdars*, etc., were in a hierarchy, living off the labours of others while the lowest castes were expected to do the manual work. The ones who did the most important work were regarded as the lowest. That is why Gandhiji laid stress on spinning and cleaning and other forms of manual work. A nation which does not respect manual work cannot progress. Intellectual and manual work are linked together.

So we started the Bharat Sewak Samaj to encourage people from all political parties and other walks of life to do something constructive for as much time as they wished in the hope that community participation would work wonders, particularly in the villages. This was Gandhiji's special lesson. You may have heard of Vinoba Bhave's *bhoodan* movement. The main thing is to encourage self-reliance, particularly among the villagers. You can see the remarkable changes which have occurred wherever the villagers have taken an interest. They have transformed the face of their villages.

You must have heard about the Community Development schemes and the National Extension Service. The idea behind all these schemes is to encourage the people in the rural areas to stand on their own feet and build roads, schools, panchayat buildings, dig wells and improve agriculture. The government helps them. But the work has to be done by the people themselves. The members of the Bharat Sewak Samaj participate in such tasks in their spare time. They do not give up their own occupations but give whatever time they can to voluntary service. If people participate in large numbers we can achieve big things which even governments cannot do, and the people will benefit in the long run. An atmosphere of self-reliance and dignity of labour is created. The only thing which should be looked down upon is the habit of living off the labour of others. After all everyone consumes something. Unless everyone produces something or contributes something, they become parasites. Such a thing is no longer tolerated in the world today.

The Bharat Sewak Samaj has nothing to do with any political parties. It is true that many Congressmen have been actively involved in its activities. But the doors of the Samaj are open to everyone and we invite people of all political parties to join it to do something constructive instead of indulging in debates on economic and political matters.

For instance, we have taken a pledge that groups of people will visit the villages daily to teach sanitation, educate the children, etc. The Bharat Sewak Samaj has been taking a great deal of interest in the slums of Delhi and has done good work. Slums are a big problem in Kanpur. I agree that it is the responsibility of the Corporation and the mill-owners. But it is our problem as well. The first

task of the Bharat Sewak Samaj ought to be to clean up the slums. During my last visit to this city, I went round some of the labour localities and was shocked to witness the dirtiest slums. I could not control my temper and I told the local authorities then, in a mood of anger, to set fire to those slums. Even now I feel the same because the work of rehabilitation would have been quicker. But to wait until new colonies are constructed is not right. Conditions in the slums can be improved. I would not have been so concerned if it was a matter of a few months. But it takes years to resettle them. What I saw of the slums is terrible. In my opinion, the new colonies must first have arrangements for water, electricity and drainage before construction work starts. What is the point of putting up houses of bricks and mortar with no arrangements for water or light?

Work is going on in Gurgaon and other places. If the people cooperate, the slums can be improved. I am aware that the matter is complicated because it involves the landlords and others. But much can be done in a temporary way. I do not know the laws of this place. But the law all over the country permits land acquisition for official and essential work paying off compensation. So we have the right to acquire the slums. There is a rule which permits the government to pay a lower rate of compensation for slum land. In fact, I think those who make personal profit from human misery ought not to be given any compensation at all.

These are some of the things which can be done by mutual consultation. I do not say that the Corporation and the Government does not have any responsibility. But it is not right to sit waiting for them for everything. The Bharat Sewak Samaj and other such organizations must do something. Please remember that every little success makes for greater strength and confidence. We grew in stature when we got Independence. Now with every new success in the five year plans we are gaining new strength. The Second Plan is more ambitious than the First because we have more confidence in ourselves.

We are facing some problems in implementing the Second Plan. In a way, some of them are beyond our control. They have arisen as a consequence of trends elsewhere in the world. Anyhow, there is no cause for anxiety. I am saying this because people in India either tend to get carried away, or become pessimistic. Both are wrong. There is no need to get carried away easily nor to panic. We should stand firm and have the determination to face adversity without flinching. There is no sense in bemoaning. Newspapers are full of the foreign exchange crisis and the problems of repaying the loans we have taken from the United States, Germany and the Soviet Union. They criticize Government for leading the country in a mess. Anyhow, there is no harm in that. But

Government should be lauded for daring to take up an ambitious plan and taking the country on the path of progress. There is nothing to criticize. We want to move as quickly as possible. There is no room for slackness or complacency.

Anyhow, whoever is to blame, we are facing some difficulty. But we must face the situation calmly. We have had to face problems before this and we solved them successfully. We will tighten our belts further if need be and carry a heavier burden. We hope to get some help from others. We shall not go around with a begging bowl. We merely want a loan to tide ourselves over the crisis. We may come to some arrangement for deferred payment for the machinery which we have to buy today. It is not unusual to do so. We have entered into such arrangements earlier. We will take whatever we can get. We will have to work harder, of course. If we get no help from outside, we will just have to rely on ourselves to tide over the crisis. Where is the need for panic? I cannot understand this attitude of pessimism and anxiety. In a crisis like this, we should be determined to have a strong front and show the world how we fare in a difficult situation.

I want to warn you against being misled by newspaper reports. They create an atmosphere of tension and panic unnecessarily. I should say that it is not only India but all the countries of the world, including the Great Powers, who face problems and difficulties. China is facing almost the same kind of problems in implementing their five year plans as we are. After all, there is a communist regime there. But these problems and difficulties are inherent in the nature of development. Crops failed in China and they are also facing a foreign exchange crisis due to rapid industrialization.

I can give you any number of examples. The United States and the Soviet Union have their own problems. The modern world is not free of tensions and difficulties. Our problems are due to the fact that we are seeking to rebuild India at a fast pace. There would be no problems at all if we were content to stay in bad conditions doing nothing. These are signs of a new vitality, progress and development and ought to be welcomed. It is true that sometimes we try to go too fast and the burden becomes heavy. But it is better to go ahead than to slow down out of fear. No nation or race can progress with fear in its heart and it is not a good thing to spread panic.

As you know, I tour foreign countries frequently. I was in Japan six weeks ago. Before that the Scandinavian countries and Egypt. Six months ago, I had visited the United States, the Soviet Union and China. Some of them are capitalist countries, some are socialist and others are communist countries. Wherever I went, I was given a very warm welcome not only by the governments but by the peoples too. The reason was not my personal popularity but the fact that

India is held in great respect in the world for the policies that we are following. The people of the world certainly hold India in respect because she stands for world peace, and, secondly, she is marching ahead boldly on her own steam. The general belief is that India will be a power to reckon with in a few years.

What do I say when I visit other countries? I do not go there to quarrel. There are many things about the United States which I like. I would like to learn from them. But there are some things which I do not like. I do not go around abusing them for that reason. Similarly I admire many things in the Soviet Union. What I mean is that we can be friendly or critical, but there is no question of giving up one's principles.

The world is in the grip of a cold war today and the Great Powers are constantly abusing and criticizing one another. Hate and bitterness keep mounting. You will find that in spite of this, they have many things in common. When I visit a country, I try to find the good points in it. I also try to discover as to what we have in common. That helps to strengthen the bonds of friendship. I do not give up any of my principles. Like the traders of Kanpur, I too am a trader. But I trade in more valuable things than textiles. I trade in friendship and love which are far more valuable. As I said, we need money from other countries. But I am willing to settle for their friendship, even if the money is not forthcoming, because it is more valuable. This is our policy. We make mistakes. Who does not? But it has had a great impact upon the world.

You cannot understand India unless you do two things. If you wish to understand India's ancient culture, you must travel to distant countries which bear its imprint to this day. Cambodia, Java, Sumatra, Mongolia, China, Japan, Tibet, Central Asia, all bear the mark of ancient Indian art, architecture, literature. Only then can you understand India's greatness. In those days, Indians did not live like frogs in the well bound by a rigid caste system. Indians were extremely broad-minded in their outlook and thinking. On the one hand, their thoughts soared to the skies trying to understand the mysteries of the universe; on the other hand, they roamed the far corners of the earth in search of adventure. This was about ancient India. If you want to understand the present-day India, you must go to other countries where India is held in such great respect. You will then understand the impact India is making on the world today, though here we are involved in petty internal squabbles among ourselves all the time.

Anyhow, I was telling you the purpose for which the Bharat Sewak Samaj was established. It has done good work in the rural areas. When a dam had to be built on the Kosi in Bihar to prevent floods, we asked the Bharat Sewak Samaj to help the contractors to speed up the process. Some people objected strongly but the organization did good work in the first year, and still better in

the second year as they gained experience. We had to spend less on contractors and others. The money that was saved went to the *gram* panchayats. The workers, of course, were paid. This was a good example of public cooperation. The money that is usually spent on the middle men, the contractors and others, was saved and the *gram* panchayats benefited directly. These are various ways of getting things done.

I hope that there will be volunteers in Kanpur city and district who will carry on the work of the Bharat Sewak Samaj. New branches must be established. You will not get any office or reward. But you will have the satisfaction of doing good work and ensuring the cooperation of villagers. You must associate yourselves closely with the community development projects. You must associate yourselves with Vinobaji's work also. There is no conflict. The fact is that all these tasks are small parts of the bigger one of India's march towards progress. Thirty seven crores of Indians are on one single journey and all of us are part of that great pilgrimage. We must ask ourselves what our contribution is. We must not drag others down. If everyone marches together in step the burden is lightened and we shall reach our destination quickly.

However, you must bear in mind that the most important thing is unity. There must be harmony among the various religions. There have been great discords over the matter of religion. Communal organizations have fomented fissiparous tendencies among Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs and Christians which is absolutely and fundamentally wrong and stupid. Not only that, it earns a bad name for one's own religion.

Do you remember the message that Emperor Asoka had engraved on the rock edicts 2,300 years ago? He was a great son of India. He has talked about religious tolerance and having respect for the other's religion in order to beget respect for one's own. This is the true voice of India, not the discordant notes raised by communal forces. That is the cry of warped minds. The real voice of India is the voice of the Buddha, of Asoka and of Gandhi which has reverberated for thousands of years and will continue to do so in future. So long as we pay heed to it we shall remain on the right path. Apart from the fact that it is the right principle, how can we achieve our goals if we are constantly at one another's throats?

There is a misconception in North India that Christianity came to India with the British and so it is anti-national. Christianity came to India long before it reached Europe. It came to our shores more than 1,800 years ago and there are millions of Christians in India today. Buddhism, Islam, Christianity, Jainism are all Indian religions. The hallmark of Indian culture is religious tolerance and mutual respect for one another's religion. We must not allow casteism or

communalism to divide us. We must also not forget Gandhiji's emphasis on non-violence.

There is a great deal of work ahead. Each one of us must think what our role in the great national tasks ought to be. There is always some slot or the other which you can fill. I do not mean to say that you should leave your work and come away. You will, of course, continue to do your work, in offices, shops or in any profession that you are engaged in. But you can spare some time to work for the country too. There are several avenues open to you. You will find various opportunities if you join the Bharat Sewak Samaj. You can do your bit in your own street. You do not have to go far.

There is another scheme in which everybody can participate without any difficulty. There are postal savings certificates in which the money that you invest remains intact and earns interest. Your investment can help the country to take up many projects. Therefore, in my opinion, every individual ought to contribute whatever little he can. In this way you become a shareholder in a great task. You must persuade everyone to contribute. The women's wing is doing excellent work in this field. They have collected crores of rupees. You can easily find out how to go about it.

Anyhow, I am here in Uttar Pradesh and my attention is drawn to one special area in the east, to the districts of Gorakhpur, Deoria, Ballia and Azamgarh where crops have failed for three consecutive years due to the failure of the monsoons. Some long-term measures will, of course, have to be taken. But we have to take some immediate steps. I am merely drawing your attention to the tremendous difficulties we are facing due to the failure of monsoons, drought and floods, which cause shortages of foodgrains. There is no immediate problem but the next few months will be difficult. We are importing some foodgrains. But we are not able to get as much as we want, particularly rice. So there will be shortage of rice.

Therefore I want to appeal to you—one, not to waste food, particularly not to indulge in wasteful consumption during marriages and feasts, etc. Wastage is criminal in any case especially in a poor country. But it is particularly wrong to waste food when we are facing shortages. I would say that there should be a ban on large feasts. I hope the State Government will think about it. There is no need to hold large feasts. You can entertain friends occasionally. There should be no wastage at all.

Two, I want you to cut down your rice consumption so that we can send more rice to the rice-consuming provinces like Bengal, Madras, Andhra, Kerala and other southern States. Let us live on other cereals, wheat, *jowar* and whatever else is available. There is a great deal of wastage in hotels, etc., and this should be avoided. Apart from cutting down on your consumption, it would be a good

thing if you could send your contributions through the Bharat Sewak Samaj to Gorakhpur and other drought-affected areas. Proper arrangements must be made to see to it that your contribution reaches the needy, especially the children. I am greatly concerned that children should not be deprived of food at times like this even if others do not get it.⁴ If the people of Kanpur can save something for the drought affected areas it will be a great help. In fact it is not only Uttar Pradesh but parts of Bihar also which are affected. You have big mills here. You can send clothes for the children. You can help in various ways without carrying too heavy a burden and others will benefit.

I have taken up a great deal of your time. I have been speaking for an hour and a half, and the sun is setting. I am going to Poona for a day tomorrow to unveil the statue of Shivaji Maharaj and return to Delhi the day after. In spite of a busy schedule, the memory of my visit of Kanpur and meeting with old friends will remain fresh.

Jai Hind! Please say *Jai Hind* with me thrice. The National Anthem will be sung now. You must stand erect like soldiers and listen to it in silence. There should be no movement at all. The National Anthem is the voice of India and must be heard with respect.

4. Referring to the amount of Rs 125,000 from the Prime Minister's Relief Fund sent by him to the Prime Minister of Jammu and Kashmir, for relief work in the State, Nehru, in his letter of 7 November 1957 to Ghulam Mohammad Bakhshi, expressed the hope that "that in giving relief, children will be specially considered." Nehru also sent amounts ranging from Rs 50,000 to Rs 25,000 to the Chief Ministers of some other States, including Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, Madhya Pradesh, West Bengal and Orissa, for giving relief to people in the drought-affected areas. To all of them he wrote that more particularly he would like children to be helped.

4. India's March towards Progress¹

Dear friends and comrades,

You have just heard Shri Ramachandran² saying great many things about me. In his affection he has said many things which are far from correct. But that is the way of friends. They get swept away by affection and are apt to exaggerate. Well, among other things he said that I had come here because of my exceeding kindness. I have not come here because I am kind to anybody. I have come here to meet my friends and co-workers, to talk to them, to understand what they are doing and to learn from them. For many years I had heard of this Gandhigram and the good work that was being done here. Many people who have visited this place came to me and told me about it and so I wanted to come here and I am very happy that at last I have come here. But I want to warn Shri Ramachandran that in spite of what he has said a little while ago, I may come again.

I have been here about eight or nine hours now since this morning, and I have breathed the air of this place and sensed the atmosphere here, seen many faces, young and old, and also looked at these hills and mountains capped by clouds. I have felt more and more at home, more and more fascinated by this place, more and more impressed by the work that is being done here quietly. Perhaps you know, or you may not know, that I am a child more of the mountains than of the plains, of the mountains in the North, the Himalayas. So when I first arrived here, I was charmed at seeing these hills round about and I felt how well this site of Gandhigram had been chosen. Sitting here, looking at all of you and looking at these mountains which surround us, I think of the mountains in the

1. Speech at a public meeting at Gandhigram, near Dindigul, Madras State, 8 December 1957. AIR tapes, NMML.

Founded in 1947 by G. Ramachandran and his wife, Soundaram Ramachandran, Gandhigram is an institution devoted to reconstruction of the material, cultural and moral life of villages on Gandhian lines. It is spread in an area of 350 acres and has over twenty constructive work centres. Nehru visited Gandhigram on 8 December 1957 on the occasion of its tenth anniversary celebrations. During his visit Nehru inspected the constructive work centres there and laid the foundation stone for two institutions, a high school and an integrated rural medical centre to be named after Kasturba Gandhi.

2. G. Ramachandran said, "We shall remember this day of the visit of the Prime Minister to the end of our days." He added, "We promise you that since you have spoken to us and opened your mind to us on a variety of problems we shall stand somewhat behind you in the task of nation-building".

North, the ice-covered Himalayas, and I think of all this great country of ours, Bharat, in between, and the hundreds and millions of people living here, many of them appearing to be different from one another, with different languages, maybe different clothing, but all tied together in a hundred ways and today all of them working jointly for this great adventure of building a new India. Do you remember those years when all of us struggled for the freedom of India, when throughout this great land, the North and the South, we worked all together under our great leader, the Father of the nation, Mahatma Gandhi? We worked then for the whole of India, whether in the South or the North, or the East or the West—we wanted the freedom of India, not of one part of India of the North or the South but the whole of India—because we realized that the fate of all of us in any part of India is tied up, and we either gain freedom, all of us, or no one does it. So we worked together, we sacrificed together and we gained the freedom of India together. And now we have to face a bigger and a greater task and that is to build up a new India where we will put an end to poverty, misery and unemployment. So, we have now to build this great India and we have to work for this also together, not separately, because if we work separately we are weak but if we work together India is strong.

So, the first thing we must remember always and never forget is the lesson of the unity of India that all of us, whatever State or province we may come from, whatever language we may talk in, whatever religion we may follow, are all sons and daughters of India, working together as if they were in a large family for the good of all of us. It is important because many people forget this and quarrel either in the name of religion or province or language or caste or something else. Remember that this part of the world, where you live in, is, of course, yours. But this is not the only inheritance that you have got. Your inheritance is the whole of India, from the Himalayas to Kanniyakumari; it belongs to each one of you. And in the same way the whole of India belongs to me and others also. We are joint partners, joint inheritors in this, in this great land. I want you to remember this, because in India there are many big States—there is Madras, there is Andhra, there is Uttar Pradesh, Bengal, Bombay, Punjab, Mysore. But they are all parts of this great country of ours. There are many religions. There is the Hindu religion, there is Islam, there is Christianity, there is Buddhism and there are others. There are different languages and great languages. There are many castes, hundreds and thousands of them, I do not know how many. Now, some people think that all these are barriers separating us and yet if we allow them to separate us then we become weak and we cannot help each other or make any progress in India.

You live in Madras State. But you are citizens not of Madras State. You are citizens of the Republic of India, and if you go abroad you take a passport,

telling the world that you are a citizen of the Republic of India and you are honoured because you are a citizen of India, not because you come from this State or that State. Therefore, what gives us credit in the world, what brings us honour in the world, is that we are citizens of India, and not of a particular town or district or State. Different provinces do not separate us, just as different districts do not separate you. Different languages do not separate us. All the great languages of India are old, well-established, advanced languages and they are sister languages. We have to help all of them. Some people think that people in the North want to impose Hindi on other people, and some people get very excited about it and write and shout about it. Well, I want to tell you that there is no question of any imposition of any language. There can be none. We have to decide these matters without imposition, without compulsion or coercion. We have to decide them cooperatively, in a friendly way, to our mutual advantage.

We have many religions in this country and they have lived generally at peace with each other for thousands of years. It has been the tradition of India for people of one religion to tolerate the people of another religion. That has been the hallmark of Indian culture. And yet some people have made religion a battle-cry for fighting each other. Some people have degraded religion. Some people have built up communal organizations, bringing religion into politics. Much harm has been caused to our country because of this. Therefore, let us remember that we have to honour not only our own religion but also the religions of others. A very great ruler of India who lived 2,300 years ago, the Emperor Asoka, said that he who honours another man's faith honours his own and the others will honour his faith. But if he does not honour the other man's faith, his own faith also will not be honoured. So, we have had this lesson of tolerance for ages past in India. That is the true spirit of India and we must always remember that and respect each other's religions, each other's faiths, and not try to coerce our own views on others.

And now I come to caste. I am not friendly to caste. Caste in India during the last many hundreds of years has been a curse. It has weakened India, it has degraded India, it has made us slaves in India to foreign conquerors; because caste split us up, it took away the feeling of unity from us, because caste degraded large numbers of our own countrymen, because many of us accepted this degradation. But I shall not go into the past. Whatever virtues or failings may have been in the past, in the world of today caste or the caste system has no place and, if it exists, it can only weaken us and prevent us from realizing our objective.

What is our objective? What do we aim at in India? After we gained Independence, one journey was ended. But another journey began, a longer journey, the journey of the Indian people towards social progress, towards

economic progress, towards welfare, towards ending of poverty, towards living of a fuller life. Our National Congress, our great national organization, has laid down in its constitution that our objective is to attain a classless and a casteless society, to build up a socialist pattern of society, in other words, a society in which all people have an equal chance, in which there is a great measure of equality. Now, how can you attain this, if you divide up your society into strata of caste? You cannot do it, because the caste system is opposed not only to socialism, but to democracy, to all ideas of equality, all ideas in the present world of working together, cooperating together. I know that this caste system and caste ideas lie deep down in our society and in many of us and it is not an easy matter to uproot them completely. But we shall have to try and we shall have to uproot them even though it might take some time, because unless this is done, we cannot obtain our objective, which I have just defined to you.

Recently, near this place, in the district of Ramanathapuram, as you know, there have been very serious riots.³ Many people had been killed, much property destroyed and large numbers have suffered. Now I am not here expressing any views as to who was guilty and who was not. But it was a terrible thing for us to hear, and for you to see perhaps, these riots between people of different castes. It showed up how these caste differences persist, caste animosities, how one caste tries to dominate over another and objects to the advance of some other caste. It shows what a great danger we have to face. I am very sorry for these troubles. But perhaps these troubles have done one good that it has made everybody think of the dangers of the persistence of this caste spirit. Therefore, we must become wary of it and we must try to root it out not by fighting each other but in more peaceful ways, by convincing each other, by cooperating with each other.

Now, let us consider the most important question before our country and that is our fight against poverty. We do not want to have any war or any fighting against any country or any people. We are people of peace. But there is one war that we have declared, that is a war against poverty in India and we want to fight that. Now, how can we fight that? Just as in our struggle for independence we had to work together, work hard, cooperate with each other, suffer sacrifices, endure them and not rely on others too much, so also in our present struggle for advance, economically and socially, we have to rely upon ourselves, we have to work hard, we have to cooperate together and not rely on others to do something.

3. About 40 persons were killed in clashes between Maravars and Harijans which lasted for eleven days from 14 September 1957. See also *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 39, pp. 381-382.

That was the lesson we learnt in our struggle for independence and that was the lesson we have to learn today. In this fight against poverty we have many fronts. We have to carry it on in every town and every village in India, because poverty is widespread and here in Gandhigram, we have one of the major fronts in this great war. You have heard of the five year plans which our Government has made—the First Five Year Plan, which is over, and the Second Five Year Plan which is now going on. You have no doubt heard of the community development schemes which have spread out all over the country. You must have heard of Acharya Vinobaji's *gramdan* movement. All these are different aspects of our fight to better the conditions of the hundreds of millions of India and all these, therefore, have to work side by side and all these are meant ultimately to make the people of India go forward by their own efforts. All over India great factories, great plants, great machines are being put up. Great river valley schemes are also being organized. Only in a few days' time, I shall visit two mighty iron and steel factories which are being put up.

So, many other things are being done to increase the wealth of India, to increase the production of India. So also there is this great community development movement which is meant to increase the wealth, the production of the villagers, and to increase the standards of living.

I have said that the people of India are poor. You know this. How then are we to produce more wealth? We are not going to get things from abroad. We may get a little help. That is welcome. But we shall only get more wealth by increasing our own production from land, from industry, from cottage industries and in many other ways, that is to say, we can only make our country and our people wealthy by increasing the production of India from land and from industry. How then can we increase this production from land and from industry? If you come here and see the exhibition here you will find out that in other countries people produce much more from the land than we do, much more per acre, whether it is wheat or rice or anything else. They produce three times and four times as much as we do per acre. Why is that so? Why cannot we produce three or four times or even double of what we produce? Of course, we can do so. There is nothing impossible about it. If we set about it the right way, we can do so. We have got stuck in old methods of production—sometimes in bad implements when we can use better implements, in using bad seeds when we ought to use better seeds, in not using good manure and so on. And so our production from land has gone down. Now, if we can produce the same amount, as, let us say, in a country like Egypt—and even Egypt is not a very advanced country in this matter—then our wealth is doubled and trebled immediately. It is good for the peasant, it is good for the country and we get plenty of resources to build up our country in many ways. Therefore, it is possible and not difficult

to increase our production from land if we try hard enough.

Today, in India, we have the food problem, that is, sometimes we do not have quite enough food and prices of food go up. Now, that must not happen. We should produce quite enough food. We can produce it and we must not waste food. Therefore, it is essential for all of you, who are farmers, to learn how to produce more food with better seeds, better farming implements, better manure and by better cooperation amongst yourselves. You can learn much from Gandhigram about this—how to use better implements, better seeds, better manure.

You can, above all, learn how to cooperate with each other because in cooperation, in the cooperative method, lies success. We should try to do everything in the cooperative way. I hope that in your villages, you have not only your *gram* panchayats but the *gram* cooperatives, and not only a cooperative to give you credit and money but what is called an all-purpose cooperative, which will market for you and perform many other services for you, and in this way you can better your conditions and your production a great deal.

Just as we have to increase our food production, we have to increase our industrial production. There are many big factories, and they will look after themselves. But we want all our villages and village folk to help in this industrial production through cottage industries, small industries, village industries and the like. If these cottage industries—which you will see, many of them, exhibited here in Gandhigram—if these spread out to all our villages then the total quantity produced by you will be very great and you will profit as individuals and the nation will profit.

So, in this great work before us, we have to remember several things. The first thing is the unity of India, unity in spite of different provinces, languages, religions, etc. We all have to work together—men and women. The second thing is that we must work through peaceful methods, because if we quarrel then we undo each other's work. India gained freedom through peaceful methods and if India forgets that lesson, she will lose her status again. These two things you must remember. And the third thing is that no country can advance without hard work. It is not by magic that countries advance. We did not gain freedom through magic but by hard work and hard sacrifice. Other countries which have advanced—you may have heard of them, great countries, whether it is America or Russia or China or Japan—they have advanced by hard work. America, of course, has a hundred years of it or more. Russia has worked terribly hard for forty years. Japan also has worked very hard. Do not imagine that by big slogan or by a resolution you can do away with work. In this work not only the men of India but the women of India have to join. No country can ever advance properly unless its womenfolk take share in that advance. We

gained our *swaraj*, if I may say so, more by the efforts of the women of India than by the men. The fact that the women of India joined our struggle for independence created a far greater impression not only in India but in the wide world. I would appeal to all our sisters to realize that they have a special mission in this task.

And what shall I say to you about children? I should like everywhere, in every institution, in every municipality and corporation, in every legislative assembly chamber, an inscription to be put that children must come first and that everything possible should be done for children. Why? Not only because children are very loveable but because children are the base of your future society. What are you building for? Tomorrow's India! What is tomorrow's India? Tomorrow's India is the children of today. If you do not look after them, cherish them, and if you do not give them the opportunity to grow properly, well, you do not look after or build new India.

So, I want you to understand and appreciate that we are engaged in a tremendous adventure or, if you like, we are going on a great pilgrimage and we have to go all together in this, helping each other, cooperating with each other and not getting frightened if sometimes we stumble or fall. We may fall, we may stumble. It is only those who are dead who lie down all the time, do not fall or do not stumble. We should not be afraid of mistakes but the one thing we should be afraid of is to become despairing, to become passive, inert and lie down, and expect somebody else to do things for you, expect the heavens to do something, expect the stars to do something, expect some other country to do something and not do it yourself. That is bad disease and if you have that, there is no recovery from that. But if you stumble and fall, you can get up and run again.

Have faith in your country, have faith in yourself, in your colleagues and comrades, and if you have that faith, nothing can stop this country from going forward. India, as you know, has a long, long history and that history has many glorious pages and many bad pages. In these past few years, we have woken up again and there is a new life in India and in the Indian people and we are facing these great problems and marching ahead and all the world is watching us and is interested in us. So let us be worthy of our country and let us not do anything to discredit this country or to come in the way of the progress of her people.

I have been very happy to come here to Gandhigram today and to see the work that is being done here and to see all of you. I shall not thank my friends and comrades here. I can congratulate them but, most of all, I want to tell them that I shall go away from here having gathered strength from what I have seen here. Presently I shall be going from here, but I shall remember this scene—

with all of you sitting here with this background of mountains tipped by clouds and this hive of activity in Gandhigram for national reconstruction. I shall remember this for a long, long time. May it be well with Gandhigram and with all of you!

You say *Jai Hind* with me three times.

5. Unity is Vital for Growth¹

Friends and comrades,

You have just heard the municipal address and in this you have been told and I have been told that I came to Dindigul city twenty-two years ago.² Many of you present here, boys and girls and children, were not born then. What has happened during these long years, what has happened to you, what has happened to me and to our great country? Much has happened and as I sit here before you, my mind travels back to these twenty-two years and I think of the great happenings, these great changes that have taken place.

Twenty-two years ago, we were a country, a people, on the march, on the march of *swaraj*. We were an army going ahead to the distant goal of independence. Many difficulties and dangers came in our way but we had a great leader, a leader who made us, common men, a little bigger than we were. He gave us courage and he gave us faith and so with faith and courage we marched ahead. We marched ahead, I say. Who are 'we'? Not I alone, but the millions of India, you and you and you and you, here sitting in Dindigul and all over the South and all over the North and the East and the West, all together we marched ahead under the great and magnificent leadership of Gandhiji. In that great march, there were people from the North and the South and all over India. There were people of all religions that inhabit India—Hindus and Muslims and Christians, Jews and Jains and Buddhists and all others—because there was no differentiation between the different religions or the different languages. We were all together and we marched hand in hand and keeping in step with each other to the goal of *swaraj*. And under Gandhiji's leadership we reached that journey's end, and reached it in a way which surprised and astounded the

1. Speech at a public meeting, Dindigul, Madras State, 8 December 1957. AIR tapes, NMML.

2. Nehru visited Dindigul on 14 October 1936 as part of the election campaign.

world, because we reached it through peaceful methods, we reached it by keeping ourselves, our politics, on a high level and thus set an example to the world of peacefully achieving a great objective.

It is ten years now since we attained Independence and *swaraj* and reached the end of that journey. That period of India's great struggle for freedom has already become a part of the history of India, and in this land of many traditions, that of the Gandhian era is added to the long story of India. Just as here in Dindigul, which is an ancient and historical city, you have a fort and other emblems of old history—and sometimes you may think of the Hindu kings or of Hyder Ali³ and others who came and fought each other and thus, step by step, built up the history of India—so this period, which was the stuff of our lives, has become an old story for the young folk of today. But time does not stand still nor the history of a nation or a people, and even though our great journey to *swaraj* ended in our achieving it, immediately we had to prepare for another journey and a greater journey. Immediately, we had to pack up our knapsack and tighten up our belts to undertake another pilgrimage, the pilgrimage which would lead the millions of India to a welfare state, where we have abolished poverty and unemployment, which would lead ultimately to socialism. That became our new ideal, and to that we have devoted ourselves during these ten years. I have come here today, as I go to other places in India, to find out how it fares and how our comrades and colleagues and friends, the people of India everywhere, are doing today, and we have to learn from them and perhaps to tell them something.

I see many children here and I saw many bright faces of these children as I came through the streets of Dindigul, and these children were either born after Independence or have grown up since we attained *swaraj*. And the problem for me is not some theoretical, political problem but the human problem of how these bright young children are to grow up, what kind of India will they live in, will they have a life of opportunity and fulfilment or a life of unhappiness and misery? Therefore, these problems, for me and I hope for you too, are not problems of political manoeuvring or political party functioning, but human problems. How human beings of India are going to function in the future? Can we remove the great obstacles from their way? Can we help them realize a fuller and a happier life? That is the great problem before us and it is in order to solve that problem that you hear all this of our five year plan and community development schemes and great factories growing up and all that.

3. (1721-1782); ruler of Mysore; fought two wars (1767-69 and 1780-82) against the British.

In this new march or pilgrimage that the people of India have undertaken, what principles should guide us? We cannot wander about without fixed principles. Are we to follow the principles which Mahatma Gandhi placed before us or are we to forget them and do something else? We have to be clear about that because people forget very soon and even the Gandhian era which lasted till ten years ago or less, is now past history. I believe firmly that if we forget the main lessons that Gandhiji taught us then we shall fail not only in the great pilgrimage of ours but we shall imperil the freedom that we achieved. What are these principles that Gandhiji taught us? The first one was of unity, the unity of the people of India, whether they lived in different States or whether their religions were different or their languages were different, We all worked together in the struggle for *swaraj* and if we forget this lesson of unity, India will go to pieces, will become weak, disunited and will fall. Therefore, the first big lesson is that of unity.

I see, sitting here, that you have put up in front there, an illuminated representation of a Hindu temple, a Muslim mosque and a Christian church—all together. That is a symbol of religious unity and I congratulate you on having put up this symbol here at this meeting. In the course of our long history, there have been quarrels and fighting, one part of India against the other. There have been quarrels sometimes between people of different religions. But all that is over and is past history. And we put an end to that chapter by gaining independence and establishing this great Union of India, where every citizen, whether he is Hindu or Muslim or Christian or Jew or Jain or Buddhist, or whether he has no religion at all, has equal rights and where each religion must be honoured. And the people of each religion should be given full opportunity to believe what they wish and to function as they wish. We have done that. In the political sphere, we are all citizens of India and we have to work together and any person who creates difficulties in the name of province, religion, or language, he does an ill-service to India and he does an ill-service to his own religion or state or language. Remember that everything that separates us or creates conflict between us is bad. Everything that unites us and brings us together is good. Apply that test to whatever problem you have, it is a good test. If, in the name of religion, people want to create conflict between us, then those people serve their religion and their country both badly.

In recent times, a new cry is sometimes raised, chiefly in the South, the cry of Northern imperialism, of Hindi imperialism, of the Northern India trying to dominate over the South. This is another variation of the old attempt to create trouble and to divide and disrupt India. There are, in the Northern India, many foolish persons, many mischievous persons, who say these wrong and foolish things, but I am afraid there are, in the South of India also, many foolish persons

and many mischievous persons.

Any man who has a little intelligence can know that we in India, all of us, are fighting a grim fight for survival in this world, not against any particular country—we are not afraid of any country—but against our own problems, for this world today is a harsh world. You read about atomic energy, atomic bombs, you read about Sputnik and earth satellites, and new discoveries, new forces, new powers coming in. We live in a difficult callous world, and if we are not strong enough and united enough we fail. If that is so, is it not clear to the meanest intelligence that to talk about Northern imperialism or Southern imperialism is only Northern folly or Southern folly and nothing else? I am surprised that men of some intelligence should indulge in this folly. If you read the history of India you will find many great men, great saints and scholars, great kings and warriors, very brave men. Our history is full of great men. What then came in our way? Why did we fall? In spite of our great men, we had one great weakness and that was: we quarrelled with each other. We were not united and it was very easy for us to fall out and quarrel. The rest of the world went ahead and we remained backward because we were full of our own factions and quarrels. And if we still continue to quarrel and to forget the big things, then we shall remain small in spite of our independence.

I am telling you all this repeatedly because I want you to fully realize that the principal enemy we have is not from outside but it is our own weaknesses and failings and therefore I want to warn you not to be misled by that failing. I have faith in India. I have faith in the Indian people. Unless I have faith in them how could I work? The Indian people, you and all of you and others, have given me so much of your love and affection and faith that I feel overwhelmed. But that love and affection and faith that you give me, unworthy as I am, is also a sign and symbol of your strength if you want to do something.

I have talked to you about unity. The second principle which we have to remember is that of peace, non-violence, that all the things that we do should be peacefully done. You know that all over the world India is supposed to be a messenger of peace. We go to the world with the message of peace. And if in our own country we do not follow that principle, who will listen to us? We will be hypocrites in other people's eyes. I say this to you because it is of the utmost importance that in India we should adhere to peaceful methods even more so than in other countries. Because if we do not, then immediately all those divisions come in, we fight each other and injure each other and the country.

Recently, in your neighbouring district of Ramanathapuram, there were great disturbances, fighting among our own people, fighting between different castes. Many people were killed and great damage was done and we were disgraced all over the world. Here in India, we talk so much about peace and behave in a

barbarous manner in our own territory. Think of that. I do not know and I am not prepared to say much about these disturbances. The matter is going to the courts of law. They will decide. But whoever is guilty and whoever is not guilty, the fact is that all of us are guilty. If such a thing occurs, then all of us suffer for it. You see how easily our people can be misled and made to misbehave. That is why we have to be particularly careful and we have to din this lesson of peaceful behaviour and *shanti*. And that is also a lesson to you about caste, because caste is an evil thing. Caste has weakened and partly destroyed Hindu society and so long as this caste continues, we can never be strong. Caste can certainly never be fitted in with either democracy or socialism. In the later stages of these troubles in the Ramanathapuram District, some Shanti Sena⁴ volunteers from Gandhigram, including young girls, went to these troubled areas and thereby showed how you can deal with violence peacefully and fearlessly. I congratulate them and I should like these Shanti Senas to grow up everywhere to deal with any such situations and to control them and not merely to leave it to the Government and the police to deal with them.⁵

I have come to South India this time principally to pay a visit to Gandhigram, where I have spent the day today. I went to see the work they are doing there, because I had heard praise of that work. It is one of our big constructive work centres where not only good work is being done, but good workers are being trained to work elsewhere. So I came to see Gandhigram and fortunately this has given me an opportunity to visit Dindigul nearby. I have told you about many matters, but I have not spoken much about the big and special problems before us, that is the building up of a new prosperous India, where everybody can share that prosperity. That is the object of our five year plans, that is the object of our community blocks, that is the object of Gandhigram. On all fronts we are working for this but that object cannot be achieved except with the fullest help and cooperation of the people of India. It is not the Government of India or the Government of Madras that can bring that about. They can help. They can make it easier for the people to work. But ultimately it is the people

4. Shanti Sena, a voluntary group of constructive workers, was organized on the Gandhian ideals by Vinoba Bhave to create fraternity among the people.
5. Addressing a group of Shanti Sena volunteers at Gandhigram earlier in the day, Nehru said: "I am happy to see you boys and girls. The idea of having Shanti Sena is obviously a very good one, perhaps the most effective way to face some of the difficult problems from time to time. We want in our work discipline—self-discipline—and not the enforced discipline of the army or the soldier. Anyhow, discipline is necessary and all of us are very fond of giving good advice to others, but the best advice is for each one to set the example. My good wishes and blessings to you."

of India who, by their help, cooperation and hard work, can make these plans successful.

The first thing that we have to do is to increase our agricultural production and more especially our food production. We are putting up many big factories, big plants, all over India. That will go on but unless we have a strong foundation in agriculture, the structure of industry will fail. Therefore, the first thing is our concentration on food production and other agricultural products. We are having some trouble about food. We have had very bad harvests. We have had floods and drought. We must increase our food production not a little but by a great deal and we can do so, as we have seen wherever people have tried. Our farmers are good, but they use old implements, they use bad seeds, they do not use proper manure. And so, our production in India per acre is much less than any other country. Why should Egypt produce three times per acre of what we do? Why should China, Japan and other countries produce sometimes three times, sometimes four times, and here our people argue about an increase of 20% and 30% and think it is too much. Why do our people not say that we should be able in time to increase our food production by two hundred or three hundred per cent? Think of that. Not suddenly, of course, but it can be done and in selected areas it has been done. Therefore, we must concentrate on food production. Each farmer, each village, each community block should concentrate on it and should be helped by the State authorities and others.

It is difficult for each individual farmer to do much for himself, but if they combine together and work in cooperation, they can go ahead fast. Therefore, it is desirable for us to have cooperatives not only to give credit, but all-purpose cooperatives, which will help the farmer in every way, which will itself provide him fertilizers, manure, good seeds and marketing facilities. Therefore, I recommend to you that these cooperatives should be developed fast and I would suggest to you that the type of cooperatives you have should be small cooperatives, not very big ones. A cooperative should really be a large family, people knowing each other, and not some impersonal thing run by government. Indeed a cooperative should not be official at all, it should be unofficial and should rely on the people themselves and teach them self-reliance.

India consists of more than 500,000 villages. Eighty per cent of India's population is village population. Therefore, the progress of India will have to be judged by the progress of the villages in India and that is why we are paying so much attention to the community development schemes in the villages. I have spoken about the improvement in agriculture. But the villages have also to learn to take up cottage industries and small industries. If all these come in, then the village will become a little more self-contained and self-sufficient and the villager will be enabled to look after himself. That is why all these places like Gandhigram

and others concentrate on small industries and agriculture that are necessary to improve the village.

I want to remind you again of this great adventure in which India, the people of India, are engaged. This tremendous task of raising these hundreds of millions of people and our ancient nation again to prosperity so that not only the people can become prosperous but we can serve the world also in the ways of peace. This is a tremendous adventure and the young men and the young women of today have to play their part in it, a worthy part. Let them be proud of it. We, the people of my generation, have played a part in India's history which, I think, will be remembered—not I, but the people of India will be remembered. So, we have a chance again to play a historic and great part and to add a noble chapter to the long history of India. I hope the young men and the young women of today will keep this in mind and prove worthy of India. I would like to appeal specially to our sisters, the women of India. It is the women of a country, the mothers of a country, who give shape to that country's people, much more than men, and at this moment in our history, it has become incumbent for the women of India to play a full part in the building of this new India.

Now I should like to express my deep gratitude to you for your magnificent welcome to me. I am grateful to the Municipal Council here for their address of welcome and for the memento, which they have given me of Dindigul Fort in sandalwood. But, above all, I am grateful to all those vast number of people here and the streets of Dindigul⁶ who looked at me with affection and overwhelmed me with their kindness.

And now will you say with me, repeat with me three times *Jai Hind!*

6. The roads of Dindigul were beautifully decorated.

6. The Task of Rebuilding India¹

Friends and comrades,

I have come here after two years. During these two years much has taken place in India and abroad. In your municipal address which you have just presented to me, and for which I am thankful, you have referred to some events in India, to our Five Year Plan and other activities that we are having. That is right, because they concern us most. But great changes have taken place in the world and, as you know, man has even ventured to send up a little moon from this earth. Two or three months ago the Russians sent up into the skies what they called the Sputnik and no doubt the Americans will do the same thing soon, and after that no doubt some other countries might also do it, because in science there is no nationality. Any nation can go ahead if it pays attention to science and so, for the first time in human history, for the first time since man came on the earth, man has sent something back into outer space.

You will ask me, why I am talking to you about Sputniks and other matters and not about your own and my own problems. "We have many problems in our country, many difficulties. Why worry about what happens in the skies or elsewhere?" Well, I have deliberately done so, so that you may look at your own problems in the proper perspective. We do not live cut off from the wide world. We are a part of this great world and what happens in other countries affects us. In the past we were cut off from the world, all the world went forward in science, in discoveries and in technology, and we in India thought we were very wise. We lived in our caste-ridden society, forgetting that the world had gone ahead of castes. We lived in our narrow grooves and the world went ahead and we became weak and poor and a subject country because we could not keep pace with the world.

If you go further back earlier in history India was a great country—great in many ways, great in her thought, great in her action, great even in some ways in science. And Indians went abroad to distant parts of Asia carrying the message of India. They were men with the spirit of adventure. They were men with a message, which they carried to the ends of Asia. If you go today to Indo-China, to Indonesia, if you go to China and Japan, to Central Asia and even to distant Mongolia, you find evidences of Indian culture, you find evidences of old Indian

1. Speech at a public meeting, Tiruchirapalli, Madras State, 9 December 1957. AIR tapes, NMML.

friendships and people welcome you as such. Some two months ago our Vice-President, Dr Radhakrishnan, paid a visit to Mongolia, also to Indo-China. In Mongolia he was welcomed by the President of Mongolia whose name, you will be interested to know, is Shambhu. Is that not typical of India, a name coming down for generations in Mongolia. The national flag of Mongolia is called *Soyombo*. This is a communist country and yet you see this powerful influence of India exercised some 1,500 years ago surviving today. I wonder how many of the great figures of today and the influences of today will survive a thousand years later from now. And he was told that it was a great Indian scholar, who had gone from India about 1,500 years ago and who had married a Mongolian lady, who had started the Mongolian dynasty and you might almost say the modern aspect of its race. They still remember that. They talk of their Indian origin in this way. So also, I could tell you stories about Indo-China and other places. I could tell you stories of how adventurous people went from the ports of the South of India, or what is Madras State now, to all over the south-eastern countries crossing the south-eastern seas, because India then, whether in the North or in the South, was full of life, full of the spirit of adventure, full of daring, and not confined to its narrow shell of this caste or that, who to eat with, and whom to touch, and whom not to touch.

When a people or a country loses the spirit of daring and adventure, then it becomes weak. The tempo of life in it becomes slow. That is what happened to India which, in its earlier days, had shown this tremendous spirit of life, and which explored the earth and the heavens with the daring of its heart. It was not afraid of heaven or hell. The people of India explored everything and there was no restriction which bound them down. And then came a period when we became afraid of going out. It became something against our religion to cross the seas. It was irreligious to touch somebody or to eat with somebody or marry somebody. All our religions became one of: "Don't touch this, don't eat this, don't marry that person." This great race, which had pierced the heavens with the daring of its hearts and conquered the hearts of the people all over Asia, became confined like a frog in the well in its own little caste systems and barriers. And so we in India lost the spirit of science, of enquiry, and of daring, and the countries of the West got it and they went ahead and built up their wealth and their prosperity and their power on the basis of it. And now when at last we were woken from our slumber by events and by a number of great leaders—the greatest was Mahatmajī who put new life into our people—and now we face this new world with this new spirit.

How then are we going to face this future of ours? Are we going to learn the lessons of the past or are we going to go the same way and fall down again? Surely not. And what are the lessons that we have got to learn? Among many

are the lessons of science, of unity, of cooperative behaviour, and a very important one which Gandhiji taught us is the lesson of ethical and moral behaviour.

This is the background of our problems and indeed of the world's problems. Therefore, I have laid stress upon it so that you may look upon your own problems in this larger context. Because, if you do not understand this or if you fail to look at it in this context, then we shall again fall down and we shall not make good. But we are determined in India to make good, come what may. We are determined, because we have faith in our country, faith in our people and faith in our future. I do not mean to say that every individual in India is going the same way. There are many elements in India which want to disrupt India, to break up India, to create troubles in India. There are many anti-social elements, many foolish and mad elements. But we have survived great dangers and met great challenges in the past. We met the challenge of the British empire and won. And we met the great challenge which came to us after the Independence of India, when the Partition came, and in North India where there were massacres, and blood flowed all over Pakistan and North India. That was a terrible challenge. We met that and we conquered that. And then we had another terrible tragedy to face—the assassination of Gandhiji. That was a deeper blow than any. But we faced that too, and conquered trouble that was rising in India. So we are used to facing the challenges of the biggest kind and we are used to winning over them. Whatever challenge comes from within or outside India we shall face it calmly, quietly and put an end to it.

We have had many great traditions in the past. We have them still. We have also had a bad tradition—tradition of disruption, of fissiparousness, and of separateness. Today, more than ever, this habit of disruption and separation is a bad thing. In the world today, which is a dangerous world, it is essential that we hold together, that we work together and we build this new India together. It is because of this that I am laying stress before you on the necessity of unity and on the dangers of anti-social elements raising disruptive cries. There are such elements all over India, here and there. They are not very important. But, because of our inherent tendency to separatism, their cries sometimes cause bad effects and must not be allowed to grow. I am laying stress on this aspect to you today because in the world today, in this world of Sputniks and atomic bombs and hydrogen bombs, no country can dare to indulge in the luxury of disruption, no country can dare to tolerate any such tendency to break up and separate.

You may have heard these disruptive tendencies taking effect in other parts of India. In North, in the Punjab, there has been a very foolish agitation on the question of language. I will not go into that. But one of the most remarkable and one of the most foolish agitations that I am experiencing in India has recently started in your own State of Madras. This, I believe, is known as the Dravida

Kazhagam agitation and the leader of this movement has said something which cannot be forgiven and which cannot be tolerated. Apart from actually talking in an unabashed manner about murder, inviting people to murder others, a thing unheard of in any civilized society, he has dared to insult the National Flag and the National Constitution.² These are unforgivable offences. In India there are all kinds of people—from people of the highest intellect and highest moral stature to primitive tribes who have not grown during the last two thousand years. There are some who still belong to the Stone Age, others to various other ages. Some of our tribal people are very fine folk and I am very fond of them. But I wonder if the Dravida Kazhagam in Madras is not more primitive than any primitive tribe in India because it talks in a language which is unheard of in civilized society. It is the language of murder. It is a language which should either lead one to the prison or to the lunatic asylum, because society cannot tolerate that language, and no civilized State will put up with a deliberate insult to its Flag and to its Constitution.³ If anyone, if the leader or members of the Dravida Kazhagam do not like our Flag or Constitution, they are welcome to pack up and go from India to any other country they like. No one has a place in India who insults the Flag and the Constitution. Let this be clearly understood. And this is not a question of Madras State. This is not a question of the politics of your State or the castes of your State—I want no castes in India, no classes in India—this is a question of India and India's honour. And India's honour will be defended by every Indian, wherever he may be.

I have referred to a number of subjects, foreign and national. But the biggest thing that we have to do, the biggest problem before us is, to build up this new India—a united India, a progressive India, an India where there should be no classes and no castes, an India where there is prosperity and every individual

2. E.V. Ramaswami Naicker, the leader of the Dravida Kaghagam, started a movement for caste abolition and his followers burnt copies of the Constitution in many places in Madras State on 26 November 1957. Naicker called for breaking of statues of Mahatma Gandhi and burning of portraits of Mahatma Gandhi and Nehru and maps of the Indian Union as the next course of agitation, to force the Government to accept his demands. If these methods failed to produce results, he warned of attacks on Brahmins. See also *post* pp. 387-388.
3. The District Magistrate of Tiruchirappalli framed charges against Naicker for his speeches at Kulitalai, Pasupathipalayam and Tiruchirappalli on 3 October, 13 October and 20 October 1957 respectively, wherein he had called upon the people to hurt and inflict bodily harm to Brahmins, to kill them and to set fire to their houses. On 20 February 1958, Naicker filed a case in the High Court of Madras demanding action against Nehru for this speech at Tiruchirappalli since he found the contents of Nehru's speech an attempt to interfere in a case which was subjudice. The High Court rejected the petition.

has full opportunity for growth. That is a tremendous task and that is a task which will require very hard work and a good deal of time. But we have begun it and we have started on this long pilgrimage and no doubt we shall achieve our objective. For this purpose, much has been done and during these past years since Independence, India has changed her face to a large extent. It is ever changing and if you travel about India, travel about your own State and other States, you will see this changing face of Mother India, which remains the same and yet which is constantly changing. And perhaps then you will feel something of that living spirit of change, that dynamism which has come over our country and our people. So, we have framed five year plans and we have framed many other schemes. And we make ever so many mistakes from time to time and sometimes we stumble and fall, but we get up and go on because today 370 millions of our people are on the march—a tremendous march, one of the biggest and the most historic marches that you can read about in the books of old or new.

We can only build up India by increasing the wealth of India, by increasing, first of all, the agricultural production and then others. The first thing, therefore, today is to increase the food production of India and this is not difficult, because our yield per acre is very very low. In other countries it is three times our yield, sometimes even four times our yield. So we can do it and we have done it whenever we have tried. Only if we adopt somewhat modern techniques, better seeds, better implements, better fertilizers and manures, we can do it, and we have got to do it. Also, we have to work in agriculture and in other things in the cooperatives. That is the modern method. We have very, very small farms. Each small farmer, however much he may work, cannot get advantages of modern techniques. But, if he becomes a member of a cooperative with other farmers—not a very big cooperative, a village cooperative or maybe two villages, then his resources are greater and the results will be greater. He will profit more, and his community will profit more and the country will profit more. Therefore, one of the first things to do is to concentrate on greater production of food.

So we have to produce more in agriculture and we have to enlarge our industry, big industry, small industry, cottage industry. We have to advance in every phase and in every activity. But above all we have to be better human beings, because it is not by agriculture ultimately or by industry but by human beings that a country is made. If the human beings are good and trained and of high calibre, then everything else follows. And it is that major task that we have set for ourselves and in that task every man and woman and child has to take part. And I particularly invite our sisters, the women of India, to throw themselves into this task of rebuilding India. For it is more important that the women

should do so, more important even than that the men should do so. I am especially interested, as you may know, in the children of India, in the young people of India, because for me they are the future of India for which we all work. It is a long time since I was a child, more than fifty years ago, and I remember that in those days I used to have all kinds of dream. Many of those dreams have come true. Many have not. These were the early days of the aeroplanes, and I thought that I would soon be flying all over the world. Well, I managed to do it later on. And now we have entered the age of space travel, of Sputniks, and the boys and girls of today, as they grow up, they will have all kinds of strange adventure, strange experiences. Let them prepare themselves for it. They cannot prepare themselves unless they train themselves today, train themselves physically, mentally and morally. It is only the people of training who can make good in this difficult world of ours. I am glad to see here our NCC cadets because they are getting training to strengthen them for any work that they may have to do in their adult life. I should like every boy and girl to have that training or some similar training, because we in India have been far too long a soft people, bodily weak and loose, bodily not trained. People ask me, why I keep relatively fit. I am pretty old, much older than most of you sitting here, but I am fitter than most of you and probably I can take you on either walking or running or swimming or riding on horse-back or many other things. I want our young men and young girls too to be physically fit, tall and strong and capable of facing any difficulty without losing their composure or losing their nerve.

Our children are the trust of the nation. They are children of their parents, of course, but they are something more. The nation is a trustee for them, because they represent tomorrow's India and it should be our endeavour to see that no child in the whole of this great country goes without care, that he is looked after properly, that he is given opportunities to grow properly, that he gets good food and clothing and living conditions and schools and other necessary things. Once we do that effectively, then we have built strongly the foundations of our country. So, I should like all your institutions to have this inscription on them: The children are the trust of the country and that our first thoughts must always be for the children of India.

Thank you for sitting all this time in the hot sun. I have been comfortable in the shade, as you will see, and now I must go away and fly to Delhi, where important work awaits me today.

Thank you and *Jai Hind!*

7. National Unity is Paramount¹

Sisters, brothers and children,

First of all, I would like to thank you for the citation given to me on behalf of your Municipality. I was under the impression that I am no stranger to Gauhati or Assam. I come here again and again and our contact with one another goes back a long way. You impose a burden upon me by giving me citations again and again. I feel overwhelmed by your affection and warm welcome.

I toured the hills of north-east India last week. I stayed in Darjeeling for a few days and went up to Gangtok in Sikkim. After this meeting I shall go to Shillong and leave for Delhi the day after tomorrow. I am happy that I could get away from Delhi and spend some time in your State in the midst of these hills. Mountains have always held a fascination for me, particularly in this region of India, in Assam.

We are all engaged in the task of nation building in different parts of the country. Your concern is naturally for Assam, that the people of Assam must progress. The Chairman² of the Municipality drew my attention to that just now. That is all right. But at the same time you must bear in mind that the progress of the various States depends on the progress that India makes. If India faces a crisis, everyone in the country feels the impact. We fought for India's freedom as a nation and if India faces any kind of trouble, it is quite impossible that any part of it would remain unaffected. On the other hand, if any of the provinces is hurt, the whole country feels the pain. Therefore, while we must certainly be concerned about our own city and State, we must never lose sight of the fact that our fortunes are inextricably tied up with those of India.

Freedom has brought great changes in its wake. Earlier, India's fate was decided in London. We were involved in wars without our consent. Countries under alien rule have to suffer this ignominy for the reins of power are in the hands of others. So when we became free, we were, of course, happy that we had broken the shackles of bondage. On the other hand, freedom brought great responsibilities. Rights invariably involve duties. Freedom demands constant vigilance, otherwise it will slip away. Our responsibilities and duties have grown. This is something that most people fail to understand. You have to work hard to

1. Speech at a public meeting, Guwahati, 29 December 1957. AIR tapes, NMML. Original in Hindi.

2. Debendra Nath Sarma.

attain what you want, whether it is for personal benefit or in the interest of the whole nation. You will find that the Great Powers in the world today have reached their present position through hard work and toil and by faithfully discharging their duties. There is no other way. If mere wishes could transform the world, everything would be simple. But that is not so. We have to work hard to get what we want.

When India became free, we were faced with two problems. One was the maintenance of India's defence and the other was the formulation of a foreign policy. Earlier, these matters were decided in London. Now we have established relations with other countries of the world as a free and independent country. We have sent our ambassadors to various countries and received their ambassadors here in Delhi. We also had to establish trade relations with various countries and form our own opinion about the complex international problems in the United Nations and elsewhere. We also have to maintain friendly relations with the Great Powers of the world for they have great influence in world affairs. But, at the same time, we must have close links with our neighbours too, no matter how small they are.

Assam is a border state. The British did not pay much attention to this region because the terrain is inhospitable and there was no special issue. Tibet and China lie on the other side. Tibet is also a part of China. The British Government was entangled in other matters and did not or show special interest in this region. Neither they were interested. We are naturally interested because we want to have friendly relations with all the countries in the world, particularly the Asian countries because they are in a sense our neighbours. Whatever the differences in foreign policy or ideology may be, there can be no doubt that we will always be neighbours.

Take China, for instance. No matter what happens, China and India will always be neighbours. Therefore, we have to be clear in our minds about the kind of relationship we wish to have with our neighbours. Another neighbour of ours, Pakistan, was a part of India until recently. Even if relations between us are strained at the moment, nobody can change the reality of geographic contiguity. India and Pakistan will have to learn to live as neighbours. There is no alternative.

Assam is a border State, for both China and Pakistan lie beyond it. We are having some disputes with Pakistan, and this has meant a great deal of hardship to the people and the Government of Assam. Then there is China, which has had a revolution after years of civil war. You can say that the Chinese revolution has been going on for 100 years. I have myself witnessed great upheavals in China ever since my childhood, for the last 50-55 years. Then the great revolution took place eight years ago. There was an end to civil war and internal strife, a

strong government was established, and China became a united country.

Now, China is following a certain policy in its domestic affairs. Whether we like that policy or not, we must bear in mind that after centuries China has become a great country with its feet set firmly on the path of progress. There is a strong government in power. So the picture has changed completely.

The strange thing is that in spite of the fact that China and India have been neighbours for thousands of years, not a single war has been fought between the two countries in the last two thousand years. We have had different religions in both the countries. There have been problems of disunity and internal strife in India and China. But no war has ever been fought between us. That is why I feel that in spite of our ideological differences, there is no question of our going to war. China follows a different ideological path. That is the concern of the Chinese people. We must not interfere. There are friendly ties between the two countries. I would like to remind you that the Chinese Premier, during his visit to India three or four years ago, signed a joint communiqué setting forth the principles of Panchsheel.³

I am trying to draw your attention to the fact that our responsibilities have grown since India became independent. Our problems and difficulties have increased too. Freedom was but a step and immediately after that we had to take on various new tasks. The most urgent task before us is, of course, to pull India out of the mire of poverty and degradation into which she had fallen for centuries and to set it firmly on the path of progress. First of all, we had to ensure that the basic necessities of life were available to every citizen of India. That in itself is a gigantic task because there are 38 crores of human beings in India. Every sixth person in the world is said to be an Indian. The task of uplifting such a vast population is an uphill one for we cannot expect someone else to do it. We can do it only by our own effort, toil and hard work.

These are the problems before us and at a time when the world is in great turmoil. The Second World War came to an end barely two years before India became free. As a matter of fact, the world has not yet recovered fully from its aftermath. In the wake of freedom came Partition and Pakistan came into being. It takes a long time to heal the wound, inflicted by such a truncating of a nation. All of us agreed to Partition because we were tired of communal strife and felt that if some people could be happy apart, we should consent. Our policy was not

3. For the joint statement issued on 28 June 1954, see *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 26, pp. 410-412. These principles were previously stated in the preamble of the Agreement between India and China on Trade and Cultural Intercourse between India and the Tibet region of China which was signed on 29 April 1954.

to insist upon an enforced unity.

Well, as you know, Partition was accompanied by terrible brutalities, bloodshed and horror on both sides. Thousands of people lost their lives and millions were rendered homeless. The people of Pakistan alone were not the guilty party. I have seen with my own eyes the barbarities committed all over North India. Even now, when I think about it, I feel shaken to the core by the terrible nightmare of those days. This inflicted a grave wound to our body politic.

In short, I am trying to point out to you the problems and difficulties we have had to face in the ten years since Independence. During this period the task of uplifting India's millions and building a new India fell upon our shoulders simultaneously. I want you to view our present problems in the context of the developments of the last ten years.

Great upheavals have taken place in other countries too in the same period. I told you about the developments in China. In Europe, more and more lethal weapons have been discovered. The first atom bomb which was exploded in Japan killed two or three hundred thousand human beings. The nuclear weapons which have been developed can cause the extinction of mankind.

You must have heard about the Russians launching a satellite into space. You can see the kind of strange world we are living in. Man's voyage into space, and the discovery of atomic energy are revolutionary developments. Great sources of power have been unleashed and nobody knows whether they can be kept under control. If the situation goes out of control nobody knows what the fate of the world will be.

I want you to think of all your problems in this larger context. Our problems are enormous and yet if we lose sight of the larger issues of the world, we can never solve our own problems. Similarly, if we lose sight of our national problems in our preoccupation with the petty problems of our cities and streets, where would that lead us to? If the people of the Punjab or Assam, Uttar Pradesh, Madras and others are concerned only with their own problems, it weakens our capacity to think of the larger national issues. It is true that you must think of your immediate problems and try to find a solution. But you must always bear in mind the fact that our fortunes are inextricably tied up with the problems of India as a whole. If we try to dissociate ourselves from them, it will weaken the country and ultimately ourselves.

Assam has a special problem because it lies on the border. I have just visited Gangtok which lies on the major road to Tibet. People traverse up and down on that route. A road is now under construction on the Indian side up to the borders of Tibet, and on the other side too. It is possible that both the roads may be completed within a year. For the first time traders and others will have a proper road to travel by.

All these changes are taking place. India's relations, including trade, with other countries are growing day by day. All these developments impose a great responsibility upon Assam. This province of yours will benefit by them in the long run and yet there are bound to be new complications. As I said, progress and development have two sides to them. Assam is on the threshold of a new era and new opportunities of progress are on the anvil, which is a good thing. But it is up to the people of Assam to take advantage of the new opportunities, which are being afforded it. Nothing is achieved without effort. The people of Assam must understand the problems and work with determination and in unity. If they are preoccupied with petty quarrels and are content with agitations, the doors of opportunity will be shut. India can progress ultimately not by passing laws but only on the strength of the masses, their unity and hard work. There is no doubt about it. Irrespective of the ideology and policy that we may adopt, what we need above all is unity, cooperation, and hard work. Without these things India cannot progress, no matter what policies we adopt.

The doors of opportunity are opening rapidly for everyone in India, and especially for Assam. Being a border province, Assam has some advantages as well as some responsibilities. As you know, we have again struck oil in Assam and hope to get more. Everyone in Assam has expressed the desire that Assam should benefit by that discovery. It is but proper that Assam should benefit directly. The question is how to ensure that. As you know a debate has been going on for a long time about the location of the first oil refinery. Some people were of the opinion that since oil has been discovered and the refinery would be in the public sector, so we should proceed in a manner so that we consolidate our success. We should produce oil economically and the steps we take for this purpose, whether in Assam or elsewhere, should yield us profit.

As you know, oil as a commodity is controlled in the world by a handful of oil companies. They decide among themselves and raise or lower prices at will. There is no control over them because the entire market is in their hands. I do not like this. We want to be independent in this field also and that is possible only if we produce enough oil in the country and have complete control over its marketing. Therefore, it has become necessary to produce more oil so that we can reduce the prices. If we sell at exorbitant prices, it would mean a victory for the foreign oil companies. They too will keep their prices high. This is the dilemma before us.

Oil is a source of great conflict. You must have heard about the tensions and conflict in West Asia, in Iran, Iraq, Saudi Arabia and other oil-producing countries, and the United States, England and the Soviet Union as well. The sole cause is oil. The world is so greedy for oil that nobody cares to think of the plight of the common man in those countries. Oil has become a great weapon in the game of

international politics. Therefore, whatever step we take should be carefully weighed. It should be well thought out so as not to empower the big oil corporations. Because of these complexities it was felt that the first refinery might be set up at Barauni.

Now, as you know, taking everything into consideration it has been decided to set up the first refinery here in Assam and the second one at Barauni.⁴ This is what the people of Assam wanted and I am happy that your wish is being fulfilled. But I want you to remember that in the matter of oil, we are up against great international forces. One wrong step can lead to great loss to India and to Assam in the future. We must deal with great circumspection because I hope that we will discover more oil in Assam and this State will benefit enormously. I do not mean merely the financial benefits. New industries will come up and other benefits will flow. Now, we cannot achieve all this by shouting slogans or taking out processions. You must understand what is in the interest of Assam and India. At the moment there is no problem. But I want to warn you to behave carefully. There are plenty of interests in the world inimical to our own and the moment we strike oil, we are up against them. It is not an immediate problem. I merely mention it in passing. It has been decided to set up the refinery here and I hope that the work will go on quickly. Training and experience in this field are of the utmost importance. It is human beings who make a nation, not steel or oil.

You hear of the foreign exchange crisis that India is facing at the moment. We have to pay for all our expensive machinery in foreign exchange. But this is a problem of development, of success, not of failure or defeat. We are making rapid progress and entering the machine age, trying to bring about an industrial revolution in India like the one which occurred in the West nearly two centuries ago. We have embarked on this venture at a time when the world has undergone yet another revolution with the discovery of atomic energy. It is true that all these things require enormous investments. But even more important than financial resources is trained personnel. On the one hand, you hear of unemployment in the country; on the other hand, you will find that even if there are ten thousand overseers, they will immediately get jobs. Statistics show that there are 72 thousand engineers in India today. Some of them may have problems finding jobs initially. But the fact of the matter is that no engineer will be without a job for long. The five year plans would need hundreds of thousands of engineers in another four-five years. Money will come from somewhere, but what a gigantic task it would be to train such large numbers of engineers within the next

4. The refinery at Guwahati was commissioned in 1962 and the one at Barauni in 1965.

five years.

We are laying great emphasis on putting up technical institutes and engineering colleges. But learning does not come by magic. It requires hard work and years and years of experience. You cannot swallow learning like a pill and acquire knowledge instantly. It is a question of training people in productive work. The BA and MA degrees are no longer of much use. A special kind of training is needed to cope with the modern industrial age. India needs trained personnel in large numbers, doctors, teachers, engineers and other. We want that education should spread fast in the whole country, at least Basic education. But there is a shortage of teachers of Basic education. So it is a strange situation that, on the one hand, people are without jobs and, on the other, we do not get the trained personnel that we need.

I was telling you about Assam. Assam will progress neither by the discovery of oil nor by the setting up of the railway wing, though all these things will certainly help. But the people of Assam must train themselves in some useful profession instead of frittering away their time and energy in useless agitations and taking out processions and indulging in hooliganism. I want to draw the attention of the youth in particular to this because the people of my generation who have spent more than 45 years in public service will not go on forever. It is obvious that that is the way of the world. It is a different matter that I am shamelessly strong. But the burden of running the country will ultimately fall on the shoulders of the youth in India. In Assam, the boys and girls studying in schools and colleges today must prepare themselves to shoulder this burden. To the extent that they prepare themselves, India and Assam will progress. A nation progresses by talent or ability, not by deceit and cunning. Those things may serve for a short while. But in the end, the truth will come out.

We must pay attention to several aspects of international affairs. First of all, the world is on the brink of total extinction due to the lethal nuclear weapons which have been developed. The people everywhere want peace and yet they are so full of fear of one another that the arms race continues unabated. Nobody knows when a wrong step taken in fear may spark off a great conflagration and destroy human civilization completely.

In these circumstances, our first and foremost duty is to consolidate our freedom and unity. Unity does not mean that there should be no differences of opinion. Debates on national issues are always healthy but it must be borne in mind that we must do nothing to weaken India's basic unity. What does national unity mean? First of all, there are different provinces in India, many of them as large as some small countries. There must be provincial unity. No State can go its own way because if every State pulls in a different direction, it will weaken the fabric of national unity. The moment that happens all our other efforts will

come to naught.

Secondly, different religions flourish in India. All of them are the religions of India, and they all should have equal rights. No one has the right to perpetrate injustice upon the followers of another religion. If such things are allowed to happen, India will break up into fragments. To insist that India should have only one religion would be to sow the seeds of dissension and be extremely foolish in the bargain. No religion can be imposed artificially or by force. India has been famous for thousands of years for its religious tolerance. Gautama Buddha, Emperor Asoka and even the great sages before them have all raised their voice in favour of religious tolerance. You can find the Asokan pillars to this day all over India and in the present-day Pakistan, set up 2,300 years ago, proclaiming that respect for another's religion begets respect for one's own. Just imagine, this was said more than 2,000 years ago by an Indian, a great man of India. What was the condition of other countries in the world at that time? I do not wish to name the other countries but, at a time when there was no trace of civilization in most countries, India had such noble ideals to guide her. We must remember that in our own time Mahatma Gandhi has repeatedly dinned into our heads that religion should be a unifying force, not a divisive one.

Thirdly, there is casteism. The caste system might have been relevant thousands of years ago when it was started. I cannot venture an opinion about that. But in later centuries, the social structure became extremely rigid and lost the mobility and flexibility of earlier times. I have no doubt about it that casteism has been responsible for weakening India terribly during the last few centuries, for its downfall and degradation and for perpetrating great injustices. Unless we get rid of casteism there can be no progress. There is no doubt about that. People may differ in their ability and talent. But caste distinctions are quite a different matter.

Language is another divisive force in India. A great deal of heat has been generated during the past year over the issue of language. People are attached to their own languages, it is true. We have acknowledged fourteen Indian languages as national languages in our Constitution. There are other languages also. In our view, even the most minor dialect spoken in the hills or tribal areas should be respected and every child must be educated in its own mother tongue.

All the fourteen languages mentioned in the Constitution are the languages of India, irrespective of the number of people who speak them. There is no question of superiority or inferiority. Languages don't grow richer if we quarrel among ourselves. Languages grow richer when we cooperate with each other. In my opinion every educated man and woman must know at least three languages, two Indian and one foreign. If they can learn more it would be even better. It is not very difficult. Most of the Indian languages are very similar. In Europe, the

educated people often know as many as four languages.

Our Constitution has laid down that Hindi will replace English as the official language, if not immediately then 15 years later. There are heated debates over this because people are afraid that Hindi will dominate over the other languages. Now, that depends on how the decision is implemented. If it is implemented wrongly, then perhaps it may harm the other languages. But why should we do that? First of all, we must not do anything which will harm the other Indian languages. Nobody must be placed at a disadvantage over the question of language in the matter of employment.

I have given you a broad outline. Let us think about it peacefully. I want to tell you quite frankly that I do not like the chauvinism of the Hindi-speaking people. In their enthusiasm to promote the cause of Hindi they often say things which hurt the sensibilities of the non-Hindi speaking people. Anyhow, let us leave that aside. Emotions often run high over the issue of language. The question is how to solve this problem. We have no enmity towards English, as you can well imagine. I have learnt English as a child and know it as well as I do my own mother tongue. I want that English should continue to flourish. We must also learn other foreign languages, like French, Russian, Spanish, German, Chinese, etc. So I am not opposed to English at all. But I would like to tell you that when Indians from different parts of the country meet on foreign soil and converse in English, it surprises the people of that country that we should not have a common national language. They feel that we are unable to get over the tremendous impact of colonial rule.

Take the people in the South, for instance, the people of Madras and Kerala. They do not understand North Indian languages. I have to speak in English to them. There is no harm in that. But the problem arises in our correspondence with, for example, heads of States and others. Suppose, the President of India has to write to the Emperor of Japan, it does not seem proper to use English. As Dr Rajendra Prasad cannot write in Japanese he has to write in some other language. The Constitution lays down Hindi as the official language. It is necessary to have such a language for all our official work. Our correspondence with other governments is conducted in Hindi along with an English translation. There is no room for quarrel in this.

Now, we are quite clear in our minds that all Indian languages should flourish. They are used as the medium of education and there are Government jobs also. We can gradually move in this matter and decide in due course where the advantage lies. I don't understand why so much heat is generated over this issue.

I have told you a few things for your consideration. I can tell you about many things that are happening in the world and in India today. I want to draw your

attention to the forthcoming session of the Congress.⁵ All the Congress leaders will come and address you. But I want to draw your attention, particularly of the youth, to the revolutionary changes which are taking place in India and the world today. A revolution does not mean violence and chaos but change, social change. That is happening in India. The five year plans are revolutionizing the whole country. The Community Blocks and National Extension Schemes are transforming the rural areas. People bring a bad name to the word 'revolution' by shouting slogans. That is childish. The world is a ruthless, tough place today. We cannot remain under any misconception. It is the powerful countries which count in today's world and a nation becomes powerful only through unity, cooperation and planned development.

I have just returned from Japan. Ten years ago Japan and Germany lay in ruins after the Second World War. Their cities had been razed to the ground and two Japanese cities had felt the impact of the dreaded atom bombs. Yet, within ten years of that, the hard-working Japanese have quickly rebuilt their country and today Japan is better off than the countries which won in the War. This shows what human beings can achieve.

The youth must prepare themselves for the responsibilities that will fall on their shoulders and try to understand the times that we are living in. The doors of opportunity are opening up in Assam and elsewhere. But we must have the ability to take advantage of them. Otherwise others will enjoy the benefit.

There has been a change of government in Assam recently. Our old friend and colleague, Bisnuram Medhiji has worked for years and shouldered a heavy burden. I have great respect for him. He has been unwell for the last few days and repeatedly requested that he should be relieved of his responsibility. We had to accede to his wishes. He has resigned from Chief Ministership and party leadership and another comrades of ours, Chalihaji, has taken over.⁶ It is not a question of elevating individuals. Everyone must work together, though a leader is necessary to be in the front. Whoever has been considered suitable by his colleagues must be accepted by everyone. Anyhow Bisnuram Medhiji is a very old comrade who has tackled difficult problems with tact and ability. I have known Chalihaji for the last few years in the Lok Sabha. I am sure that the work will go on well.

As you know, from the first of this month, a new administrative unit consisting

5. The Guwahati session of the Indian National Congress was held from 16 to 19 January 1958.

6. Bimla Prasad Chaliha was sworn in as Chief Minister of Assam on 28 December 1957.

of the Naga Hills District and the Tuensang District has been set up under the Central Government.⁷ There have been problems in this region and the insurgent Nagas have been behaving badly. I respect the Nagas as a people and I am sure they will behave well once they understand the situation. But sometimes out of ignorance they behave badly. We do not like strife among our own people and so this decision has been taken. I am sure that it will not harm Assam in any way but on the contrary benefit the State. I hope there will be a change in the thinking of the hostile Nagas. Geography has united the people. How can they be separated? As I said, India and Pakistan cannot escape their geographic contiguity. Whether we like it or not, we are neighbours. Similarly, the Nagas are part of Assam. They speak different dialects. Recently when they held a huge conference, they spoke to one another in Assamese because they could not understand each other's dialect. So the Nagas cannot be separated from Assam. If they are feeling alienated, we have to remove that feeling.

The Naga rebels had issued a call for secession. Right in the beginning we made it quite clear that we could not accept this from any community in India. We talked with them only when they gave up the idea of secession. We accepted Partition and the creation of Pakistan and we have no desire to interfere in their internal affairs. But now we shall not tolerate any voice from any part of the country demanding secession from the Indian Union. I want everyone to understand this clearly. Some divisive forces play around with the idea of secession from time to time. We will not stand for any more truncating of India. We do not covet the territories of others though the case of Goa is different as we consider Goa to be a part of India.

At the same time there is no way in which we can stand by and watch anyone from within or outside trying to dismember India.

Thank you for hearing me out patiently. I shall now go to Shillong. I shall be back in a few days for the Congress session.

Jai Hind!

7. See *post*, p. 400.

1. The National Progress of the Republic of China

The Republic of China has made great progress in the field of national progress since its establishment in 1912. The government has been working hard to improve the country's economy, education, and culture. The country has made significant achievements in these areas, and the people have a high standard of living.

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I. ECONOMY

(i) The Scenario

1. The Difficulties of an Advancing Economy¹

Jawaharlal Nehru: Mr Speaker,² it is nine weeks now since this motion was moved and debated in this House.³ During these nine weeks much has happened. Perhaps the most important thing, so far as this motion is concerned, relates to the food situation.

We welcome this discussion in this House because the subject of planning is an important matter and the economic or food situation demands the attention of all of us, to whatever group or party we might belong. Indeed, it is a problem of the whole nation. Many of the subjects that have come up here, although they may appear to be different subjects, are all closely related to this subject. For instance, you were pleased to remark that a debate on the food situation is intimately related to this discussion. It is the very basis of the planning that we have to do for the future. It is intimately related to planning.

The Finance Minister's statement on his visit abroad⁴ also covers more or less the same ground.

I looked through to refresh my mind, the report of the speeches made on the last occasion and I looked through also the various amendments that had been

1. Statement in the Lok Sabha, 20 November 1957. *Lok Sabha Debates* (Second Series), Vol. VIII, cols. 1441-1461.
2. M. Ananthasayanam Ayyangar.
3. On 13 September 1957, that is, the last day of the previous Session, Gulzarilal Nanda, Minister of Labour and Employment and Planning, had moved the motion, "That the Second Five Year Plan in relation to the current economic situation be taken into consideration." As the debate could not be completed on that day, the Speaker decided to extend the discussion over the next Session.
4. During a foreign tour in September-October 1957, Finance Minister T.T. Krishnamachari attended the annual meetings of the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund in Washington and the Commonwealth Finance Ministers' Conference at Mont Tremblant in Canada. He also visited New York, the UK and West Germany. In a statement in the Lok Sabha on 13 November, Krishnamachari held out hopes of "sizeable" foreign assistance for the Five Year Plan, particularly from the US and West Germany and from the World Bank.

put forward. I do not think in this debate it would be appropriate to deal with amendments or proposals about any particular project, to do this or that. We are considering the question in its broad perspective.

May I refer to one very remarkable amendment which I think Mr Bharucha⁵ has put forward.⁶ He has suggested that at the end of the Plan there should be a two years' breathing space, when we don't plan, and rest. I must say that this shows such remarkable understanding of planning that it takes my breath away. Mr Bharucha might as well, if I may suggest to him, to give rest to his body, stop the circulation of his blood for a certain period, so that his heart and lungs will rest and not be overburdened.

Naushir Bharucha: Is that the logical conclusion?

JN: I am venturing to put forward an argument which may not appeal to Mr Bharucha, because he does not understand these matters very much, but it is a very relevant argument, because I cannot imagine anything more fantastic than for anyone to say: stop planning for two years, or give a two-year period in which you allow matters to rest, to give a breathing space. That shows an utter lack of understanding of planning, what economics is, what the economic life of the country is today, how India is functioning, in fact, what this Parliament is functioning for today. Such amazing ignorance on the part of a Member is—if I may say so—surprising.

Naushir Bharucha: May I suggest that the honourable Prime Minister should suspend judgement about my ignorance or otherwise until I have spoken?

JN: Am I not to speak about amendments which have been tabled. However, it is not a very important matter, what Mr Bharucha's amendment is, or indeed, what Mr Bharucha might say in the future. We might consider this matter more relevantly.

5. Naushir Bharucha (1907-1967); member, Bombay Municipal Corporation, 1939-57; member, Bombay Legislative Assembly, 1952-57; chairman, Bombay City Samyukta Maharashtra Samiti; Independent Member of Lok Sabha from East Khandesh, Bombay, 1957-62.

6. On 13 September, Bharucha had moved an amendment to the motion suggesting "that the Plan should be re-phased in relation to the available resources within the country and to the extent it is feasible to raise credit abroad", and to this end the Government might, *inter alia*, "announce by way of a policy statement that a two-year breathing time will be given at the end of the Second Plan to the nation to recover from the stresses and strains of the two Five Year Plans."

Now Mr Dange,⁷ naturally with his special bend of philosophy, thought that many of our ills were due to certain monopolist tendencies of capitalists—I believe I am right.

S.A. Dange: Anglo-American suppliers of capital goods.

JN: I wonder what the foreign exchange difficulties of the People's Republic of China are due to at the present moment.

S.A. Dange: There are none.

JN: There I beg to differ from him. I do not know if his sources of information are very special and not above ground—I do not know. Because all the public sources indicate, and we are in possession of many, that there have been. I am not criticizing the Chinese Government, I am merely stating a fact—their economy has been under very grave stresses and strains. Why? To some extent, conditions are different, for the same reasons—because they have tried to go ahead at a fast pace in regard to industrial development. They are perfectly entitled to do it, and I have no doubt they will succeed in the final analysis. I am merely pointing out that because of that they suffer these grave strains and Chairman Mao Tse-tung and other leading personalities have referred to this in many speeches and tried to some extent to pull back, to slow down. Essentially, it is the same problem, whether you deal with it in the Chinese way, or the Indian way, the communist way or the non-communist way. Apart from that China unfortunately has had to suffer a very severe drought also, just as we have had to suffer. But it has not so much to do with economic policies as with the whims of nature. It is rather extraordinary that the problems we are facing in India today, these difficulties are strangely duplicated in China of today, some of them in a bigger scale, some in a lesser scale.

Naturally, their foreign exchange difficulties are of a different type from ours, but there are foreign exchange difficulties. However, it is neither here nor there.

The first thing to understand is that planning is a continuous process and there is no breathing space, when you don't plan. The development of a country's economy is a continuous process and planning means to show how a country's economy should develop. Apart from that when some people talk of our Second Five Year Plan having been overambitious—this word has been used many

7. CPI Member from Central-South Bombay and General Secretary, AITUC.

times beyond India and sometimes in India⁸—well, I do not know exactly what the tests are. The tests are, let us say, what we aim at, in the shape of capital formation; that is an important and essential thing, whether your economy is communist, socialist or capitalist, or whatever it may be.

A developing country, a developing economy must have capital formation for investment for future growth and one of the tests is how much you advance in that direction. In the First Five Year Plan, I believe our rate of advance approached 5 per cent per annum which was low, of course. On this occasion in the Second Plan, I think we aimed at 10 per cent or round about that. I think it is from 7 to 10 per cent. I understand the rate is more or less 7 to 7½ per cent. Now if we aim at a 10 per cent advance, it is not a very big step and I can show other countries, whether capitalist or communist, which have a much bigger rate of advance. So, I do not understand the statement of the Plan being overambitious.

Certainly it was a Plan, it was meant to be a Plan, which would compel us to stretch ourselves, as much as we could. There can be no advance in these conditions without stretching to your utmost, without taking some risks, if you like, without expecting something from your own people or from others, which is rather unusual. Otherwise, you remain in the same rut. As it happens the strains increased on, because of various factors, foreign, which the House knows fairly well, and some internal.

I am perfectly prepared to admit that with a little more careful planning, with a little more looking ahead, with regard to our imports and exports, etc., the stress would have been a little less, not very much, but slightly less. We should have done that; we should do that. But I do not think that has made any major difference to the situation that has arisen. Anyhow all these developments in recent months, if you like, last year or two, have had at least one good result and that is that they have drawn us—when I say us, I am not only referring to the Government, but others too and the people generally—out of a certain feeling of complacency which had arisen two or three years ago partly because of

8. Expressing his inability to accept two short notice questions, put by Hiren Mukerjee and Bimal Ghose, relating to the Five Year Plan and the position of the country's foreign exchange reserves, Nehru stated in a note to the Lok Sabha Secretariat on 13 November 1957: "... I might say that it is true that, in the ordinary course of their work, the Planning Commission has been investigating the question of foreign exchange and the reasons which led to a big gap between our resources and the demands upon them in regard to foreign exchange. It is not true, as stated in the *Hindusthan Standard*, that the Planning Commission said that the Second Plan was overambitious. We have naturally to consider it from time to time with a view to alterations or re-phasing... We do not intend to cut down what is called the hard core of the Plan."

good harvest and partly because of the success of the First Five Year Plan. It is dangerous to be complacent at any time, more especially these days. We have to face these stresses and strains now because of that complacency. So, that is one good result. We are shaken out of it. We are evolving now a much closer integration of all these matters with the Planning Commission in regard to import, export, in regard indeed to any kind of revision or review of the Plan.

Question arises about what is called pruning of the Plan, sometimes called re-phasing it. There can hardly be without great loss any kind of re-phasing or pruning of the major things that we have undertaken. We cannot stop a steel mill or plant from being built. We cannot stop big things. If we do—of course, we can do—we do at a great loss. We delay the process of recovery. Inevitably, if we have not got the resources, we have to stop some things or delay some things. But we have absolutely no intention of doing anything radical to the basic structure of the Plan. We shall keep this in view all the time.

Even previously, the House may remember, we had said that the Planning Commission will consider the question every year and have annual surveys. We shall have that. We shall have even more continuous surveys as to how the Plan is working so that if necessary any changes that may be required may be made. It is a little difficult at present to finalize things, that is, in regard to the Second Plan. Many of the things are final. We have to go through some other matters which depend on the developing situation, what resources we have and what resources we can get internally or externally. We cannot go beyond those resources obviously and function in the air.

In the course of the speeches made in September last here, stress was laid on agriculture. It was said that in the Second Plan, agriculture has been given a somewhat lesser place than industry. I do not think that is quite correct. It is correct perhaps to say that agriculture has not been discussed at length in the Plan. Because, there is not so much room for discussion of many matters although there is considerable discussion. Because we have always believed and even at the time the Second Plan was being passed subsequently, we made it perfectly clear that important as we thought industry was—very important and indeed without the development of industry and heavy industry, we saw no real increase in the living standards of India—but that industry itself could not progress without the development of agriculture, and agriculture became the basic and most important thing in India.

That being the basic fact, the recent developments and events on the food front have made that even more clear. It is obvious that if you wish to have money for investment, for capital formation, how do you do it? An industrialized community does it through industry. We are building up our industry. We put in money into industry, not taking out from it much. How do we put in money?

The obvious thing is, from agriculture if we can do it. If not, then, we neither put it from industry nor agriculture and our resources, our capacity, would be very limited.

We cannot lay enough stress on the importance of agriculture, on the importance on the food front of cereals for the reason that I have given and also for the other reason that if we cannot feed our people properly, apart from surplus food, everything suffers. If we talk about foreign exchange, we have to buy food from abroad at a terrific cost. It is a great strain on us. So that, there is nothing more important—I make no exception—there is nothing more important than improvement in agriculture in India. I would limit that to more perhaps improvement in the cereal situation. It is of the utmost vital importance. Nothing can be given greater priority than that.

When the Second Plan was framed, I think, it was said that we should aim at a ten million tons addition to the food production. On discussing it in the National Development Council, we decided to increase this figure to 15 millions. I regret I have not read the full report yet of the Asoka Mehta Committee.⁹ I believe they have calculated that the feasible figure would be 10.3 million tons. It is not for me to say because after all, this is in the realm of making estimates and guess work. The Asoka Mehta Committee will forgive me if I also indulge in making guesses....

I am not interested in the figure, I am really telling you the position.

These figures are usually arrived at naturally in consultation with the States concerned, with what the States say. What will happen or not, I am not able to say. I have not the shadow of a doubt that we should aim at and try our utmost to achieve a minimum of 15 million tons. I say it should be much more than 15 million tons and I do not merely talk in the air. That would be discourteous to the House if I should merely talk in the air. You can take any figure like this.

If one calculates, first of all, one sees the very low rate of production at the present moment in India. It is very, very low. It is almost the lowest in the world. It is a shame, a disgrace for us that it is so low. Remember that when a thing is very low, it is easier to increase it. There is room for increase. It is at the top level difficult if you have to increase that by a higher percentage. You are so low and even a slight effort increases it and where that effort has been made in

9. The Foodgrains Enquiry Committee, in its report submitted to Parliament on 19 November 1957, emphasized the need to increase production of foodgrains, price stabilization, control over trade of foodgrains, progressive socialization, checking of the high rate of population growth and speedy implementation of land reforms. Asoka Mehta was the chairman of the Committee.

India, it has been increased considerably, not 10 or 15 per cent but 30, 40, 50 per cent. In the community development areas it has been increased more. In effect, the future progress of India on the food front depends very, very largely on the work done by the community projects, community development areas. It depends on the development of cooperatives. It depends in the final analysis on the village taking this matter in hand.

Now, just before this matter was taken up, a statement was made on the unfortunate disaster in Andhra.¹⁰ Questions were asked about the help to be given to Andhra, more especially in regard to tanks. I am not speaking about Andhra, nor about the tanks in Andhra. What should be done, that is another matter. But, I should like to put to the House something that troubles me greatly nowadays: this amazing capacity to ask for help and the amazing incapacity to do a thing oneself. It is astonishing how for everything the State Government asks the Central Government for help and the Central Government asks a foreign country for help. It is a question of everybody asking without getting down to do things. Here is a tank which requires repairs. Of course, I do not say that the Centre should not help. Shri M. V. Krishnappa¹¹ said, we are going to take it up. I say, it is the job of the village to do it, getting some help or no help. This type of vicarious responsibility—I say it is not a question of tanks—it applies to everything that we are doing. The main object of the community development movement was to fight this outlook. I do not know if it has succeeded in fighting it, that is, to develop the outlook of doing things themselves, with help, of course—it is the function of the Government to help—to develop their self-reliance, self-help; and from such reports as I have, I think, the community development movement, not everywhere, but in many areas, has succeeded in that to a great extent.

Mahavir Tyagi:¹² You are totally mistaken. It has failed.

JN: Honourable Members may have some experience of their patch of earth where they come from. I have experience or reports from the whole of India, and, therefore, I can speak with some greater knowledge and experience—I said to begin with in certain areas, not in all—in many areas, in fact in more

10. Home Minister G.B. Pant had given a statement in answer to a question on the loss of life and property caused by heavy rains earlier in the month in Nellore and Chittoor districts, and the steps taken by the Central Government to afford relief to the victims of floods there.

11. Union Deputy Minister of Agriculture.

12. Congress Member from Dehra Dun, Uttar Pradesh.

areas than I expected. But I entirely admit that whatever is done is insufficient, whatever is done is not adequate to our purpose; much more should be done. I do not challenge that fact at all. But anyhow, my point is this, that unless we realize this and lay greater stress on this factor of village help, self-reliance, etc., I do not think we will be able to meet many of our urgent problems.

Take another thing. We are faced with drought, a serious drought difficulty in Bihar and UP and the rest—and it is a serious situation. May I here say that the latest reports that we have received from a high level enquiry commission that the Planning Commission sent out to these areas, are somewhat better than previous reports, that is, about the damage done in UP and other areas. By and large, they indicate that the damage done is round about 35 per cent. Previously the figure was 50 per cent. These are all estimates, but they are fairly careful estimates.

Now, you are aware of this difficulty. Some honourable Members say the solution is doles to large numbers of people. I would venture to say that we should make a rule that doles should never be given; never, I say, except naturally to the infirm, to children that is a different matter—but able-bodied people should always be given some kind of work. The work may not be economic, that is a different matter, but it is good from the point of view of our economy and is good from the point of view of self-respect and self-reliance of the individual.

Here we have to face a situation. Let us take Bihar. Immediately what can you grow before waiting for the next big crop? What short-term crop can you grow—it does not matter what it is, potatoes, bananas, some kind of grain, because in a crisis like this.... Some honourable Members think it amusing for me to say potatoes and bananas, but what are the alternatives, I put it to you? If we have not got enough, the alternative is to buy food abroad. Either we grow things in the country, or we buy from abroad, because nobody is prepared to allow our people to starve.

J.B. Kripalani:¹³ Bananas even today are dearer than foodgrains.

JN: If I may suggest, if a village grows bananas and eats them, they are neither dear nor cheap. It is their property which they can eat.

However, that is not the point. Here you do not bring in market economy in these matters. It is a question of growing for consumption.

Take a short-term crop. We should do everything, of course, for the long-term crop, whether it is rice or wheat or whatever it is. That is admitted, but we

13. Praja Socialist Party Member from Sitamarhi, Bihar.

cannot wait for the long-term crop. We want some short-term crop. How can we do it? There are some things which you can grow in six, seven weeks' time provided you get a little water. Where do you get the water? How did people do things a little earlier before these wonderful machines came into existence? They dug *kutch*a wells. The villagers did not send a deputation to the Planning Commission, the State Government or the Central Government. In Bihar it is a well known fact they dug *kutch*a wells. In the olden days it cost them Rs 5; maybe it costs them Rs 25 now, I do not know.

An honourable Member: Rs 200 now.

JN: This depends on how near the water is, obviously. If the water, as in parts of Bihar, is eight feet below the surface or ten feet, then it is easy. You dig a *kutch*a well, get some water immediately from it. The well will not last more than a season, I admit it. Does not matter. You get water for the short-term crop immediately, and for the next season it is not completely destroyed. You can revive it or make it *pucca*, that is a different matter. Make a short channel from the river. This thing indeed is being done. We talk again about a big canal system, but make short channels or canals of water, *kutch*a channels, two, three or four miles out from the river. These are things indeed which are being done. Acharya Kripalani perhaps is not aware of the fact that this is being done actually with success....

I should like the House to consider how much we have changed in our mentality when a simple proposal for self-help evokes laughter. It is an extraordinary state of affairs.

Take this *gramdan* movement.¹⁴ I do not pretend to understand all the philosophy, all the background of the *gramdan* movement. I do not pretend to agree to every item in it, but I do fundamentally and absolutely approve of it, and think it is worthy of commendation and every help because principally it relies on self-help and cooperation between the villagers. I approve of it, I want to help it in every way. And it is this attitude that all my life and Acharya Kripalani's life, most of it,

14. *Gramdan* (village gift), a later phase of the *bhoodan* (land gift) movement initiated by Vinoba Bhave in 1951, originated in May 1952, when the people of Mangroth (Uttar Pradesh) offered the entire land of their village for redistribution. By the end of August 1957, a total of 2,932 villages in Orissa, Kerala, Bombay and Madras had been offered. Under the *gramdan* system, the inhabitants of a village surrendered all property rights to the community; the form of cultivation to be followed and other measures like purchasing of requirements and marketing of village produce through cooperative stores, etc., was decided by villagers.

we have learnt, many of us learnt this principle of relying on ourselves as an individual, as a group, as a village, as a community, as a country, in the old days when we fought for the freedom of India. Now, what has happened? Has all this vitality oozed out of us? Are we only expecting Government to do things? Criticize Government by all means, I am not trying to defend the Government, but I say in the final analysis the growth of India depends on the growth of the villages. Of course, you want steel factories, but in the final analysis growth depends on the growth of rural India, that means the growth of the villager and the villager becoming self-reliant, self-dependent and cooperative—on the development of the village panchayat, on the development of the village cooperatives. Both these things are included in the community development schemes.

These are the basic approaches apart from the big schemes you undertake of iron and steel plants and river valley development. Those, of course, are in a different category, but this is utterly important, and it is important from the point of view of agricultural development, of food, of greater food production, because regardless of any Government which might be in authority or power, these are hard facts of life—for example, we have to increase our food production, because not only is the population increasing in India, but consumption is increasing per capita. Remember that per capita consumption is also increasing. People get more money to spend, they eat more—and a good thing too. On the other hand, population is increasing—apart from the normal increase. It is increasing more rapidly than normally now. In other words, it is increasing because people die less. In other words, health conditions are improving. These are statistics, and I can supply the statistics if the honourable Members want.

Now, take Bengal. Here is a country afflicted for generations with malaria. Malaria is gradually becoming a thing of the past. It is a tremendous thing. It is a big revolution in people's lives, which you can imagine. We do not discuss here the eradication of malaria, the biggest thing that has happened in Bengal or in India. Now, it is not a question of curing an ordinary individual by taking him to a hospital. But all these things have added to this increase by lessening the death rate very considerably and increasing the expectation of life.

An honourable Member: Improvement also.

JN: I am only looking at this from this point of view. In the last census, our population increase was, I think, 1.5 per cent per annum. Now, not because the rate of population increase has become higher, but because the rate of death has become lower the population increase is nearly 2 per cent. It is very heavy. And you can imagine, in the vast population of India, 2 per cent per annum becomes

20 per cent in a ten-year period.

And you can only meet this obviously either by limiting population increase or by far greater production or both; and it is not merely a question of food production, it is a question also of employment and all those. Obviously, I am not going into this matter. But what is called family planning or birth-control is of the utmost importance to meet with these problems. It is not, as some people imagine, a joke to talk about birth-control and family planning.

Let us take the problem in eastern UP, Gorakhpur, Deoria, Ballia and in Bihar next door. It is geographically a heavily populated area—terrible; in Ballia, it is one thousand [sic] persons.¹⁵ Of course, in South India too, there are very heavily populated areas. But I am referring to this drought area for the moment.

I should like to put before the House another aspect of this question also, how a certain lack of interest—or whatever the reason may be—has led to the cutting down of forests in the past, and I think this is having a very serious result on the rainfall. Now, if you read the newspapers or have personal experience, you might have found that in parts of Bihar, in parts of eastern UP, the rain that came down recently came down in terrific downpours. It did not rain at all; then, there was a terrific downfall. Then it does not rain at all. So, there is drought.

This is a typical sign of semi-desert conditions, because the temperature changes so much in a desert between hot and cold that rain comes down in tremendous volume at the same time, and then it does enormous injury. You cannot benefit by it. Now, something of that kind was noticed—not the same kind in the downfall in western Bihar and the drought area in Gorakhpur, etc. That is, dust bowls are being created.

So, the question of reafforestation is of the highest importance. We started about three or four years ago with this tree plantation or *van mahotsava*, which became a bit of ritual, for a certain day some people doing something. No doubt, it has done some good. But I do submit that is a very serious matter. It is not a question of planting an odd tree but planting whole forests, because otherwise the rainfall does not come down in a normal regulated way, but as a heavy downpour; it comes down all together, and spoils the harvest by erosion and other things, and it does not come when it is wanted.

Reading the reports of the speeches made here on the last occasion, I noticed a particular speech by one of our colleagues, who to our very great regret, is no more, Shri Saif Faiz Tyabji,¹⁶ who particularly laid stress on this question of

15. In fact, the total population of Ballia district, as per the census figures of 1951, was 1,194,657 and the urban population was 111,048.

16. Congress Member from Jalna, Bombay State, Tyabji died on 12 November 1957.

forestry, and very rightly so. And it is partly because this matter was brought to my mind when reading his speech that I have laid stress on it, apart from the fact of its high importance.

Now, we are facing, as you all know, a difficult foreign exchange situation. Nevertheless, I would venture to say that now or hereafter, the more important thing is always internal resources. Internal resources do not meet foreign exchange, I admit that, but the whole basis is internal resources. And I do not want people to run away with the idea that the foreign exchange situation being met, everything is met. The foreign exchange situation will be met, or partly met, or whatever it is, after a year or two, when we pass this period. But the internal resources question remains today, tomorrow and the day after, and all the time.

In so far as the internal resources are concerned, I am not for the moment talking about taxation, etc. Of course, that is the principal way. Then, there are these loans, there are savings, etc., which are of high importance.

Again, I go back to what I began with, the self-help movement. I have received reports of a very considerable amount of self-help, crores of rupees of work having been done and cash even being collected by the villages. Ultimately, it is this capacity for doing things for oneself, this capacity for all of us and others, apart from taxation and subscribing to loans, etc., which will add to the resources at our disposal, and thereby somewhat lessen the strain and tensions that exist.

The House knows very well that the very difficulties that face us today are the difficulties of a dynamic economy, of an advancing economy, of progress. They are not difficulties of stagnation. Those are the bad difficulties, the difficulties of stagnation.

People criticize sometimes and they say that the private sector ran away with us in regard to foreign exchange, in the last few years, and that is one of the reasons for our difficulties about foreign exchange. Well, that is partly true. But really that is not a very important element in it. It might have been less. By stopping some private sector developments, we could have saved some crores undoubtedly. But I do not think it would have made a major difference. But we should be careful about this in future, not because it is private sector, but rather because the thing for which it is spent may not have had a high priority. The money should be spent for a higher priority.

But if that is one criticism of the private sector, there is another criticism which has often been made, and that is that the private sector does not play its part properly, does not go ahead, is not dynamic enough, is not enterprising enough, does not do this or that. Now, as a matter of fact, what we have seen is a little bit too much of enterprise on the part of the private sector, not lack of enterprise. What might have happened is that the enterprise may have been

directed, if you like, not in wrong channels, but in secondary channels. I am prepared to admit that. But, anyhow, you will admit that the private sector has shown a good deal of enterprise in going ahead in this way. Anyhow, there is no doubt about it that in future, we have to be very careful that money is spent on things of first importance and not on others unless we have something left over.

People talk about our toning down our programme and the rest. Inevitably, to some extent, one has to shape things, re-phase things and we thought of that even at the time of first ushering in the Second Five Year Plan. But the whole purpose is to gain a certain momentum and if you gain that momentum and then stop the thing, it is harmful, apart from the fact that you cannot again gain that momentum till you go through the same process again. Therefore, it is of vital importance, whatever minor things you may prune here and there, that the momentum gained should not be lost and we should go on in a major way.

Many things have happened since we discussed this matter on the last occasion. Among those things is one thing which is not in India, something which is not of any direct consequence in our economic situation. That is the launching by the Soviet Union of what is called the Sputnik, that is, an earth satellite. This has affected people in various ways and most people are, of course, interested in it. The fact that the Soviet Union did it is a compliment to the high development of its technology. But, there is no doubt, of course, that in a few weeks or a few months you will see the United States doing it too; and so maybe other countries.

But the immediate point is, whoever does it, this brings very much before us this tremendous factor of the pace of development of modern science and technology. It is terrific—this pace of development—and it is obvious that this development of technology influences our lives all over the world, not immediately, but influences it powerfully. It influences our ways of living, our ways of contact, our ways of travel; our economic organization and everything is connected with that, just like the last Industrial Revolution which took place in Europe—which began 200 years ago—has powerfully changed life, certainly in Europe and America, but really all over the world and, in fact, we are trying to catch up to some extent with that revolution here.

This is something which is equally revolutionary. It shows that the atom bomb which is so revolutionary and the development of atomic energy which is now taking place is likely to lead to far-reaching results. So, I want this House and the country to remember in what a tremendously revolutionary age we live from the technological point of view and because of that our theories, political, economic, national, international, all are affected by this technological advance. It affects everything. And many a theory which was a good theory in the past may be out of date and bad and inappropriate in future. Therefore, we have to get abreast of these things, in our thinking at least if not otherwise.

I am glad that in this question of atomic energy development, India, considering everything, has done fairly well. We have some able scientists and what is much more we have a considerable number of very promising young scientists, hundreds and thousands of them coming up, especially in the atomic energy field. Of course, we do not think of competing with the Great Powers in this matter; but, nevertheless our pace of advance has been considerable. We even now have to give thought to atomic energy for the production of power for civil use because power ultimately is the test of what you do.

Somebody, I think it was here, in the course of a question today referred to the waste of cow dung.¹⁷ I was irreverent enough two years ago to call this age in India the cow-dung age¹⁸ because it is astounding when we see that 75 per cent or more—I am not quite sure—of the total power consumed in India today comes from burning cow dung. It shows how backward we are in this matter.

All our major power resources, thermal stations, hydro-electric stations and like are just a handful of what we want and it is calculated that we have hundreds of millions of tons of coal and we have many unexplored power resources and hydro-electric power. But, if we use our coal, let us say at the rate the United States is using it, all our hundreds of millions of tons of coal will disappear in 30 years' time. Of course, we are not going to use it at that pace because we cannot. That is another matter. I do not know what we will do after 10 years or 20 years. Therefore, it has become of the greatest importance for us to search for power supplies and atomic energy is obviously one that is indicated in the present conditions.

Even now we have to consider putting up power stations for civil use with atomic energy. I merely mention this matter not because it affects our present economic situation or the food front or anything but in order that this House and the country might keep in mind that in this very revolutionary age that we are living in, science and technology and their offsprings are more important than almost any theory you might hold. Old or new theories could be derived

17.J.B. Kripalani said, "You talk about self-help.... You always complain that they (people) are burning manure", and asked, "Do you think it is a pleasure for a cultivator to burn cow dung? What have you given them?" He added that the poor people had no resources. "Give them resources.... They are in perpetual indebtedness."

18.Nehru had told a gathering of students in Kolkata on 16 October 1955 that the backwardness of India was evident from the fact that her major supply of power was still cow dung. Two hundred years ago, he said, America and the European countries were also in the cow-dung age, but these countries went ahead, while India remained in the cow-dung age, not only in power supply but, regrettably, "in our minds too." See *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 30. p. 88.

from them and not impose themselves on science and technology and that any kind of plan that we make is not a plan for two years or five years. Of course, it is; but in the womb of those five years lies the plan for the next five years and the Fourth Five Year Plan. You do not have a sort of finishing it the fifth year and starting afresh in the Third Plan. It is a continuous process like life itself—planning for the economic life of a nation—and therefore it is of the utmost importance that in our Plan today we are not only doing the big jobs that we wish to finish in this Plan but we are laying the foundations of the Third Five Year Plan and possibly the Fourth. Otherwise, we will be hung up and there will be many things that we have done which will not be able to be used fully because something else has not been done which is of great importance.

This is where the necessity and the need of perspective planning comes in. We plan, but perspective planning means that ultimately we are planning at the same time for 10 years later or 15 years later. Many of these schemes take more than five years for fruition and we have to plan today. If we plan, as we do, for a machine-making plant, unless we have a machine-making plant we cannot make our machines—and we are depending on others—and the plant takes shape gradually, parts of it or in an integrated way and we have to lay the foundations of it today which would really work out in the Third Five Year Plan. We have to keep all these things in view. No doubt, we have made mistakes and we shall make mistakes. But there is no other way and we welcome the fullest consideration of this problem by this House and the country.

I am glad that since this debate last time the country has been full of discussion on these matters, the newspapers even. That is a good thing because we want the hundreds and millions of people to think about these matters because it is only through their help, in the village or town or city, anywhere that these things will take shape, not by a decree of the Planning Commission, not by Government or even by Parliament unless it is given effect to by the country.

2. Consequences of the Population Growth¹

I am glad to know that the Saurashtra Branch of the Bharat Sewak Samaj has decided to set up two Family Planning Centres, one of which would be at Junagadh. This is a subject which should certainly come into the scope of the Bharat Sewak Samaj's activities.

The question of the increase of population in India has become a vital issue from the point of view of our raising the living standards of the masses. It is clear that both from the point of view of food production and in other ways of raising standards, a rapidly increasing population comes in the way. Our normal rate of increase of population has been in the past about 1.5 per cent per annum or fifteen per cent in ten years. But a new factor is now working in favour of a greater increase. This is the result of health measures taken by the Government of India and the State Governments. Thus, malaria, which has been such a scourge in various parts of the country, has been practically driven out from most of these areas. In many other ways also health conditions have improved, though much remains to be done. The result of all this is a lesser death rate and therefore an increasing population. In so far as the lowering of death rate is concerned, it is good. But this has also resulted in the 1.5 per cent per annum increase tending to go up to 2 per cent increase every year.

Obviously, at this rate all our efforts at raising living standards will not only be counterbalanced by this new increase of population but may actually not catch up to it. Therefore, it is of the utmost importance to endeavour through scientific methods of family planning to limit this growth.

I have referred to the national point of view. But equally important is the family point of view, whether in the middle classes or the working class and artisans.

I welcome, therefore, the opening of Family Planning Centres by the Bharat Sewak Samaj in Saurashtra.

1. Message to Bharat Sewak Samaj, Saurashtra Branch, 20 November 1957. File No. 9/2/57-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

3. Constraints on Economic Development¹

Mr Chairman, ladies and gentlemen,

As you know, I have come to Kanpur mainly in connection with the function of the Bharat Sewak Samaj.² I accepted your invitation with alacrity. I am pointing this out to you because there are two aspects of our development which have to progress side by side. One is rural development which is in a sense more important than urban development. That does not mean that urban development is not necessary. But, as you know, out of 37-38 crores of India's population thirty crores live in villages. So every step that we take has to be carefully weighed as to how it affects the rural population.

For years, the cities have grown at the expense of the villages. Resources have been drained from the rural areas and spent on the cities. I am talking about the past. This is a great debt that we have to pay back to the villages. But the complication that has arisen now is due to various reasons, the most important being that with the coming of independence a great political revolution has been completed. However, it took place at a time when the economic condition of the country was not very good. The political revolution was not a superficial change of government but it brought about a very real awakening among the masses. The people are no longer willing to tolerate the injustices of the past. They raise their voices to demand what is justly theirs. But the difficulty is that the country does not have the wherewithal to fulfil those demands. The entire process of change in India has been the reverse of what had happened in Europe. The West had advanced economically and then a political revolution took place. So those countries had the resources to meet the demands of the new age and fulfil the people's aspirations to a large extent. That process has been completely reversed in the countries of Asia.

That has led to great complications. We cannot find an easy solution to them sitting in our offices. We cannot tell the people point-blank that their demands cannot be fulfilled because of economic constraints. Though we may be right in saying so, it would be extremely improper because on the other side of the coin are the voices of the millions, their grievances and afflictions. The problem is to strike a balance between these two sides.

1. Speech at the silver jubilee function of the Merchants' Chamber of Uttar Pradesh, Kanpur, 29 November 1957. AIR tapes, NMML. Original in Hindi.
2. For Nehru's speech at the meeting of the Bharat Sewak Samaj, see *ante*, pp. 19-35.

Just now you pointed out in your speech that we need to increase production. It is obvious that the rate of production in India, whether it is the agricultural or the industrial sector, is extremely low compared to other countries. So, first of all, we cannot go ahead at all without increasing production in the country. That poses two questions. One, how to go about increasing production, and, two, how to ensure the equitable distribution of that new wealth. There are many angles to the first question. One, of course, is the administrative angle, the outlay which is needed, etc., which is called planning. One aspect of planning is to be clear in our minds about our priorities in order to ensure the maximum utilization of our resources. The important thing is to motivate the concerned parties, the farmer and the factory worker and people in every walk of life engaged in the business of production, to step up their efforts. They must be made to feel that they are working in their own interest and are partners, having stakes in the work they are engaged in, and not mere hired hands earning their livelihood. So the main thing is to kindle an interest among the workers in the work they are doing.

If you read the history of the advanced countries of the world, you will find that when the Industrial Revolution began more than a hundred years ago the kind of problems which we face today had cropped up there. The only difference is that even up to a hundred years ago, the political revolution was not complete in the West. They were independent countries but political power vested in a small coterie of individuals. There was no democracy then, nor did they have adult franchise as we do in India. Therefore we cannot possibly deal with those problems in the manner in which the British dealt with them in the last century even if we wanted to. The picture has changed completely. As you hinted just now, the appearance of atomic energy and the satellites which are being launched have changed the world completely. New forces are appearing on the scene. The difference between the new era that is on the anvil and the present day modern world will be as great as the difference between the present and the age of bows and arrows. The changes that are about to take place will be as profound as those brought about by the Industrial Revolution. Let me put it in another way. The future will be as different from the present as the bullock-cart age was from the age of motor cars. The whole world is being turned topsy-turvy. I do not know how our great astrologers will make predictions when man-made satellites are in orbit side by side with the Moon and the stars.

I am merely trying to draw your attention to the direction in which we are going. Those who fail to grasp the significance of the profound changes that are taking place cannot fit into this age. You have your own businesses and factories. But you must keep in mind the broader picture of what is happening in the world today. You must keep the national perspective constantly in mind

and remember that every one of the 37 crores of citizens in India have tasted freedom which brings its own intoxication. Freedom breeds the desire to go ahead and to progress, and so many of the things which were suffered in silence earlier become intolerable now.

I have no complaint about that but I do have a complaint about our own inability to fulfil all those aspirations. We simply do not have the resources. But the people's demands will have to be fulfilled soon and they must be made to understand that the only way it can be done is to increase production. There is no other alternative. Any obstacles that come in the way of that objective, whether it is from the mill-owners or the workers, will put off the day even further when the people's demands can be fulfilled.

You are aware of our broad policy towards industrial workers. We want to ensure workers' participation in management, if not today, a few years hence, because there is no other alternative. We must think of ways and means of ensuring this. For one thing, the workers must be made to realize that they are truly partners in both the profit and the loss of the factory. Secondly, the old relationship of master and servant, and the distinctions between first class, second class or fourth class employees, can no longer work. That does not mean that everybody can occupy the same position because not everyone has the ability. How can all soldiers in the armed forces become generals? It is obvious that such a thing is simply not possible. But all human beings are equal by birth and nobody must be looked down upon. Everyone must get the position of responsibility to which he is suited. These are certain principles which we must follow.

As you know, the five year plans are being hotly discussed everywhere. Recently our Finance Minister had gone abroad seeking credit facilities for the Second Plan. We do not want charity. I want you to remember that India's economy is very strong. It may be facing temporary difficulties. And there is a foreign exchange crisis. But, after all, we have something to show for it in the form of machinery and other essential goods which will enable us to produce more wealth. We have not wasted the money. Moreover, if you look at our economy and the national debt, etc., you will find that we are much better off than many other countries and, fundamentally, our economy is very sound. Secondly, the real soundness of an economy comes from the people. It is the human beings who produce wealth, not the other way round. The people of India have the capacity to tackle the jobs which are essential in the modern world.

The people who are most essential for the smooth functioning of the modern world are, among others, scientists and engineers. I would say that the world can do without high officials and ministers, but it cannot do without scientists

and engineers. It can do without millionaires but not without engineers. There are different kinds of engineers which is another matter. There are such people in India with a great capacity for learning as anyone can see. The only problem is that there is a wide gap between the tasks that need to be done following the achievement of independence and the time required to accomplish them. But there is no doubt about it that we can do it. The people of India have the strength to do it. We need time.

For instance, it may take us five or six years to set up a steel plant. But to train the human beings who can run the plant it will take at least ten to twelve years. Trained personnel are the most valuable factor in the steel plants. A human being with long years of training in engineering is needed to run a plant and not a white-collar officer sitting far away.

We are short not only of material resources but of trained personnel also. Our statistics show that at the moment there are nearly 70 thousand engineers in all, though I did not think that there would be so many. In the Soviet Union, every year 80 thousand engineers pass out and in the United States, perhaps about 50 or 60 thousand. I am not saying that we should try to compete with others. But the fact is that the best way to judge a country's progress is by three or four factors, and the most important factor is the number of trained personnel that country has. We need trained personnel for the tasks that the modern age has to assign. Well, we are making efforts in that direction.

In short, fundamentally, our economy is sound. There is no cause for worry. All we need is time and there is nothing more precious than that today in the world. We cannot take fifty or hundred years in the task of nation-building. There are strong social forces operating in the world today which make it imperative that we accelerate our pace of progress. Otherwise we will flounder in a morass of difficulties. There are problems and difficulties in trying to march ahead quickly. We will have to shoulder greater burdens not out of choice but because there is no alternative. The more we tighten our belts and save today the faster we can go in future. But how can we tell the poor farmer to tighten his belt when he does not get two square meals a day? There is bound to be a tremendous burden upon the masses. They can tolerate it only if they see that everybody is sharing it. It is not possible that some section of the society can get off easily while the rest groans under the burden. No human being will tolerate such disparity.

We are hoping to get some loans from other countries. I do not know what the amount is likely to be. It is possible that we may not get as much as we want which will mean that our difficulties will continue. Anyhow, we shall accept thankfully whatever we get and even if some countries do not give, we shall have no quarrel with them. After all, getting credit is not a matter of right.

Anyhow, we have to go on whatever happens. We cannot lose heart. It is possible that we may have to work harder and it may take us a little longer.

I am saying this because very often people create an atmosphere of great pessimism and doubt. I think nothing is more dangerous than to feel that we are completely dependent on foreign aid. I am not against aid because it will naturally ease our task. But to feel that unless we get aid we shall get nowhere is absolutely wrong, factually as well as in every other sense. Such an atmosphere must not be created.

The words self-help are in great use these days. It is proper no doubt. Our entire community development movement is based on the idea of self-help. We want to expand the village industries. You may argue that cottage industries have no relevance in the modern world. My answer is that so long as the condition of our farmers and others in the rural areas continues to be what it is, village industries will continue to be relevant. It may be that in fifty or a hundred years we may use atomic energy for everything. We are laying great stress on heavy industries on the one hand and on cottage industries on the other, which is something people in the West cannot easily understand. In fact, many of our people who read books written in the West also cannot understand this. It is only those, Indians as well as foreigners, who are familiar with conditions in rural India who can understand it. The United States are very advanced and what they are doing is excellent. But the cases of India and the United States are not similar. It is obvious that there is a difference. We have a different set of problems, and if we try to copy them in toto, it will not work.

Many of our engineers trained abroad come back and demand machines and other facilities which they had, say, in the United States. But we do not have them here. They are unable to work in Indian conditions. It means that though they may be the best engineers in the world, they cannot help us. They have to learn to work with whatever machines and tools that are available and with nothing if necessary. If India were to be attacked by another country, we will fight with any weapons that we possess and with our bare hands if necessary. But we will not accept bondage. This is how we must learn to do the best we can in the circumstances.

When there is already such acute unemployment in India, we shall not achieve anything by getting big machines. I agree that we cannot progress without accepting the latest techniques in industries. I feel that even thermal power stations have become outdated and we must now have atomic power. But our foremost consideration is how a particular step affects India's millions. This is how we have to look at the problem after examining all the angles and create a feeling among the people by our behaviour and attitude that we are all in a great big partnership in India. India itself is a partnership and so is planning and

industrialization. Mere speeches will not do. We must prove it in practice. Only then can we progress quickly. Besides, we should always keep our eyes and ears open to understand what is happening in this changing world.

Moreover, it is not enough to get engineers trained abroad at enormous salaries. It is basically a question of being able to tackle a problem effectively. Many people today travel by motor cars and know nothing about its mechanism. So they are totally dependent on the chauffeur. We cannot cope with the demands of the modern age if we depend on hired hands. We must develop a scientific temperament. I do not mean that all of us should become great engineers or scientists but we should attune our minds to the modern world. Many of our social customs and traditions belong to an age which is past. There are many good things in our social traditions and customs. But we must get rid of the useless accretions of the past. We cannot live simultaneously in different times with a part of our thinking being completely outmoded, another section of our brain functioning in the present and yet another in the future. The result will be that none of the parts will function and if we persist with that approach, we will end up in the lunatic asylum.

We have to bring about three kinds of revolution in India, a political revolution which is more or less complete, an economic revolution which is gradually taking place and a social revolution. It is only by a combination of these three developments that we can build modern India. That does not mean that we should cut ourselves off completely from our past. We shall lose our moorings and be cut adrift if we do not keep our feet firmly on the soil in which our roots lie. We have to build a new India upon the foundations of our ancient heritage.

Well, thank you for inviting me. I hope you will take new steps to march into the modern world.

Jai Hind!

4. Economy in Government Expenditure¹

Question: Will the Prime Minister be pleased to refer to the reply given to Starred Question No. 742 on the 9th August 1957, and state:

- (a) what further measures have been taken by the Government of India for effecting economy in their expenditure;
- (b) the amount of money expected to be saved as a result of these efforts;
- (c) the number of Government servants of Class I, II, III and IV who have been retrenched so far on account of these economy measures; and
- (d) what measures are being adopted to see that the economy proposals are fully implemented?²

Jawaharlal Nehru: (a) In the reply given to Starred Question No. 742 on the 9th August, 1957, it was explained that with a view to achieve economy in expenditure all Ministries had been called upon (i) to scrutinize the present and projected activities to see whether some of them could be reduced, postponed or abandoned and (ii) to review the expenditure on staff and contingencies so that revised and more austere standards may be adopted.³ Efforts on the same lines have been continued during the last four months. It will be appreciated that the scope for further economies on these lines must diminish rapidly and Ministries cannot be expected to achieve fresh savings month after month. It should also be noted that the economy drive is aimed not so much at bringing about a reduction in the total outlay but rather to ensure that the expenditure on non-essential and less important items will be reduced and men and resources released for expenditure on items which are essential.

(b) Approximate figures of the 'savings' expected to result from decisions taken during the months of August to November are given in a statement⁴ laid

1. Reply to a question in the Lok Sabha, 13 December 1957, *Lok Sabha Debates* (Second Series), Vol. X, cols 5097-5102. Extracts.
2. D.C. Sharma and five other Members had asked this question.
3. For the reply given on 9 August 1957, see *Selected Works*, (Second Series), Vol. 39, pp. 53-56.
4. The statement showed that the Railway Ministry proposed to save the most, Rs 13.71 crores, in the financial year 1957-58, as a result of abandoning, wholly or partly, certain projects and postponing some others. The Commerce & Industry Ministry came second with an estimated saving of Rs 2.78 crores.

on the Table of the Lok Sabha. The figures also include items in respect of which the 'saving' has resulted from factors outside the control of the administrative ministries, such as severe rationing of foreign exchange.

(c) From the beginning of the economy drive it had been decided that retrenchment of personnel should be avoided as far as possible. Economies in this field have been sought almost entirely by reducing the demand for the creation of posts and by leaving sanctioned posts unfilled.

(d) The implementation of the economy measures is supervised by a Central Committee consisting of the Principal Secretary, Ministry of Finance, the Home Secretary and the Director, Organization and Methods, with the assistance of the Secretary of the Expenditure Division of the Ministry of Finance and his staff.

D.C. Sharma: In the statement it has been said that these economies will be affected after taking into full account the proper maintenance of efficiency and integrity. May I know if any objective standards have been evolved to test the efficiency of the working of any Ministry and also of the integrity of any Ministry and if so, what are those objective standards?

JN: So far as efficiency is concerned certain standards are applied. It is very difficult to have perfect standards of this type. But, certain standards about the amount of work done, what are called 'work studies' are undertaken: that is, how much time is spent on a certain quantum of work and how it can be reduced or increased. That is now a modern method applied to industrial techniques and now later to governmental and official techniques. As for integrity, it is much more difficult to measure. What one tries to do naturally is in a negative sense, any lack of integrity which is observed, is dealt with....

N.G. Ranga, Congress Member from Tenali, Andhra Pradesh, asked whether the possibility of bringing down top salaries on the lines suggested by the last Pay Commission had been explored.

JN: No salaries have been reduced. No attempt has been made to that end. Because, that involves considerable constitutional changes almost. I do not think purely from the point of view of economy that has much effect. It has a considerable effect: psychological reaction. The sums involved by and large, are not great. There are a limited number of people. But, I believe that certain economies have been effected in two ways. One is actual certain 10 per cent reduction or something or this has been converted into savings...

5. Advancement in Agriculture and Industry¹

Mr Chairman,² Excellencies, Members of the Chambers of Commerce, It is many years since I have been here at this function, and I am grateful to you for this invitation, which enables me not only to hear your views, but to meet many of you. Indeed, this invitation had been extended to me previously too, and the fault was mine that I could not avail myself of it. So, I am particularly pleased and happy that on this occasion I could come here and meet you.

I have been listening to your address, as all of you present here, listening with care. In some ways, it was an unusual address, because normally, when I meet people concerned with business and industry, either in deputations or conferences, I listen to long strings of complaints and grievances, many of which, no doubt, are justified.

You began, Mr Chairman, by laying stress on the great political and social changes, revolutionary changes, which have taken place in this country during the last ten years or so, which you characterized as unprecedented in history, and you finished up your address with an assurance of faith in India and her future. By these approaches, I must confess to you, you have got an unfair advantage, because you have touched me in the soft corner of my mind and heart. If some of us who try to labour for India did not have the essential faith in India, her people and their future, it will be difficult for us or for me to work with any great drive or advantage. But because, speaking for myself, I have had that essential faith and belief in this country and her people, the difficulties that have appeared from time to time—and there have been many—have never seemed to me so bad as some people imagine them. Also, to some extent, I have developed a habit of looking at things in perspective, not to be bowed down by the immediate difficulty that faces one.

You refer, Mr Chairman, to the conditions that prevailed in India just after the Partition. They were pretty bad, and some months after that we had the assassination of Mahatma Gandhi. You can well imagine what all this meant to us and to millions in India, not only a sense of physical shock but the mental upset. Yet we faced those conditions which, perhaps, many of you in Calcutta or in parts of India other than the North, at that time perhaps, did not fully appreciate because you were far away from the scene where this was happening. It was a pretty bad state of affairs, but we faced those conditions and really

1. Speech at the annual general meeting of the Associated Chambers of Commerce and Industry, Kolkata, 14 December 1957. AIR tapes, NMML.
2. W.H.S. Michelmores, President, Associated Chambers of Commerce and Industry.

because the people of India cooperated together in dealing with the situation that had arisen. We came out of that jungle. Any person who has been through all this is not likely to succumb to any future difficulty—present or future. But in the main it is something which one cannot quite logically argue about, a sense of faith in the future of the country and the people. I have supreme faith in the Indian people. That, of course, does not mean that I like many things that many people in my country do. But I have spent the greater part of my life, fortunately, not sitting in an office in Delhi, but with those common people of India and that experience of the past has thus far survived over ten years of New Delhi and the memory of it cheers me up, when I feel very depressed.

Well, you have referred in your address to a number of problems, to many changes that have taken place.³ These changes are obvious enough even to the outsider. Indeed, sometimes I feel that people in other countries, who can take a distant view of India, realize these changes even better than those who live in our midst. In India, as you well know, one of the most popular pastime is to criticize the Government, not only to criticize it but to condemn it, its activities, and to make out that nothing has happened in these ten years of independence. Some people even go so far as to say that we have gone back instead of having made any kind of progress. I am referring at the moment to my own countrymen and not to any foreign critics.

A very able administrator came from abroad some two or three years ago—in fact, he came two or three times—and he examined very critically our administrative system and what had happened since Independence⁴. At the end of his report he said that the most surprising thing about India was that in spite of the tremendous achievements of India, people in this country did not seem to be quite aware of them. Well, I do think that the achievements of the last ten or eleven years have been very considerable. Whether they can be compared to their advantage with other achievements in other countries I do not know, but I do know they have been very considerable, and yet at the same time I realize that the problem we have is so tremendous that whatever we have done is only a very small part of what we have to do. So, it just depends on how you look at this problem. In fact, in India, more than almost in any other country, it depends so much on your approach, because India, as you know, even now is a strange amalgam of all the centuries of the last two thousand years or three thousand

3. Michelmoresaid that “revolutionary” political and social changes had taken place in India during the past ten years. He described these changes as “unprecedented in history.”

4. Paul H. Appleby, an American expert on administration who worked with the Ford Foundation, submitted two reports on the Indian administrative system in January 1953 and August 1956.

years or more: you will find something which is almost primitive, something that will remind you of medieval times and something which is very modern. We find all these jumbled up together. It is not surprising considering the background and the long history of India but there it is. And this produces a certain complexity in our problems which may not be immediately apparent to the newcomer.

You have referred to many changes that have taken place, but the basic change that is taking place is in human beings in India. This is a basic change. It is taking place in our educational institutions. We complain very often of the lack of discipline and all that among our young men, and the complaint is largely true. But the real thing that is happening is that our educational institutions today—which are expanding, of course, often at the cost of quality, but it cannot be helped, we want all the quality in the world, but it just can't be helped, as the pressure to expand is so great—but in these institutions, we are getting now a new type of young man and young woman, boy or girl. Another thing, of course, for more girls and young women are coming there, which is a very important thing. Secondly, we are getting boys and girls from classes which had never gone into any kind of education in the past, and the effect of this education on them is really producing a very marked change, which will be more and more evident perhaps a little later.

I just referred to women in India. I think a basic revolution takes place in a country only when the women change in their role in the social structure—legal, social, economic, all the various ways. I think you can test a revolution in a country by looking at the change that might have taken place there in the position of women, in every aspect, that is, legal, economic, social and so on. I think a very basic change has taken place. One of the things that we, in our Government, are most pleased about are the laws, the legislations, that we have brought in and passed to change the marriage and divorce laws, the laws of inheritance of women. That was truly a revolutionary thing because it touched something, which by custom and habit had been in existence for a very, very long time, I do not know how long. It is very difficult to change these things, as you know. Well, fortunately, we had the courage to do it. And that is the law of the land, though I admit that that law is frequently broken. Well, something will have to be done about it, but the point is that all these changes upsetting an ancient society, which has got rooted in the past—they are taking place in India. Naturally, when you uproot something like this, all kinds of consequences float in—many good, some bad, sometimes the bad are more obvious than the good, the good takes a little more time. We have to take that risk trying to prevent bad consequences from coming about. But there they are.

I am talking about India, the position of women generally, and the social changes coming in. But in another context, that of course is true of the entire

world, how rapidly social changes are taking place, in a different context, in different parts of the world. Social changes of this type usually follow some change in the pattern of industrial and economic life. The great changes of Europe's social life followed the industrial revolution, and as the industrial revolution goes on at an even madder pace, social changes follow too at a madder pace. So, that is inevitable whether we like it or not.

Now, you refer in your address, Mr Chairman, to various problems, foreign exchange, taxation, State Trading Corporation and the rest. I shall not deal with them very much. Obviously, the foreign exchange position has been, and is likely to continue for some time, to be a difficult one. We may get some further help from abroad, which we shall welcome, but we are not likely to get all the help that we would like to have.

Well, I have no doubt that in spite of these stresses and strains, we shall get over this difficulty, maybe by pulling in here and there. The real problem is one of internal resources plus, of course, foreign exchange. But the foreign exchange part also comes in after internal resources grow, and I want internal resources to grow in industry, in agriculture. You referred to exports and said that exports were inelastic. You are, of course, right in what you say, yet I don't think I quite agree with your conclusion. They are inelastic today, although there is no reason why they should remain inelastic in the course of the next few years. But, as a matter of fact, as we work for the industrial growth, for industrialization, however, the basic and fundamental thing in India is agriculture, on which industry is going to be based. If the agricultural front is weak, then industry will grow, maybe still, but not to that ability or that stability as it should. It seems to me quite fantastic that in a country like India we should have to spend so much on importing foodstuffs.

You have given the figures and you have referred to the Asoka Mehta Committee⁵ saying that we should import about two millions or a little more tons per year for the next few years. There is, however, a passage in the Asoka Mehta Committee report that this need not happen if an effort is made; if a special effort is made to produce food, this need not happen. People lay stress on the part of the report where they say that as things are, this will be necessary but they add immediately later, and Mr Asoka Mehta himself drew my attention to this, that this need not happen at all, if a special effort is made to grow more food and it succeeds. Oddly enough, as you pointed out, the hopeful feature of the situation is one that troubles us most today, that is, the low yield per acre. Because it is low, it is capable of considerable increase. You may remember that the World Bank mission, which came here about two years ago, said that Indian

5. For the report of the Foodgrains Enquiry Committee, see *ante*, p. 74, and *post*, p. 156.

agricultural produce is capable of being increased three or four times, three or four hundred per cent. Even if this increases by 50 per cent, I will be very happy. I have no doubt it will be increased by 50 per cent, it is time we do it. So, there can be no doubt that there is room for great improvement. Wherever special efforts have been made, we have had increase of 50, 60 or 70 per cent in the yield per acre. So, it can be done. The question is, how to do it and how soon to do it. And I do not personally attach very much importance to getting fresh land under cultivation—it may be done, no objection to that, of course. But the real thing is the increase in yield per acre of the cultivated land, and I will go further—yield per acre of the land, which is either irrigated or which has very good supply from rain; that is to say, land on which you can fairly rely, because otherwise if the rain does not come and the land is not irrigated then difficulties arise. Therefore, the problem is to concentrate on about one hundred million acres, which are either irrigated or which have a fairly assured rain-water supply. If you analyze it, the problem is not difficult; of course, every big problem involves difficulties. I am pretty confident that our food production will grow at a much faster pace than people imagine and than what the Asoka Mehta Committee thought.

I must confess that I have not been at all happy at the way this problem has been looked at by our State Governments. I am not criticizing the State Governments at all. But the fault is ours as much as theirs; that is, it has become a practice with them to think, to demand from the Centre to supply all their needs, and because they get them relatively easily, the pressure of making them lay far greater stress on production in their own areas has been less, and we fall into the same trap. Just as demands are made on the State Governments, the State Governments make demands on the Central Government and the Central Government tries to buy rice and wheat, wherever it can, from all over the world at tremendous cost to itself and its foreign exchange. We have got into a very bad habit, that vicious circle of going on asking others to help us, and I am quite certain that there can be—leave out the question of food—there can be no industrial advancement in India unless we get over this food difficulty and produce enough and more than enough. I think we should produce enough to export. That is one way of increasing our exports to which Mr Chairman did not draw attention. Of course, there is no immediate possibility, but I say we should increase our food supply not only to make it adequate for the growing population but to export, in the coming years, some years later, because it is a feasible thing, logically and reasonably. If we fail in it, it is our fault; it is not the fault of gods or nature. We should do it, good monsoon or bad monsoon.

Now, how are we to do it? We cannot mechanize our agriculture. Efforts are made here and there, generally speaking. There are too many men at present,

too little land, small patches of land, one acre, a little less than an acre, a little over an acre, average holdings. You cannot expect very much out of that holding as it is. You can, of course, by giving fertilizers, good seed, and somewhat better implements, make progress there. I mention fertilizer. I entirely agree with you that we have to supply more fertilizers. There is no question of trying to convince the farmer to use fertilizers. The overwhelming demand that comes to us for fertilizers from all over India is an evidence that the farmer is completely converted to it. The question is of supplying to them. Take it this way: We import food from abroad; surely it is better to give fertilizer and grow more food. Surely, it is better to make the fertilizer yourself than import the fertilizer. All these things are obvious and yet somehow we got into this tangle of food import.

I refer to this because I do think the most vital thing from the point of view of industry, leave out other points, is greater food production, agricultural production, and specially food production, and all our State Governments and the Central Government feel it has become the subject of the highest priority, and I hope this sense of urgency will be felt by everyone of those engaged in this work. We have to fix targets; not broad targets, target for each family, each farmer. And in this work, we have at least one organization which can help greatly, that is, the community development organization, which has spread widely over India, and which is not working everywhere with the same efficiency as we like it, but still it is an amazingly fine organization, and I think that one of the biggest revolutionary steps that India has taken is the building up of this community development organization. We can use fertilizers and we should use green manure compost; but we have now to think of reaching individual farmer or family, and I think it has become quite essential for the farmers to be organized into cooperatives. I am not thinking merely of credit cooperatives, but of service cooperatives. We can never get a man who has got a small patch of land, just an acre, to make any great advance on the implements or anything. He has no resources. Therefore, I think it is urgently necessary from the point of view not only of social organization, but of production that they should be organized in cooperatives, and when I say cooperatives I am not referring to huge organizations, but rather small cooperatives comprising one village, two villages, or three villages at the most, the idea being that people know each other there as in a larger family, the idea being that these cooperatives are not too much officialized, in fact the official element should not be too obvious in them, it should be there to advise naturally. They should feel their relevance.

That sense of partnership, that sense of doing a job and self-reliance and partnerships in big undertakings, seems to be essential whether you think of agriculture or industry. You have passed that stage when we could talk about capital and labour, masters and servants, and all that. You know very well that

some kind of a new spirit is brought all over the world, and in India and the other countries like India, where we have had a political revolution of some magnitude. And where we have roused the political consciousness of hundreds of millions of people, it becomes very difficult to deal with them in the old way. Political consciousness makes them make demands which are legitimate demands, but which we are totally incapable of agreeing to because of our incapacity to do so. The demands cannot be criticized as foolish or unjustified: they want better things, good things of life, which a small minority thus far has. But the country has not got the resources at present to accept even those reasonable demands. We will go step by step, and that is the essential problem in a country like India. In countries like England, economic progress preceded political progress. In the last two hundred years or so, they have built the economic structure and resources in England, as in other western countries, before the period came of these urgent demands due to political advancement. That is our problem, and that is where conflict comes in.

Anyhow, we have to base whatever work we do in agriculture or industry or Government essentially on the conception of partnership, a sensation of partnership, a feeling that people are engaged as partners in a common adventure, whether it is the farmer or the worker. Now, I know that this kind of thing cannot be laid down by law, by statute; it has to grow. It requires, in the ultimate analysis, education and other things. But still much can be done by the approach one makes, the human approach, and the human approach, of course, is always good. It tones down, it removes barriers and it produces a certain receptivity in minds which makes it easier to solve problems. It does not solve all problems; some problems are too difficult to solve in spite of the human approach, true. But the human approach creates the atmosphere to solve it.

So, you know, in industry we have suggested, and to some extent we have put in practice and some private organizations and firms are putting in practice, the idea of progressive association of the workers even in the management of the concern. It is a very, very small beginning, but is a right beginning, I think. It is right because in the world today, in India today, a system which brings about strikes and lockouts seems fantastically absurd. You ought to deal with these matters in a reasonable way. Where production is so vitally important, why should that suffer by strikes and lockouts? We have, as you have said, evolved certain procedures, which have fortunately reduced these industrial troubles. Good thing. Unfortunately, sometimes troubles still occur, sometimes the demands may even be justified. Sometimes they are not justified at all, and they are almost trouble for trouble's sake. Anyhow, we have to deal with this problem; and the question of labour relations, whether it is in the governmental institutions or in private organizations, is of very great importance. You have

referred to the employment of Labour Personnel Officer or Labour Relations Officer. That is good, I suppose it is good, but I wonder how far it goes, it is in the right direction but how far it goes. If he also goes about bossing everybody, the type of human relations which we wish to evolve will not come. Now having said so, also there is the other side of it, that is, you cannot improve industry without efficiency, without giving opportunities to the people in having conditions where better work is done. You cannot really improve it without giving incentives. True, there must be incentives. Incentives are of many kinds, and one of the incentives, of course, is the type of human relationship that a person has to put up with. But there are other incentives as rewards, etc. We have to have incentives. We have to make the personnel feel that they will, by good work, make progress.

So, all these things—I suppose you all agree—these are the basic things because if the industrial background is sound, industrial relations are good, and there is a general feeling among the workers and the management that it is to their good and also to the country's good to produce more, well, we will produce much more to everybody's advantage. And it will be advantageous for the management, even from the strictly material or financial point of view, to produce that feeling in the worker that he is getting a good deal. The moment he gets it, you will get much more out of him. It is really extraordinary and very interesting if one reads—I do not know how many of you have read—the debates that took place in the House of Commons and the House of Lords in England 100 or 150 years ago, in the beginning of the nineteenth century, on labour problem. It will look very absurd now but how it was imagined then by their Lordships in the House of Lords that the end of the world would come if a worker is made to work only 14 or 15 hours a day. How can industry survive if he works only 14 hours or 12 hours, whatever it was, a day? It was through generations of effort in England that gradually the hours of work were reduced and other facilities were given to the labour and, to the surprise of those people who had objected then, they found that they were getting much more production than what they got before out of this, and they were making more money. So that I am not criticizing you. I am merely stating a fact. It may not apply to you; it does apply to some people in India, this narrow-minded attitude of trying to profit at the expense of the labour. You do not profit by it at all. This is almost an axiom, and if you profit today, tomorrow you lose, it will not take you very far. One must have a good labour relation, one must have a sense of partnership and make them feel they are going ahead and give them opportunities of improving themselves.

I think every worker in a factory must have a chance, whatever it may be, first of all, of some kind of education. I do not know how many of you have

arrangements for that. Whether he spends a little time a day, say, half an hour a day, he becomes a better worker if he is an educated worker. He should be given a chance, if he so chooses, to go to some, whatever it may be, lectures, etc., or demonstrations to improve him technically, night classes and the like. He should see that the road is open to him to go ahead; that he is not always tied down as some kind of inferior caste. If all this is done, then the other problems that arise become easier.

Now I will refer to one or two matters. You referred to socialism, for which we stand, and some confusion that has been caused by it.⁶ Well, I can very well understand confusion being caused, because this word is interpreted in so many ways. The communists are socialists, there are other forms of socialism. And what exactly do we mean by that? I do not know. I am not going to define it. That is the point I wish to make, that I have not tied myself up to any particular definition of it. I am thinking of human values and not of text book definitions. I want the people of India, every one of them, 370 millions of them, to have equal opportunities for progress. That is the nearest definition I can give. Equal opportunities for progress mean a great deal, of course, and having got equal opportunities for progress, I want to raise the level of progress equally for all. That means, of course, many things to be done, and ultimately to increase our resources; that means production, more equitable distribution and all that. That is, we have certain social objectives and whatever we do, we want to test them, as far as we can, by those social objectives.

In this matter, one can look at a problem, in a sense, from the point of view purely of economics. That is not sometimes enough. Take the land problem. Presumably, it may be easy to show that we can produce more in the land by having very big mechanized farms where the latest advances in agriculture are used. Possibly, we may produce more, but look at the social consequences, it is terrible. Are we to throw out all those people who are working there? We cannot. So, even though we might be able to produce more in a particular way, we cannot accept that way fully because of the social consequences that follow. Or in industry, where the social consequence is bad, where it creates large-scale unemployment, we cannot take up a better technique for the moment. We want the latest techniques, there is no doubt about that. We want the latest techniques in industry, as elsewhere in life, but it is always to be measured by the consequence it produces at the time on human beings. The problem is not a statistical problem, it is not a problem only for your balance sheet. It is a problem of human balance sheet, how much human misery and human good we do by a

6. Michelmores said that some "confusion" had arisen over the interpretation of India's objective of "a socialistic pattern of society."

certain act. Mahatma Gandhi used to tell us often that whenever you have any intricate problem, or any problem, try to think of what effect it will have on the poorest people in India. That is his yardstick, measure of judgement, and a very good one, of course. So that it is the social objectives—the social objectives may be enlarged in future. For the moment it is quite enough for us, what we have done, the kind of social objectives we have put down before us.

For a number of people communism is a gospel. It is no gospel to us. Nor is communism a bogey for us. Today the world is divided between the gossellers and the bogeymen. It is extraordinary—half the people think it is a gospel, and the others think it is a bogey. Fortunately, we belong to neither of those particular categories and that is why we are called unaligned in the political sphere. But, talking about communism, most of you know, it has quite recent growth—about a hundred years or so. Communism is an economic theory, communism is an interpretation of history, and communism is a technique of action to seize power. Now, as an interpretation of history, it is a fascinating thing. I don't think it is completely correct, but it does throw a great deal of light on history, I have no doubt; at least, it helped me to understand history more without my accepting everything that it said. As an economic theory, or as an economic way of organizing society, an ideal society, there is much to be said for it; whether an ideal society can be achieved or not, is a different matter. I have no particular objection, though I don't think that question arises in that form now. But I have the strongest objection to the technique of communism, and I think even the theory of communism, as laid down, is hardly applicable today as changes have taken place in the world. I can accept that vague idealized picture of communist society where everybody is well off, everybody is creative and productive, and happy and harmonious. Well, as a theory, one can accept that, but the basic analytical theory of communism is only partially correct and partially it has been shown by subsequent events not to be correct. I am merely mentioning this because I approach this question without any prejudice for or against communism, in fact with a slight predilection for it, but I react strongly against the technique of communism, and I think it is bad for the individual and for the country, although it may produce some results. But, if I may say so, remember that every major social revolutionary change which has come through violence has produced these reactions. Then the revolution has toned down after a while. Although in theory it remains the same as it was, in practice it tones down. I have no doubt that is the process that is happening now with this latest, and with this type of revolution.

You refer, I think somewhere, to the State Trading Corporation and to nationalization. In so far as nationalization is concerned, our position has been made perfectly clear. We make these three divisions: a list of subjects—private

enterprise, mixed, you might say, and State enterprise. We have the Five Year Plan. The very idea of the Plan is that you must limit certain ways of doing things and encourage certain others. You must give priorities, you must have social objectives and all that. Now, if you have private enterprise all over, I do not see how it is possible to plan. The United States of America are supposed to be the home of the modern version of capitalism. There is more public enterprise and State-owned enterprise in the United States than in many of the so-called socialist countries. People do not realize that just like, on one side, the old communist idea, whatever they may say, is changing, the old capitalist idea has also changed and is changing continuously in this changing world. Possibly, they are slightly approaching each other. I believe they are. A time may come when, though they may differ, they won't be so hostile to each other. They will have many common points. Therefore, more specially in a country like India, that is, a country starting from such a low level and trying to advance more or less rapidly, one cannot leave things to chance and just to the adventure of private enterprise. One cannot leave it, because one cannot do many things through that, as you pointed out, which only a State can do; also because essentially the approach of private enterprise is a competitive cut-throat approach which does not wholly fit in with the social urges of today. It does not matter so much in a country which is well off, which has already made good progress. But where hundreds and millions live on the verge, it does very much matter what the social urge is. There a cut-throat competition at the cost of the survival of millions is a very vital matter.

You referred to something about "Bazaar".⁷ In conditions in India, where there is so much poverty, for people by some clever trick of trade making lots of money by speculation or otherwise—well, it is not a pleasant thought and one does not think kindly of such people, at least I find great difficulty in thinking kindly. Now, we have to prevent all this, and I am rather sorry that we have not been able to prevent it more effectively thus far. Some other steps may have to be taken later. One wants private initiative, one wants private enterprise, subject to the overall demands of the Plan, subject to this not resulting in accumulation of economic power in some hands or tremendous wealth in one hand—that is not a good thing to aim at, subject to the strategic points being controlled for the public good, and all that. But there is a vast scope left for private enterprise. I do not like the idea of initiative being taken away, the creative

7. Michelmores said that some shortage of consumer goods stemmed from the restrictive policy of the Government. He added that nobody, including the Government, liked price controls as they were seldom effective. Therefore, he stressed the need for less restrictive voluntary pegging or what was referred to as Bazaar.

spirit, creative instinct, initiative and all that. I want to encourage that even in public enterprises, I should like to encourage that. I should like public enterprises to run more and more as pure business concerns with as little interference from Government as possible except for broad policies. The State Trading Corporation, well, is necessary for us for a variety of things, both to encourage this and also, I think, it helps in encouraging our exports.

You talked about encouraging technicians in managerial tasks. I agree with you, because ultimately it is the reflection of the spirit of science that will make us grow. Other countries have done it and it is to the extent that we develop science and the application of science and technology that we are likely to grow. I want to encourage that spirit, and encourage those who possess it. I do not believe in having dead level of mediocrity. Even though I do believe in human quality, I do not think all human beings are actually equal. They obviously are not. Some are geniuses, many are fools, many are in between. But I should like even the fool to have a chance to show that he can go out of his folly.

But all our talk—your talk and my talk—may interest us for the moment, and may have some relevance too in the conditions of today. In these conditions we are faced all the time by the appalling thought of possible war, possible use of hydrogen bombs and atomic bombs. It is a terrible thought, this thought of cold war continuing and the whole world living on the very edge of disaster all the time, and a little push, a little accident may send us all down into the pit of disaster. Really, it is extraordinary how we manage to live in these conditions and don't try to get away from this state of affairs. I do honestly hope that the Great Powers, on whom really these major decisions rest, will somehow pull back from this edge of the precipice. I am convinced, everybody is convinced, I believe, that in every country there is a tremendous demand for peace but, somehow, fear grips them and fear is a very bad companion. And especially, while on one side we see there is a growing demand for peace and cooperative effort towards developing the undeveloped areas of the world, on the other side we find many things being done which are full of danger, full of risks of possible conflict on the biggest scale. Every other question that you and I deal with sinks into a rather secondary place before this major question of war.

Well, I do not know, I have dealt with the subjects you had in mind, Mr Chairman, but I am afraid I have rather rambled. It has been a great pleasure for me to come here, to hear you, to meet you and to speak to you.

Thank you.

6. Planning for Self-sufficiency¹

...You will be going away soon to your respective homes and constituencies. And you will come back just about six weeks from now. In the course of these six weeks I do hope that you will, to some extent, nurse your constituencies, your districts, wherever you work. That is the ordinary democratic process. But apart from that we in the Congress are particularly bound to do this. And, in fact, our weakness has often grown because we have forgotten our local work. Members of Parliament who come here cannot do their local work normally because they are away. They should obviously utilize their vacation periods for this work.

Now, there is no doubt that owing to various causes a certain atmosphere of depression has been created in India generally. Our opponents, of course, make the most of it and add to that by criticizing everything. But even our own people are adding to that confusion and depression. Now, frankly, in spite of all these difficult problems that we face, I see absolutely no reason for that depression. The position that has been created, apart from the failure of the rains and bad harvest and all that which is very unfortunate—the position that has been created is due fundamentally to our advancing, not to our staying still, not to our failure. You must remember that. There is a foreign exchange difficulty which we will no doubt meet somehow or other. I would not say we shall get over it. We will get a few knocks maybe to get over it. The foreign exchange difficulty is due to the fact that we have got good stuff in the shape of machines in exchange for the money that we have to pay. It is an investment. Maybe you might say we have invested too much suddenly; well, maybe. However, we have done it. It is not that money has been wasted. We have invested on things which will produce good results. So there is no reason we should not brag about what we have done but let us take an objective view and explain it to people that there is nothing to be so terribly depressed about. We have difficulties which are inherent in a country which is advancing. If you do not want to go ahead, well, you simply wallow in your poverty and you can never get out of it. There is no way to proceed except through hard work and facing these difficulties.

I gave you the example of China. I am not comparing it nor am I criticizing any country, but the fact is that almost identical difficulties and some times graver difficulties than ours are being faced by China. They also, unfortunately

1. Address to the Congress Parliamentary Party meeting, New Delhi, 21 December 1957. Tape No. M-29/C(i), NMML. Extracts. Nehru first spoke briefly in Hindi. Only the speech given in English is printed here.

for them, had a very bad harvest, and it is a tremendous burden on them. We do not hear naturally of the criticism there because the people there do not criticize and are not allowed to do so. But there they are, they are brave people, they are working hard, they will also get over their difficulties that I am pointing out. They have also got to face foreign exchange difficulties, although their foreign exchange is of a different type limited to some countries. And they have to face a terrific growth in their population every year, far more than ours, nearly double of ours, and their rate of growth is more than ours apart from the large numbers. That is a great terrible problem for them as it is to a lesser degree to us. How other countries following different systems are entangled in the same difficulties! Therefore, I do not want you to go back to your constituencies with glum faces and add to the depression that might have been created by others.

I have often stated that the most important thing for us in India, the basic problem, is the food problem. Now, how do we increase our food production. Well, the first thing is for our State Governments, if I may say so with all respect, to pay more attention to it than they have done in the past. It is such an easy thing for the State Governments, when they are in trouble, to ask the Centre to supply more food. And the Centre has to get it from Australia, America, Russia or China, wherever it comes from. But this habit of thinking and acting is very dangerous for us. We have to get it and we are getting it now. I do not like people shouting about it. Let us get food when necessary. Let us not talk about it so much so as to make people think that we are depending upon others. We ought to make the people think that they have got to produce it themselves. I think that realization has come to the State Governments now and to others too.

Now, there are many things that we require to increase food production. We should concentrate on, let us say, the areas which are the irrigated areas or areas where there is normally good rain. We have, of course, to work everywhere but we have to concentrate on those areas which are under our control. Now, roughly speaking, these areas represent about a hundred million acres in India; it is a lot. And even there, with a little effort, intensive cultivation, good seeds, etc., we can increase our production greatly.

Also I think you should help in gradually trying to bring about a change in food habits and not so much from the point of view of our present difficulties but purely from the medical point of view, from the point of view of balanced diet. Our diet is not a balanced diet. I do not say that you should not eat rice; of course, rice is a very good food. But too much rice and nothing else is a very bad thing obviously. From the health point of view it is not good. Let rice be mixed with vegetables or fish or whatever it is in greater proportion and I

believe we are issuing some such information.

Now, apart from other things, fertilizers are necessary. We do not produce enough fertilizers. Sindri is doing very well indeed. But half a dozen Sindris would probably not be quite adequate. Now people have taken to the new fertilizers. At first there were difficulties. Now there is such a tremendous demand that we cannot meet it. If you get fertilizer from abroad, there is the foreign exchange difficulty again. You go back round and round in this vicious circle. I was calculating the other day how much money we have paid on freight of food alone, leave out the cost of food, in the last few years. I was astounded at the huge sum that has been spent on the freight of food coming to India in the last ten years. For that money we would have got many ships or, to put it differently. For the money we pay for the fertilizers from abroad we could have put up one or two more fertilizer factories here.

Of course, it is very easy to say that, but it does not quite happen so simply. But the point is, apart from our present difficulties which have to be met, we have to look ahead and that is what is called long-term perspective planning—to think ahead, five years ahead, ten years ahead. We have to build fertilizer factories here. Fertilizer factories or any other factories. But where do we get the machines from to build them? In other words, we should have a machine-making plant. I do not say we give up buying things from abroad, we may get them but we should become self-sufficient to some extent. We are building three iron and steel plants, it is a very big thing. The other day when I went to Rourkela, the German engineer there told me that he did not know a single instance anywhere in the world where a country had simultaneously started on so many plants. Well, we are building them, that is alright. But are we going to go on building iron and steel plants with foreign firms doing it and with foreign machines? Obviously, we should produce the machines which shall produce the machinery for the iron and steel plant. In other words, the basic thing becomes machine-making industry. Take the fertilizer machines. Let us have the machine to build that plant. That cannot be done immediately but let us start doing it; in four, five years it will be ready. When we have done that then we approach, well, a measure of self-sufficiency, not of course entirely. And, therefore, the machine-making industry is important.

Next month we are having a number of visitors from abroad. In January, the Prime Ministers of Czechoslovakia and the United Kingdom are coming to Delhi. Then, of course, there is the Congress Session in Assam. In February, I think, two Kings are coming: the King of Afghanistan and the King of Iraq. We shall have next year a very heavy Session. I hope that during this period you will not only recoup yourself, your health and your mental freshness, but also put some life in your constituency. Thank you.

7. To V.T. Krishnamachari¹

Udayana
Santiniketan
December 22, 1957

My dear V.T.,²

There is one matter which has been in my mind and which I wished to speak to you about but forgot to do so. Some time ago we tried to find out in the Planning Commission as to what our future commitments were in regard to foreign exchange. We were given some figures though, as far as I can remember, they were not very precise.³

I suppose that more precise figures are being compiled and not only figures but the nature of the commitment. We might well consider how far it is possible to get rid of a portion of these commitments. This might lighten our burden somewhat and thereby strengthen our general position.

Obviously we cannot touch anything necessary for our important projects and what are called the hard core of the Plan. But there may be a number of things, more particularly relating to consumer goods or other articles of no high importance which might be dealt with in this way. This is not, I am told, an unusual procedure and many of the firms or individuals with whom we have come to some arrangements or contract might agree to a postponement of it. The question is what is the importance of the article to be imported from the point of view of our Plan.

I am mentioning this specially as Dr Gunnar Myrdal⁴ said something about this a little while ago. He thought that it might well be possible to do this as it

1. File No. 17(267)/57-70-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

2. Deputy Chairman, Planning Commission.

3. At a meeting of the Planning Commission on 30 October 1957, when a note analysing the causes of the foreign exchange shortages was considered, Nehru had asked for a fuller break-up of the increase in imports amounting to Rs 326 crores in 1956-57 over the figures for the previous year as mentioned in the note. On 27 November, the Planning Commission prepared a comparative statement indicating the break-up of imports of principal goods in the years 1955-56 and 1956-57 based on the Exchange Control Department data and the Customs statistics. There was, however, some difference in the two sets of data.

4. Swedish economist and politician; Executive Secretary, UN Economic Commission for Europe, Geneva, 1947-57.

was a fairly common practice under special circumstances.⁵

Therefore, I hope some kind of analysis on these lines in regard to the import content might be made.⁶

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

5. On 10 January 1958, Krishnamachari replied to Nehru: "What Dr Myrdal probably has in mind is the cancellation of licences for non-essential goods against which firm orders have not been placed." This had on occasions been done by countries in difficulty, including India in 1949, Krishnamachari pointed out and said: "The cancellation of an import licence after a firm order has been placed is an act of default which we would naturally wish to avoid."
6. Krishnamachari wrote that since the beginning of 1957 the issue of licences had been strict and lately licences were not being revalidated after expiry. At the beginning of October 1957, the total outstanding foreign exchange commitments on Government account were worth Rs 590 crores, almost all orders being related to "the essential requirements of the Plan or to inescapable Defence needs"; as regards commitments of about Rs 400 crores on private account, all outstanding licences of over Rs one lakh were being scrutinized. It was unlikely that cancellation to any significant extent would be possible, he added.

(ii) Industry and Labour

1. To Morarji Desai¹

New Delhi
8th November, 1957

My dear Morarji,²

I gather that in the Foundry Forge Project we are trying to press the Czechs to agree to any payment to be made by us being deferred to 1961 or thereabout. They have referred this matter to their Government. I suppose we have to await their reply.

1. File No. 17(267)/57-70-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.
2. Union Minister of Commerce and Industry.

I am rather sorry that we are pressing them so hard for this as this, in turn, makes them seek Soviet assistance on rather onerous terms. They become thereby a little more dependent on the Soviet Union which is a thing I should not like to encourage in this matter. However, we shall see what developments take place now. The Czechs are very anxious to undertake this work for us and so I have little doubt that there will be some agreement in the end even though the terms are not very favourable to them.

Tomorrow we shall be signing the agreement with the Soviet Union about the utilization of Russian aid.³ This will mean setting up the heavy machine building plant and a number of other projects. I met the Leader⁴ of the Russian team who has been here discussing this matter with our people. He spoke to me about this big machine building plant that is going to be put up near Ranchi under this scheme. He mentioned the Foundry Forge Plant as an essential and integrated part of this big machine building plant. Therefore, there can be no doubt that we must have this Foundry Forge and therefore have to give it the highest priority. This is all tied up with our other basic work.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

3. The agreement was concluded in New Delhi on 9 November for the establishment in India of certain industrial enterprises and credit arrangements worth 500 million roubles. It was proposed to establish a heavy machine building plant, an optical glass factory, a thermal power station (250,000 kW) and enterprises for the mining and treating of coal. The credit, bearing an annual interest of 2½ per cent, would be repaid in 12 equal instalments, beginning from one year after the completion of delivery from the USSR of machinery and equipment in respect of each enterprise. Nehru had informed the Cabinet on 6 November that the terms, as finally agreed upon with the Soviet Union, were "a distinct improvement on those that were originally discussed."
4. N.A. Smelov.

2. To T. T. Krishnamachari¹

New Delhi

November 8, 1957

My dear T. T.,²

As you perhaps know or, at any rate, the Ministry of Finance knows that I gave an interview to some representatives of what is called the Federation of the Life Insurance Field Employees' Unions. I did so because it is my general practice to meet any such deputation if I can find the time. I cannot, and do not, give them any assurance of any action, but I feel that even meeting these people in a friendly way is always helpful.

The Finance Ministry sent me, at my request, a note on this subject. This note as well as the representations of these people are in the file I am sending you. There is also a note by my PSS about the interview I had with these Life Insurance Field Employees' representatives.

It appears that this Federation and these Unions are rather new. I do not think that need matter. In any event, they are likely to develop these Unions.

The deputation that came to see me, were anxious to impress upon me that they had no grievance against the Finance Minister or even the Chairman³ of the Corporation. Indeed, they hardly complained about the Finance Ministry. Their chief grouse appeared to be with the Corporation as such, which had not given effect, according to them, to various assurances given to them by you.

It is for you to decide how to deal with this matter. But a friendly approach always yields results. The Finance Ministry can meet them and discuss these matters with them.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.

2. Union Finance Minister.

3. G.R. Kamat succeeded H.M. Patel as Chairman of the Life Insurance Corporation in June 1957.

3. To Morarji Desai¹

New Delhi
November 8, 1957

My dear Morarji,

Thank you for your letter of November 8 about HAL and other Government owned industries in Bangalore.

When I suggested that there should be some uniformity about State industries in Bangalore and elsewhere,² I did not mean that an identical wage structure, etc., should be created. I felt that obvious discrepancy must necessarily give rise to discontent and could hardly be justified. I was not thinking so much of the wage structure as of other amenities.

In the circumstances you mention, I agree with you that we might take HAL separately. To tie it up with others may create complications and would certainly lead to delay. The situation in HAL should be dealt with promptly.³

While these industries might be dealt with separately, it is to some extent inevitable that one should react on the other and some common features are bound to arise.

Anyhow, I agree with the suggestions you have made. I am referring your letter to the Defence Secretary.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.

2. See, for instance, Nehru's notes to Defence Secretary O. Pulla Reddi, 24 September and 2 October 1957, in *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 39, pp. 320-321 and 323-324.

3. A statement on the demands of the Hindustan Aircraft Employees' Association placed on the Table of the Lok Sabha on 26 November 1957 by the Prime Minister said that the Employees' Association was not acting rightly in holding out threats of strikes and expressed the hope that the Association would withdraw those threats and revert to the method of negotiations. Recalling the interview given by the Prime Minister to the representatives of the Employees' Association on 22 September 1957 during his visit to Mysore, and the subsequent meetings between the Association, the HAL and the labour authorities of Mysore State, the statement said that every effort had been made to meet all reasonable demands.

4. Encouraging the Manufacturing Industry¹

I am glad you sent me this note.² However, whatever might have happened in the past, we have to check this past and try to get this working. Now that the Cabinet have decided something both about the vehicles and the wireless equipment,³ I hope you will press the Ministries concerned in both these matters. If there is difficulty or delay, please let me know and I shall try to help.

It seems to me natural, or at any rate understandable, that, to begin with, some things that we make might be a little more expensive than foreign imported articles. That should not come in our way. We should encourage the manufacture of that article in India not only to save foreign exchange but because that is the initial step. Later no doubt we could manufacture it much cheaper.

1. Note to M.K. Vellodi, Cabinet Secretary, 10 November 1957. JN Collection.
2. Vellodi blamed the Ministry of Finance for "fruitless argument" for years over the Defence Ministry's proposals for purchase of new vehicles, and for wrongly insisting on the "lowest tender" rather than reliable parties for repair of Army vehicles. He defended the ability of the Bharat Electronics Limited (BEL) to produce fine quality wireless equipment for any of the government departments, and deprecated the tendency of some Ministries to go in for imported equipment on account of their lower prices and refined quality. Vellodi added: "We sorely lack a feeling of pride in our national effort and in our national assets, and the determination to work together. I often think that what we require in the Public Sector of our industry is an 'Industrial Dictator', who would drive all these various organizations towards a common goal."
3. The Cabinet discussed two matters on 8 November: the unsatisfactory position regarding the repair of Army vehicles, a large number of which were lying idle; and the inability of the BEL to manufacture wireless equipment for the use of Government departments.

5. To Jagjivan Ram¹

New Delhi

November 23, 1957

My dear Jagjivan Ram,²

I enclose a note³ about my talks with the deputation of the Railwaymen's Federation.⁴ They did not tell me what they were going to do, but I think that they would agree to the position we have taken up. They seemed to be afraid of some kind of trickery which would put them in an embarrassing position later. I assured them that any such thing would be very foolish indeed and would lead to trouble. No Government wanted to invite trouble. We were anxious for unity, etc., etc.

I could not understand why this delay is taking place in regard to the Northern Railwaymen's Union. Sucheta Kripalani⁵ talked about this several times.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.

2. Railway Minister.

3. See the next item.

4. The All India Railwaymen's Federation (AIRF), which had seceded from the National Federation of Indian Railwaymen and was not recognized by Government, had decided to go on strike to achieve recognition. In the meantime, the Railway Minister convened a conference in New Delhi from 19 November in a bid to establish unity between the two Federations. Representatives of both the federations participated in the conference.

5. Congress Member of the Lok Sabha from New Delhi.

6. Talks with the Railwaymen's Federation¹

I met a deputation of the All India Railwaymen's Federation this morning. There were six persons led by Shri Nath Pai.² Among the others were Shri Peter Alvares,³ Shrimati Sucheta Kripalani, Shri Jugal Kishore Sinha⁴ and Shrimati Maniben Kara.

2. Shri Nath Pai said that they were anxious to have unity among the railwaymen and they tried their utmost to work to this end. Then he explained his viewpoint which amounted, in practice, to both the Federations being treated alike. This, according to him, would help during this intervening period to bring about unity.⁵ Otherwise the Joint Committee that it was proposed to appoint would not function satisfactorily and the National Federation would try to bypass it.

3. I told him that we were anxious to have unity among railwaymen and to deal with a united organization. I hoped, therefore, that the efforts made to this end would succeed. But I could not agree to two things. One was to do anything which would bring down the National Federation. That would be improper and almost immoral for Government to do under pressure from others. This federation had been dealing with us and we cannot push it out in this way, although we were quite prepared to help in every way to bring about larger unity among railwaymen. Secondly, I said that it would not be proper for us to give recognition to the new Federation at this stage. I referred to the resolution they had passed some months ago at Poona when they were forming this new Federation. In this resolution there was a general threat of a strike. I said that it was extraordinary that at the moment of starting this Federation and before any chance was given to anyone to consider various matters, they should hold up the flag of a general strike. It was impossible to have any dealings if such an irresponsible course was followed. I had found this very irritating.

1. Note, New Delhi, 23 November 1957. JN Collection.

2. PSP Member of Lok Sabha and Vice-President, Posts and Telegraphs Workers' Union.

3. Goan freedom fighter and member of the executive committee, Praja Socialist Party.

4. PSP Member of the first Lok Sabha.

5. In March 1956, the two main groups of railway workers had decided to merge and form a new body, the National Federation of Indian Railwaymen. The agreement fixed 31 July 1958 as the last date for holding elections to elect office bearers, and for setting up a joint committee of the two groups which would be in charge of implementation of the terms of the agreement.

4. I was told, first of all, that they had not raised this question of a strike in the course of these talks here which had been on an entirely different and friendly level. Secondly, that their Federation was not at all something new, but was in fact a revival of the old body. Thirdly, that they had been suffering from a sense of frustration for a number of years and so when they met together this found vent in this reference to a strike. Anyhow they did not wish to create any trouble. They realized the difficulties before the country.

5. Shri Nath Pai said that they did not wish in any way to suggest anything which might affect the present position of the National Federation. All they wanted was that a psychology of equality should be created. This would help unity. Otherwise conditions would not be created for the National Federation to want or search for unity. They could bypass the Joint Committee and come direct to the Railway Ministry.

6. We discussed this matter for some time. Then I pointed out that as far as I could see, the difference between their approach and what they had been told by the Railway Ministry was not much from the practical point of view. In fact, it was very little indeed. Ultimately, what mattered was not the form of words but how an understanding was worked. It was the spirit of implementation that mattered. The position was thus:

- (1) A Joint Committee was to be formed with a view to working out some method of unity among railwaymen. It was desirable to have this unity and the Railway Ministry would try to help in this as far as they could.
- (2) This Joint Committee, during this intervening period of a few months, should naturally deal with any matters of importance and policy in regard to consultations with Government, etc.
- (3) The National Federation would continue to have the rights and privileges which it possessed as a recognized body. These included the right to approach Government on any matter. It was obvious, however, that in regard to any important matter and especially one of policy, it would not be wise or adequate for Government to bypass the Joint Committee.
- (4) The Railwaymen's Federation was not going to be recognized at this stage, but in effect they would have freedom to approach the Railway Ministry on any matter of importance or policy. They should do so naturally through the Joint Committee. If, however, the Joint Committee put some obstruction in the way, then they could do so directly.

7. There was thus really in practice nothing much left to argue about. There were fears and apprehensions and suspicions which could hardly be met by words or assurances.

8. I told them that I recognized these fears and apprehensions due to past

history, but if we were honest in trying to bring about unity among railwaymen we shall get over them. Also, from the Government's point of view, we wanted satisfactory settlements or agreements with trade unions which could deliver the goods. It served no purpose to us to play off one union against another and thus weaken the trade union movement. We would help in every way to bring about this unity.

9. I put it to the deputation that the picture that had emerged now met their viewpoint very adequately, though not perhaps hundred per cent. I was sure that in practice the Minister of Railways would give every facility of approach to them to discuss any matter of principle and that he would help, insofar as it was possible for him, to bring about this unity. I hoped that after a few months they would come and tell me that this unity had been achieved, and if any trouble arose they could still come and see me and tell me about it so that we could discuss how to deal with the matter.

10. All of them, but more especially Shrimati Sucheta Kripalani, laid great stress on the Northern Railwaymen's Union, whose demand for recognition had been pending for a long time, although it more than fulfilled all the qualifications required. I said that I knew nothing about the merits of this. All I had been told was that this question was a separate one and should be separately considered. In fact, the Railway Ministry was considering it. I was certainly prepared to request the Railway Ministry to expedite the consideration of this matter. There was no point in keeping these things pending. Shri Nath Pai and Shrimati Sucheta Kripalani said that if this union could be recognized this would be a powerful step forward towards the larger unity among railwaymen.

11. After thanking me, the deputation departed.⁶

6. The National Council of Action of the AIRF adopted a resolution in New Delhi on 23 November expressing its decision to unite with the National Federation of Indian Railwaymen "in the cause of unity among railwaymen." The resolution, however, said that while the AIRF had accepted the unity formula "to protect itself against any repetition of the circumstances in which it was a victim of the loss of privileges of a recognized federation," it had decided to review the working of the joint committee and the formula after three months.

7. Promotion of Tourism¹

I have read these notes. I think that Dr Nussbaumer's suggestions are all worthy of consideration. He is not only a man of influence, but a man of experience, and he is obviously trying to help us in developing tourism.

2. I entirely agree that division of responsibility in regard to any matter is not good, more especially in regard to external publicity, whether it is general political publicity or tourism.

3. Some time ago, you will remember, we discussed in the EA Ministry the question of external publicity. That was a preliminary discussion and I was hoping to have a more detailed discussion after you were ready for it with definite proposals. But, even then, we came to the conclusion that it would be desirable to concentrate external publicity in External Affairs. Naturally, we would have a small committee in which Ministries concerned were represented. This applies to the officers dealing with the external publicity also. This matter should be taken up.

4. In regard to tourist literature also, it would be better if Transport Ministry was made responsible for it. Again, there might be a small committee for it.

5. It is difficult to control in any way the various hotels privately owned. But, they might be informed of the criticisms made about them.

6. Ashoka Hotel is becoming popular and it is clear that the service needs improvement. This might be passed on to the Ashoka Hotel.

7. I am glad that the Janpath Hotel is spoken well of. I entirely agree that hotels we should put up, should be of the Janpath type, though, of course, they will be much smaller in other places. Indeed, in some of the tourist places, barring places like Agra, etc., they should be small, without any pretensions to luxury. The rooms should be comfortable, and the food good.

8. What is said about banks, is important. Service is very slow and irritating. I have no personal experience, but I have heard this before.

9. In this note, reference has not been made to Customs difficulties. Dr Nussbaumer spoke to me about these also and said that this was a hindrance to tourist traffic. Many foreigners have complained to me about our Customs. This should certainly be taken up with the Customs people.

10. Please discuss all these matters with the Cabinet Secretary in consultation with Transport Secretary² and Information Secretary.³

1. Note to Secretary General, MEA, New Delhi, 24 November 1957. JN Collection.

2. R.L. Gupta.

3. R.K. Ramadhyani.

8. To Keshava Deva Malaviya¹

New Delhi

25th November 1957

My dear Keshava,²

I have your letter of November 23rd.³ I have read it as well as its enclosures. Some of the points you make may be valid enough, but I am afraid what you write is not a model of clarity. You get emotionally worked up and lose your precision and clarity. That does not help in understanding a problem or in conveying it to others.

The passage you have quoted from T.T.'s letter,⁴ by itself, may have no significance of the type you attach to it. It is a straightforward statement. On the other hand, of course, it might have some greater significance.

You refer to mining arrangements in Orissa.⁵ I have no recollection of the exact conditions there. Yesterday Sukthankar, the Governor, came to me and said that Mahtab⁶ and the Orissa Government were, to put it metaphorically, on the verge of tears because they could not go ahead with their mining programme

1. JN Collection.

2. Union Minister of Mines & Oil.

3. Malaviya wrote that he had come to the conclusion that Finance Minister T.T. Krishnamachari's "methods of dealing with matters are not always in the interest of our cause. He wants people to submit to his personal views or he will exasperate one by his typical methods."

4. Malaviya stated that he had written to T.T. Krishnamachari so as to keep him posted with the position regarding the negotiations with the Assam Oil Company, but he was astounded to read, in the context of India's "foreign policy of friendship and non-alignment", the following passage in Krishnamachari's reply: "It is not my responsibility to tell you what can be done or what cannot be done. I would, however, say that all patterns of loan assistance have to be vetted by Finance [Ministry] so that one agreement does not hurt the prospect of other agreements being entered into, though in different fields."

5. Referring to the "encroachment" on his Ministry during Krishnamachari's tenure as Minister for Commerce & Industry (1952-55), when he had made that Ministry a "partner" with the Orissa Government for mining of iron ore, Malaviya stated that he had protested at this arrangement, but Nehru was "kind enough to connive at" Krishnamachari's "mistakes", although he had commented that "it should not have been done." Malaviya asserted that the Commerce & Industry Ministry was "wholly unequipped to undertake such work", and said that he would try "to put a stop to this rot initiated by T.T." He also thought that the impression that Krishnamachari was "a go-getter, who can push things ahead ...requires very serious revision."

6. Harekrushna Mahtab, Chief Minister of Orissa.

as the Central Government would not let them do so. Probably Sukthankar has seen you about it. Anyhow, any matter like this as between two Ministries can only be decided by a proper and methodical approach in the Cabinet.

You refer to the Panna Diamond Mines.⁷ I know nothing about what the Finance Minister has done about it.

I do not understand your reference to internal resources. It is obvious that internal resources⁸ are strained and will be more and more strained. Foreign exchange is ultimately a projection of internal resources. It is true that one can stretch internal resources more than one can foreign exchange. But ultimately it is a question of what is important and urgent enough to induce us to stretch those resources. If the Finance Minister says that money will be made available for the housing programme in the country he simply means that he considers that an urgent and vital one for which we must stretch ourselves to the utmost.

You talk about Birla. I do not quite understand what you refer to about something he said. I wish you would be a little clearer in your writing.⁹

You refer to the set of advisers around me, apparently not thinking too much of my own ability to understand a problem.¹⁰ I am fully conscious not only of

7. Malaviya wrote that T.T. Krishnamachari, during his recent visit to the US, had invited, on his own authority, "some American interest to come here" for the Panna Diamond Mines oblivious of the fact that this business "was being negotiated in a different way and there is already [a] cheap offer of foreign assistance." He claimed that Krishnamachari "wishes to introduce American capital to do this business" before the Cabinet could finalize the matter.
8. According to Malaviya, Krishnamachari had assured him that "his last budget slashing was a temporary affair and ... (had gone) even to the extent of declaring publicly that any amount of money could be made available for [the] housing programme of the country. He said other things which created a sense of complacency on the internal resources fund. Many of us knew that it was all wrong...."
9. "Mr Birla, after having solved some of his (Finance Minister's) external resources problem", Malaviya wrote, "comes back and says that the internal money is the problem for private sector. They got all that they wanted in the name of free trade and rapid production—perhaps more.... They may get that (internal resources) also at the cost of public sector—as in the past...."
10. Expressing his fears of "a great tragedy" taking place as the Congress Party had "gone deep into a sense of complacency", Malaviya said that he differed "temperamentally and basically with many in the set of advisers round you." He added, "I know how Morarji (Desai) might be reacting to all this (the situation developing), but I do not know how Pantji and Maulana Sahib (A.K. Azad) are advising you on these matters. Younger politicians would not mind going back temporarily even to a complete mustard oil and village philosophy, rather than to beg and manipulate for American capital in the way it has been done in the past few weeks."

the strains and difficulties of our position, but of the effect of any step that we may take both on our economy and our foreign policy relations. I do not propose to allow that foreign policy to be affected materially whatever the strains might be.

Whenever any question arises where there are basically two opinions between Ministries, the obvious thing is to bring it before the Cabinet in a clear and objective form. It does not help to shout about it or to carry on long correspondence about it.

I expect that your oil paper will be ready fairly soon. About the Panna Diamond Mines please let me know what the position has been and is.

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal Nehru

9. The Responsibility of Labour Organizations¹

In the India of today, with its five year plans and dynamic approach to various problems and its growing industrialization, few subjects are of greater importance than labour relations. These are important from every point of view—that of the workers and that of the Government and also that of the employers. Labour problems are essentially human problems, though, unfortunately, they are sometimes exploited for wrong ends.

The proper organization of labour in a disciplined way is essential. This organization, however, while building up the strength of organized labour, should not indulge in adventurist tactics which injure not only the country but the cause of labour. We are all interested in raising the standards and the living conditions of workers. But it is obvious that this can only be achieved through greater production and anything that comes in the way of that production is harmful to all.

I am glad that some beginning is being made in workers' participation in industry.

The Indian National Trade Union Congress has to play a very important and responsible role in this dynamic and developing India. I wish them success.

1. Message to the Indian National Trade Union Congress, New Delhi, 6 December 1957. File No. 9/2/57-PMS. The ninth annual session of the INTUC was held at Madurai on 1 January 1958.

10. Workers' Partnership in Management¹

Friends and comrades,

I come to Madras often and have the privilege of addressing large meetings here. Once, many years ago, I addressed a labour rally at the Stadium.² But, this is the first time I have come to this part of Madras city to address an audience, principally of workers. I am glad of this opportunity, but I am thinking what I should speak to you about. Shall I speak to you about labour problems—workers' problems—in which you are naturally so much interested? Or shall I speak to you about the larger problems of India which, of course, are most important for you and me and, in which, of course, labour problems are a part? For, after all, workers and the others in India can only progress if our country progresses and goes ahead. If the country does not do so, then it is difficult for any group to do so. Or, thirdly, shall I speak to you about all kinds of strange and wonderful things that are happening in the world—both strange and wonderful and dangerous—because they also affect us? There are all these many subjects about which I can speak to you and I want you to be interested in these big subjects, also to understand them, because they will affect your life and mine. We no longer can live cut off from the world, and, therefore, we must understand the world.

I shall begin by saying something to you a little about labour problems, and then tell you something about our big national problems. I will not say much about labour problems but this—that labour in a country is the backbone of the country. When I say labour, I include everybody who works, whether he works with his hands or with his mind and brain. I only exclude people who do not work. And people who do not work either with hands or brains are a burden to the country, because they only eat and drink and they consume goods and do not supply anything to the community! And that is a bad thing. So labour—workers—being the backbone of the country, obviously, the well-being of the country depends upon the well-being of this backbone. It is obvious. Therefore, it is important from every point of view to increase the well-being of the workers in a country.

1. Speech at a rally of workers, Kilpauk, Chennai, 7 December 1957. From *The Hindu*, 8 December 1957.

2. Nehru addressed a meeting of workers in Chennai on 7 October 1936. See *Selected Works* (first series), Vol. 7, pp. 513-516.

What is the meaning of the "well-being" of workers? It means certainly that the workers should have the necessities of life. They should have good food, house, clothing, and other necessities and good work. It also means that they should have opportunities of progress. It means that every worker should have the opportunity not only to learn his trade and improve in it but also to be given other opportunities of education. There should be no worker left who cannot read and write and thus be able to improve himself. Of course, people go to schools now. But, I think that even adult workers should be given opportunities of learning because in that way they can improve themselves and their work.

In a healthy country everybody is a worker. I am the Prime Minister of this country, but I consider myself as a worker and I have to work very hard.

So, if we want to improve the condition of the workers generally, that is, the people generally in the country, how are we to do it? There are many ways, but the principal thing is that we should have resources to improve those conditions. Where do resources come from? They come from the production of the country. A country's wealth is what it produces from the fields, from the factories, from cottage industries and from so many other ways. The more it produces, the more it has to give, to distribute among the people. Therefore, the first thing that a country has to do in order to improve its well-being is to produce more wealth either in the fields or in the factory or in various other ways.

So, the first thing is that a country must produce greater wealth, produce it in the fields, in agriculture or in factories or otherwise. The second thing is that the wealth so produced must be spread out, must be distributed in the country equitably and fairly. It will not be right if most of the wealth went into a few pockets and the others remained poor. So there are two important things, production of wealth and equitable distribution of the wealth produced in the country.

Now, if anything comes in the way of production of wealth—conflicts, let us say, lockouts, strikes or other conflicts—then less wealth is produced, production becomes less and that harms both the nation and the workers, because there are less things to distribute. Therefore, one must avoid all conflicts, but you will ask: "How are we to protect our interests, labour interests?" Well, first of all, I would say that you should have good, strong trade unions and those trade unions should be able to protect your interests, not by shouting slogans, but in many other ways.

I am glad that here in Madras there has not been much of industrial trouble or conflict. Of course, many problems arise and they must be dealt with properly and, therefore, I hope that all the problems that arise in the industry, in labour, will be dealt with in a friendly way, so that the interests of the workers do not suffer, that they are profited and the country is also profited. Any conflict that

comes is bad, especially now when we are making a great effort in our five year plans to increase the wealth of the country, the employment of the country, the industry of the country and generally the welfare of the country.

Remember that we have to raise the 370 million people of this country. This cannot be done by magic, by reciting some mantras or by looking at the stars. This can only be done by hard work, by mutual cooperation, by our helping each other and by planning properly. It is with this purpose that the five year plans have been drawn up, so that we may raise ourselves by greater production and so that the living standards of all our people may go up. I know very well that the present standards of our people are very low—terribly low. I know very well that there are large numbers of unemployed people. I know well that even the children of India are not properly looked after. It makes me sad to think so, because I think the first and the primary duty of us in India must be to look after properly every child in the whole of India so that every child may have good food, of course, and clothing and housing, and may work, play and get training in school so that he or she may grow up, for the first 15 or 16 years, well cared for and well attended till he has grown up as a good citizen of India, working for India. I should like every municipality, corporation and legislative assembly to have this inscribed on its chamber that its first duty is to look after the children. Because, the children are the future of the country and if you do not look after them today and give them every opportunity of growth, then your future will not be good.

Now, industry is growing in India. Our Second Five Year Plan is an effort to industrialize India. Many factories, great and small, are growing and we have to see how they grow. If they grow up in conflict, then the growth will be limited and we will not prosper. Therefore, we have to see that this industrialization takes place peacefully and cooperatively as far as possible. You know that we have in India today many great State factories—that is, great plants owned by the State, that means owned by the people, by the nation. And we also have private factories and plants. There are what are called the public sector and the private sector. The public sector is increasing rapidly. All these new big plants, or many of them, are in the public sector. But we want to encourage the private sector also. In fact, we want to encourage everything that helps in adding to the production and in producing the wealth of the country. We want production as fast as possible. But we want it in a way so that it might benefit the community—and not benefit a few persons or add to the accumulation of riches in a few hands. Therefore, our policy is to increase this public sector and at the same time to encourage the private sector to produce. But all this work should be in terms of the big plans that we make.

Perhaps, you know that we are aiming at a gradual and progressive participation

of workers in the industry, that is, in the management of the industry. This has begun in some places and we hope that this will spread, so that every worker there will feel, not that he is just working for somebody, but he is a partner in a big concern. We also would like to encourage, wherever possible, cooperative undertakings, which also will make the worker a partner in that industry and in the work that he is doing. In fact, we want this country to grow up more and more on a cooperative basis. Whether it is in land or it is in industry, we want people to come together, to cooperate with one another for their own good, for the good of their neighbours and the community, and for the good of the whole country. Thus, we are moving away from the old system of a big employer or a small employee or worker. We are moving towards partnership. Whether it is a State concern, cooperative concern, or a private concern, the element of cooperation between all those working in it comes in and it becomes, in a sense, the joint interest of all as partners to run it, just as we would like this whole country of India to be run in partnership by the 370 million people here. Please keep this in mind.

It is true that we cannot bring all this about suddenly. It takes time to raise 370 million people. It takes time to train them. It takes time to make them think and act together. And I am sorry to say that there are many people who come and create conflict and difficulties, and who encourage them to have such conflict which comes in the way of their progress. But how are we to achieve all we seek. It is for this purpose that we have drawn up these five year plans. There was the First Five Year Plan, which succeeded and laid the foundations of future progress. Then we became more daring and more ambitious and had the Second Five Year Plan in which we are putting up great plants and industries. We are now in the middle of the Second Plan. If—as I hope we will—we succeed in this, then the Third Five Year Plan will be built up on a much higher basis. Then there will be improvement all over the country, in the production of goods and wealth and in the condition of the people. Then wages, salaries and other things will gradually go up, because they can only go up if there is wealth in the country, if there is greater production. Therefore, today it has become very important that we should make this Second Five Year Plan succeed.

Now, some of you may know that we have had some difficulties with this Second Five Year Plan, money difficulties—money especially to pay for the machinery that we get from abroad—what is called foreign exchange. And, there are some other difficulties also. And, some people in our country have become a little depressed and they wonder how we shall be able to succeed in this Plan. Some of our newspapers also write in this way and some people speak in this way and thus are creating a whole atmosphere in the country of depression. I do not like this. What has happened to our people, and especially

those who are intellectuals, to speak in such sorrowful voices all the time as if the world was coming to an end, India was coming to an end and everything was coming to an end? I do not understand this. We have difficulties—great difficulties. We have big difficulties. But they are not bigger than the difficulties we have had in the past. We have overcome greater difficulties and dangers without faltering or losing faith. What then has happened to our people to lose faith, to be full of doubts and questioning about this and about our people and about our future?

It is with faith and belief in ourselves, in our nation, that we fought for *swaraj*, that we struggled against a powerful empire and succeeded in getting independence. Now we require still more that faith and that self-reliance. In a sense we are much stronger to face these problems today than we were 10, 20 or 30 years ago. Why then should anyone lose heart? I do not lose heart. I am not despondent. I am not having the least doubt about India's future, about your future and my future. Take it from me that we shall get over these present difficulties, not by sitting and expecting things to happen, not by looking up at the stars, not by relying on others, but by relying on ourselves, on our country, on our destiny and on our strong arms and good brains.

You know, perhaps, that we have been helped considerably by friendly countries, by the United States of America, by England, by the Soviet Union, by Canada and other countries. We are grateful to them for this help. And, we may receive more help from them for which we shall also be grateful. But remember this—that a country advances by its own spirit, by its own labour and by its own hard work and by relying upon itself. While we are grateful for the help of others, it will be a sorry day if we forgot the principal lesson that Mahatma Gandhi taught us, that is, to rely upon ourselves, to build ourselves up by our own labour. No other country can help you to rise and it is only you and I—all of us together—that can help ourselves to rise. Therefore, be of good heart and have faith in yourselves and work.

I am not afraid of these difficulties. But there is another kind of difficulty, which, I think, is more dangerous. That difficulty brings out an old weakness of our people, and that is that we are not always united, that we are split up and we have conflicts amongst ourselves and we forget the unity of the nation. We forget the basic principle that Gandhiji taught us. And, when I see these disruptive tendencies and people forgetting the larger objectives, the larger good, for smaller quarrels, then indeed I become a little apprehensive.

Remember that when we fought the struggle for India's independence, it was for the freedom of the whole of India that we fought. It was not for the freedom of one part of India, for Madras or Bengal or Bombay or UP or Punjab. It was for the freedom of the whole of India and we established a great republic

of India, of which all these great States and Provinces are parts under which all of you—each one of you and myself—are also small parts. We are proud of being the citizens of this Republic of India. Now, if you forget or I forget this larger ideal of India and think only in terms—in narrower terms—of a State, of a community, a caste or language or anything which is narrower than the big thing, then we lose control. Then we drift into wrong directions. Last year, you will remember, there were great troubles over what was called linguistic provinces. I can understand differences. But, that people should forget the unity of India and think more of their linguistic provinces, showed a great failing and a great weakness in our conception of unity. Just as we wanted the unity of India for our national struggle for independence, just as we built up a great organization—the Indian National Congress—to fight unitedly for the independence of India, built up an organization which spread out all over India from the Himalayas to Kanyakumari in the South, an organization which had people from every State, every religion, every caste, and every language-speaking area—that is how we built up this united struggle and achieved independence—so also we have to fight the new fight of bringing economic progress—the fight against the poverty of India, the fight to succeed in our five year plans. We can only do so by this united front and by going together for it. If we have these disruptive tendencies, and if we waste our time and energies in quarrelling amongst ourselves, then indeed we will not only not achieve the progress we want, but we will be doomed to stagnate again and fall back.

Remember that you are not only the citizens and inhabitants of Madras city or State but that you are the citizens of the whole of India. The whole of India is your inheritance, right up from the Himalayas down south. Just as the State of Madras or the city of Madras is not your private property—I am also a sharer in it, as all of us are—so the whole of India is common inheritance for us. When I think of it and when I speak to you about India, I am filled with pride and also with humility—pride at our past achievements during the long struggle of India for independence, pride at our achievements since Independence was attained, and humility in the face of the great problems that face us. So should you all be. You should be proud of what India has done, not only in the remote past but in our own generation, in our own lives. That should give us strength for the future and we should approach this future with that strength and with that humility.

You know that our ideal is a socialist pattern of society—socialism. Our ideal is that every man, woman and child in India should have equal opportunities, that the big differences in India should go. Men and women are not all equal. It is no good saying that everybody is equal. They are not. Some people are wise, some are fools. Some are intelligent. Some are not so. Some are fat, some are

thin, some are tall, some are short. There are all kinds of people and you cannot, by legislation, make them all alike and it would be a terrible world if they were all alike. But what is most important is that everyone should have equal and full opportunities to develop himself or herself. A person may develop himself as a great artist, another as a great writer, another as a great engineer, another as a great mechanic and another, maybe, as a great farmer. These are all different ways of life. There are thousands of them.

Each person should have full opportunity—that is the objective. Once each person has full opportunity of leading a free life, of having the necessities of life, of having the necessary training and subsequently the opportunity of work according to his ability and progress, then we can think about the next stage later. This is our immediate objective, call it what you will. It is not an easy objective because it means training people. It is not by laws that you bring this about. Law is necessary but you have to improve the human being by training, education and a hundred other ways. Socialism is not only a question of law. It is certainly a question of the organization of human society. It is also a question of organizing yourself and myself, how we think, how we act towards our neighbour. It is a question of organizing our own system of thinking and feeling and our capacity to work together and not to be selfish. These are big things. Therefore, we work in India for equality of opportunity, as the first article of the Congress Constitution says,³ for a casteless society, a society in which there is no caste system, no one caste to dominate over another. We have had enough of caste in this country during the last thousand years or more.

As I told you, you cannot make people equal or alike by law. You can only give them good opportunities, full opportunities. Even so, I have no doubt that the wise will remain wise and the foolish foolish. But the main thing to remember is that we have to bring about these changes and, secondly, these changes can only be brought about properly by peaceful and cooperative methods.

Whenever I come to Madras, I come with great pleasure because I have found Madras a gracious city with an atmosphere of greater calm and repose than I find in the more turbulent North. Also I find a quality of deep wisdom here which often accompanies calm and repose. So I welcome coming here. But lately, during the last few months, strange tidings have come to me from

3. According to Article I of the Constitution of the Congress, "The object of the Indian National Congress is the well-being and advancement of the people of India and the establishment in India, by peaceful and legitimate means, of a Cooperative Commonwealth based on equality of opportunity and of political, economic and social rights, and aiming at world peace and fellowship."

Madras, strange things, strange voices raised, which utterly belie the reputation of Madras city and State. The leader of an organization here, the Dravida Kazhagam, has, according to reports that I have received, been preaching murder, been preaching treason, been preaching that the Constitution of India should be burnt and the Flag of India should be burnt.⁴ What is all this—that any man in India should dare to say so, however high and big? Have we become so low, so weak, that we cannot deal with traitors in this country? And such scandalous state of affairs? I can understand a mad man saying this. If he is a lunatic put him in a mad house. But that any man, whether he is old or young, should in any way dare to challenge Indian freedom, India's Flag and India's Constitution, that is treason. It should be treated as treason and nothing else. It is a challenge not to you in Madras city and Madras State only but it is a challenge to the whole of India. I can tell you that India will not tolerate it whatever happens. If once any weakness is shown in regard to any individuals with traitorous proclivities, then all the evil elements in India will create trouble.

Of the 370 million people of India, all are not angels, or all patriots. There are bad elements, foolish elements and dangerous elements and all kinds of elements among them. The moment this kind of thing is allowed to grow, these bad elements, all the unsocial and antisocial elements will all come up and take advantage of that situation for their own benefit. Therefore, I want you to understand the position. I am not against anybody individually or any group. I want to win over everybody. But there are some things about which there should be no doubt. And among these things is that murder and the preaching of murder will not be permitted, that no traitorous act against India will be permitted by whomsoever it may be done. If the greatest power on earth in possession of atom bombs and hydrogen bombs did it, we will challenge it and will not submit to it. How then can we submit to any individual in India? In what age are we living that any person should openly talk about murder? I do not know what the laws say about it or what the lawyers say about this. I am not a lawyer now. I am a proud son of India and I cannot tolerate this talk of murder in the name of putting an end to caste. Is this the way of putting an end to caste. Is it by this way of murder that this is going to be done? Is it no madness that this is said and listened to?

4. On 3 November 1957, the Dravida Kazhagam, under E.V. Ramaswami Naicker's leadership, gave fifteen days' notice to the Government to delete the provisions in the Constitution dealing with religious freedom. The campaign to burn copies of the Constitution started on 26 November 1957. See also *post*, pp. 387-388.

I do beg of the people of the State to consider this and especially members of this organization. I am sure they are deluded. They should ponder and think over it deeply. By saying it and doing it they are marching straight into perdition and nothing can save them if this kind of thing goes on. It is a challenge and an insult to India's honour and India's honour is not such a poor thing as to put up with insult wherever it may come from.

I have talked to you about many matters, but I should like you now for a few minutes to give thought to the world we live in and to what is happening there. Many strange things are happening and many of the problems we have discussed today may be out of date tomorrow. You have heard, of course, of the atomic energy and atom bombs and the terrible weapons of destruction. You have heard of this, or perhaps seen what is called the earth satellite, this little moon, which some weeks ago or months ago the Russians threw into outer space. Now, what is all this? You have to understand the significance of all this. Man is gaining tremendous power over nature, or understanding the tremendous forces of nature and utilizing them. Man is travelling for the first time in human history into outer space. That is a tremendous thing. All these great changes are happening in the world, and if we remain like frogs in a well, not thinking of what is happening in the world and thinking only of our little troubles and little complaints, then indeed we shall remain backward and poverty stricken and never make progress. So we must remember this new world which is opening out before us and prepare ourselves for it, prepare by pulling ourselves out of those narrowing thoughts and complaints and quarrels, and the old world in which our minds function. We have to go ahead with this new world. We have to make good in this new world and therefore we must fit in into this new world.

I have spoken to you for a long time. Thank you for your patient hearing.

Jai Hind!

11. Ushering in the Electric Train Era¹

Your Excellency,² Chief Minister,³ Jagjivan Ramji and officers and workers of the Railways,

When I arrived here at Howrah, I found hundreds of thousands of people assembled and the hall where the function is being held has been transformed almost into a marriage *pandal*. It is proper that we should be assembled here today. Many people have already pointed out that this is a very auspicious day. The fact is that nowadays every day is an auspicious one. Every day something or the other happens by which India moves a step forward. What we are doing here today, the inauguration of electric trains service, is nothing new in the world. Even in India, it was first started in Bombay. But it is an important step for Calcutta and it takes us one step forward in the nation's march towards progress.

I said that this place looks like a marriage *pandal*. What is the marriage that we are celebrating today? It is a marriage between a bygone age and the new era which is before us. You can say that we are building a bridge between the past and the present. India could not have progressed very much if we had continued to live in the stagnant past. So we drew up the five year plans and what not in order to usher in the new age, to increase India's strength and wealth, to improve the condition of the people of India and to make them well off.

What are the problems that we face today? The most urgent problem is to improve the standard of living of the masses in India, of the hundreds of thousands of people living in and around Howrah and elsewhere in the country. It is a great problem and the building of new industries and bridges and railways, etc., all put together aim at improving the condition of the people and usher in a new era of prosperity in the country. We must not let go of the good things from our past. We must keep ourselves firmly rooted in our ancient culture and traditions and at the same time usher in a new era of science and technology

1. Speech at the inauguration of the electric train service, Howrah Railway Station, Kolkata, 14 December 1957. AIR tapes, NMML. Original in Hindi.

The occasion marked the completion of the first part of Eastern Railway's project of electric traction between Howrah and Sheoraphuli, a distance of 23 kilometres.

2. Padmaja Naidu, Governor of West Bengal.

3. B.C. Roy, Chief Minister of West Bengal.

and benefit from the new knowledge that the world has to offer.

The world has progressed through the medium of science and we too must do the same. Therefore, what we are doing here today is a symbol of yet another great step. India has to keep in step with the advanced nations of the world. Even the age of electricity and railways is becoming outmoded and is being overtaken by the age of atomic energy. But we have no alternative except to pass through this age and for that we need not merely machines and power but human beings with the skill and know-how to operate them. After all, it is human beings who make machines by their skill, knowledge and physical strength.

So we come round to the question of human beings, the men, women and children of India for whom we are doing all these things. They will have to work hard in order to progress. Nobody will do it for them. They will have to use their own intelligence, skill and knowledge to go ahead.

There are more than ten lakhs of people working in the railways from the general manager and the Railway Board to the ordinary worker. As you know, the Railways play a very important role in India. Ten lakh human beings work in the Railways which serve millions of people. There can be no bigger task than this. All the people in the Railways must work together as one large family, because they will benefit only through their own effort. If the Railways do not function well, the loss will be of the people and of the Railways and their employees. There are bound to be ups and downs in such a vast organization. When mistakes are made an attempt must be made to rectify them by mutual agreement. Gone are the days when disputes were sought to be settled through violent means. It only creates further complications.

Indian Railways are making great progress. We must help to make it grow more and more. The railway lines criss-crossing the map of India are the lifeline of the country. Trade and travel depend on the Railways. If there is a blockage, it will bring the entire country to its knees. The Railways are a crucial part of the national work.

Therefore, I appeal to all of you to help in this great task and show to the world what India is capable of. There are complaints about inefficiency and pilferage, etc. It is not a good thing. Human beings engaged in great tasks must grow in stature. Every employee of the Railways must consider himself to be a soldier in the ten lakh strong army as a servant of the nation with a great responsibility. The people, on the other hand, must use the railways carefully for they are public property.

Well, we are assembled here today for an auspicious task, the inauguration of the first electric train from Howrah on the Mughal Sarai track. As Shri Jagjivan Ram told you just now, there is provision for another train from Sealdah. The

population of Calcutta has been growing so rapidly that unless new arrangements are made for transport, there will be no room to even walk on the streets. In this connection I would like to point out that people must try to have smaller families. We must have more trains, more foodgrains and industrial goods, etc., but less human beings. Otherwise we can never get rid of our problems.

Well, I have shared some of the thoughts which are constantly in my mind. Time is up, for the Railways must be punctual, as you know, and I must stop. I congratulate the Eastern Railways and in fact the entire Indian Railways and their employees and hope that they will continue to make progress and serve the people.

Jai Hind!

12. Setting up of Steel Plants¹

I could understand a little of what Harekrushna Mahtabji² said just now. But he was speaking very fast. Those of you who understand Hindi please raise your hands. All right!

As you know, we have a very dear friend, comrade and honoured guest among us—the Prime Minister of Burma.³ Burma is a neighbouring country and we must have friendly ties with it. But the Prime Minister of Burma has always had special affection for India. We are happy that he could come to India and see something of what we are trying to do.

I have been hearing about Rourkela for years. Immediately after Independence, we faced the problem of steel production. We have an old steel plant at Jamshedpur which has been functioning for more than fifty years.⁴ But with the rapid growth in industries, one plant cannot meet the demand for steel. We have had to spend enormous sums of foreign exchange to import steel. That casts a very heavy burden. In the modern world two things are very essential—steel and power. Only those countries which have these two things can progress.

So from the time that India became independent, we have been concerned about increasing the production of steel and electricity. A project on the

1. Speech at a public meeting, Rourkela, 15 December 1957. AIR tapes, NMML. Original in Hindi.
2. Chief Minister of Orissa.
3. Prime Minister of Burma, U Nu visited Rourkela Steel Plant along with Nehru. He was in India from 11 to 16 November 1957.
4. The Tata Iron and Steel Company was established at Jamshedpur on 26 August 1907.

Mahanadi at Hirakud in your State of Orissa is coming up. Then there are others, the Bhakra-Nangal in Punjab, and the Damodar Valley in Bengal, and in Madras, Bihar, etc. They will provide water for irrigation as well as help to generate electricity. Electricity is a great source of power. Illumination is only a small part of it. It is used in industries to run the heavy machinery which human beings cannot do. So we have laid stress on production of steel and electricity because we cannot undertake any major project without these two things.

We had been thinking for years about the best places to set up the steel plants. Then, after a great deal of thought it was decided to set them up in Rourkela in Orissa, Bhilai in Madhya Pradesh and Durgapur in West Bengal. The plant at Jamshedpur is being expanded to twice its size. We want to increase the steel production by four or five times in about five years. We used to produce a hundred and twenty five thousand tonnes of steel in a year. We want to increase it to six hundred thousand tonnes per year, that is, a little more than four times. It will have to be increased even further in the years to come because we want India to become an industrialized nation.

As you can see for yourselves, steel plants are huge affairs. Even when it is only half-complete, thousands of people are working and huge machines are being installed. Entire townships are coming up to house the people who work in these plants. Such projects require large sums of money. It is extremely difficult for a poor country like India to invest so much. But we felt that if India is to progress and the problems of poverty and unemployment which afflict millions in the country are to be solved, we must take these steps. We want to improve the standard of living of the masses and ensure that the basic necessities of life like food, clothes, houses, education, health care and means of livelihood are available to the 37 crores of human beings in the country.

We want in particular that the children should be properly looked after. If we fail to do so, we cannot have a bright future for India. My emphasis is always on the need to look after India's children. I feel very sad to see our beautiful little children, in the villages and cities all over the country, neglected and uncared for. They do not get enough to eat or any of the other basic necessities of life like clothes, proper houses to live in, education or health care. This is not right. Children are a nation's greatest asset. If I ask you who *Bharat Mata* is, you reply that it is India. India is, of course, its mountains, rivers, fields, cities and villages. But ultimately India is her people, you and I, and all of us are little parts that make up a whole. *Bharat Mata* is not something apart from us. Therefore, in order to serve *Bharat Mata*, we must first serve the children of India because the future of India depends on how we look after her children today.

There are plenty of tasks waiting to be done. But everything requires money. Where is a poor country like India likely to get the money from? That is the

greatest difficulty. An individual who is poor finds it difficult to make much headway when he does not have even enough to eat. The same is true of a poor country. But we have to go ahead otherwise we will become more backward. So we have to do some thinking and be prepared to carry additional burden. If we tighten our belts a little today, our condition will improve. Otherwise we stand to lose in the present as well as in the future.

You must have heard about the five year plans. What does planning mean? It means drawing up a plan of action in order to be clear in our minds about our priorities, to increase production in the country so that the national wealth increases. The wealth of a nation is not gold and silver but goods produced by the people from land and in factories, through crafts, etc. Foodgrains, clothes, shoes, all these things constitute national wealth. So also is steel and electricity. Gold and silver may facilitate trade. But they cannot be consumed. You may die of hunger even if you have gold and silver but no food. Therefore, increasing the wealth of a nation means to increase the production of goods by every possible means.

You hear of the affluent countries like the United States of America, England, Germany. The people of those countries are extremely well off. Why? You will find that they produce more from fields and factories in their countries. So they are rich. The more we produce, the more money we shall have with us to spend. After all, the money does not fall from the sky. We may get a little by way of aid from other countries which we accept with thanks. But that is not enough and, moreover, it is only for a short term. A nation has to go ahead on its own steam and produce wealth by working hard. So we were faced with the problem of increasing production—food production and production of industrial goods.

I mentioned the river valley projects, Hirakud and Bhakra. We have taken up these projects for two reasons. One, they will provide water for irrigation and, two, power will be generated. In the past, crops have often been ruined because of the failure of monsoons. Once dams are built on these big rivers, water for irrigation will be available all round the year. Secondly, power is extremely important. So we have to lay stress on increasing food production. The more we grow, the wealthier India will become. The surplus that we have can be utilized to buy machines and other essential goods.

So we started our First Five Year Plan seven years ago and got quite good results. The country as a whole benefited and we achieved the targets that we had set for ourselves. That built up a new self-confidence among the people. We accomplished what we set out to do. Food production is increasing all over the country. If it keeps up like this, we shall soon root out poverty from India. All these things take time. There is no magic formula. India is a vast country.

We cannot achieve anything by chanting mantras or counting beads. People perform huge *yagyas* to invite rains and to get rid of the country's problems, and waste a great deal of rice and ghee and other things. Already there are grave food shortages in the country. Has any country in the world ever progressed by looking heavenwards? A nation can progress only through unity, hard work and effort. Even God does not help those who do not help themselves. So we have to work hard if we want to progress. The same thing applies to the five year plans too. When we make an effort and succeed, it builds up our self-confidence and the capacity to achieve greater things.

After the First Plan, we started the Second Plan which is going on. We have laid stress on heavy industries in the Second Plan. So we are building these steel plants. In fact, to tell you the truth, I feel a little unhappy that we did not begin this work earlier. We would have started reaping the benefits by now. Anyhow, there is no point in thinking about that now. The fact of the matter is that you need the courage and the resources to take on such a heavy burden.

The new steel plants are coming up in Rourkela and Bhilai at the cost of a hungry nation. This poor country of ours is starving itself still more to set up these steel plants. Where are we to get the money from? We get a little aid no doubt. But we have no choice. Unless we do these things, we shall become more backward. We must steel ourselves to bear great hardships today so that the whole country can benefit in the future. That is the only course open to us if we want to progress. We are spending nearly 150 crores of rupees on each steel plant which is an enormous amount of money. It adds up to nearly 500 crores for the three steel plants. A poor country like India has to build up the capital gradually to invest in such projects. But since we have no alternative, we decided that we shall somehow find the money. Once these plants go into production the people will benefit greatly. However, it was a very hard decision to take because it casts a very heavy burden upon the nation. Our backs are bent under this crushing burden at the moment, though that is only temporary. But it is a heavy burden to import these huge machines from Germany and other countries. We have to pay very high prices for them. Moreover, it is a heavy drain on our foreign exchange reserves. But we have to do it. We are facing all these problems. But we have made up our mind to go ahead because India cannot progress an inch without steel. We have to do it. But I want you to understand the tremendous difficulties inherent in uplifting a huge nation like India.

Anyhow, when the question of where to locate the steel plants came up, there were demands from various States because the people feel, and rightly so, that a steel plant will provide more employment opportunities and wealth and the people will become well off in those areas. Take Jamshedpur for instance.

Tatanagar was a barren place earlier. Today not only is it a teeming township but the steel produced here is distributed all over the country and is even exported. It provides employment to the people and new wealth is generated. So various States demanded that the steel plants should be located there. Ultimately, after due consideration, it was decided to set up a huge steel plant in Rourkela. I am happy about it because we must assist the province of Orissa in every possible way to progress. Orissa is really in a bad way. The people are good but poor. So we must help them. I do not like the idea of setting up huge plants in Bombay, Calcutta, Madras or Delhi. The big cities can look after themselves. We must industrialize the backward areas like Orissa.

Therefore, I am happy that Rourkela has been chosen. Then plans were drawn up. We talked to the Germans and came to an agreement with them as we had done with the Russians and the British about Bhilai and Durgapur. We have excellent engineers in India. But we do not produce heavy machinery in India yet which is used in steel plants. I hope that we shall start making it in four-five years and then we shall not have to import it from the West. At the moment we do not produce the machines that we need. So we have entered into an agreement with the Germans, who are intelligent, hard-working people, to set up the plant and make it operational. As you know, the steel plant will be in the public sector, and not in the private sector. Neither will the Germans have its monopoly. The profits will go to the masses. It will not go into the pockets of a few individuals. The work is progressing and the plant is slowly coming up. We hope that there will be considerable progress within the next year or so, when we shall start producing steel.⁵

So, first of all, I would like to congratulate the people of Orissa that this plant has fallen to their share. I hope it will be a symbol of Orissa's progress because progress is vital to this province. There is bound to be some dislocation of the people. This vast tract of land has been acquired by the Government for the plant and the township which has meant that the people who lived here earlier have been shifted from here. Many of them are tribals. All these people have been put to some hardship. I saw them standing with banners in their hands. They have the right to do so. But it is not necessary to wave a banner. I would have gladly met them anyway and listened to their problems, and made an effort to alleviate their suffering. I feel that it should be our first priority to look after

5. The Rourkela Steel Plant, established with financial and technical aid from West Germany, had an initial capacity of one million tonnes of steel production per year. Its various units were commissioned between 3 December 1958 and 7 November 1962. The plant was designed to produce flat products of steel such as plates, sheets, strips and tin plates and large-diameter pipes. The by-products produced in the plant include benzyl, toluene and xylene.

the welfare of the tribal folk. They will have a large share in the wealth which this plant will produce. How can we throw them out and make profit? It is inconceivable. We say that the steel plant will benefit Orissa and India. That is all very well. But what about the poor people who lived here earlier? They must have the first claim on it. I agree that we cannot set up a steel plant without dislocating the lives of some people. But arrangements must be made to see to it that they have to undergo the minimum amount of dislocation. And they stand to gain later. Of course, there will be gains later. There is no doubt about it. But even now they must not be made to suffer unnecessarily.

As I was coming here, I saw banners with demands for house and food and employment. Now, first of all, whatever other shortages there may be, with this steel plant coming up, there will be no dearth of jobs. All the able-bodied people among the tribals will get jobs. Let them come forward. There is no doubt about it that they will be given preference. This is one thing.

Shri Harekrushna Mahtab, the Chief Minister of Orissa, was telling you something just now. He will be staying on here tomorrow to discuss these problems with the representatives of the tribals. As I said, it is impossible that we can set up such a huge plant here without dislocating some people. But it will be ultimately in their own interest. There will be jobs for everyone and new wealth will be generated.

Now, as far as the question of land is concerned, the demand of the displaced people is that they should be given some other piece of land as compensation. I do not know exactly but it is not always possible to give the same kind of land. I agree that wherever possible they should be given land. The problem is that in India the land is limited but the population is huge, and the population continues to increase. If the land which is given in compensation is not fertile, the Government must make arrangements to improve the quality of the land. We must not allow that burden to fall upon the poor tribals. In short, I want to tell you that we feel that the Government of Orissa and the management of the plant must pay special attention to resettling the tribals who have been thrown out of their land.

This is a project which will benefit not only your State but the whole country. Firstly, it will provide jobs and open up new avenues of work with good wages. Secondly, the steel that is produced in this plant will benefit the whole country. All of you will be sharers in the profits. People will come from outside the province also to participate in the task of building this plant. New ancillary industries will spring up all around the plant. In Jamshedpur already there are innumerable such industries. This happens wherever there is a steel plant. It is bound to generate more employment. Besides a whole new township will come up. Arrangements for health care and education of children will be made. This

is how a nation progresses. I am trying to explain to you what we are trying to do. I want to dispel any doubts from the minds of the tribals who have come here holding aloft banners that we are doing any injustice to them. What we are doing is for their own good. There are bound to be ups and downs in a task of this magnitude but as far as possible we should try to remedy the grievances. Let the people come forward with their problems and discuss them with the State administration and the plant authorities. The Chief Minister and the Governor and others will come often to look into your problems. They will meet your representatives. We cannot make much headway if there is tension among the people. There must be mutual cooperation.

I told you about our agreement with the Germans. It is obvious that the major burden will fall upon the Indian engineers. But we have about 150 or so German engineers also who are advising our people. The first thing to be kept in mind is that there must be complete harmony and cooperation between the German and Indian engineers. It is true that we are paying the Germans handsomely. They are not doing it for free. But they have come here to do our work. They will go back once the job is done. They are not going to be here for ever, and we must make an effort to cooperate with them fully. They will be our guests for a couple of years. We must not create tensions or obstacles in their way. That would be foolish for our own work would suffer. They have nothing to lose. Our reputation in the world will also suffer if we do not cooperate. I am not saying that such things are happening here. I have no complaints. I think the work is going well. But such huge projects require complete cooperation among the engineers, whether they are Germans or Indians, overseers, mechanics and others. Even a single loose cog can disturb the entire machine. The world is taking notice of the daring projects like the steel plants and the Bhakra-Nangal that we have taken up and keenly watching as to whether we can accomplish the projects. In a sense, this is a test for us which we must pass. We have to prove ourselves not only in the eyes of the world but for our own good as well. We are spending enormous sums of money everyday on these projects. The slightest hitch or delay will mean great losses. We shall waste lakhs of rupees even if there is a month's delay. Moreover, the longer it takes us to go into production, the more the delay in earning profits. It is we who stand to lose. So everyone must cooperate and work well so that India can progress quickly and earn a name for herself in the world. The entire nation will benefit by this. So we must come out with flying colours in this test.

We have taken up many projects in India. But these three steel plants are the major ones. One section of opinion in the country believes that in view of the crisis in foreign exchange reserves, it would be better to postpone our major projects for some time. We can postpone anything except these steel plants.

The longer we delay, the greater will be the burden upon us in the future. It will also mean greater delay in increasing our earning capacity. We are eagerly awaiting the day when these plants go into production because it will increase the national wealth and enable us to reduce the load of debt. Therefore, we do not wish to postpone the building of the steel plants at Rourkela, Bhilai and Durgapur. In fact, we want to move faster. The engineers alone cannot complete this great task on their own. There has to be complete cooperation between every single man and woman working on this project, irrespective of their roles or status, if this project is to be completed successfully.

The foreign experts working here have a higher degree of know-how and we must learn from them. Once we acquire the technical know-how and skill, we will not have to depend on experts from other countries in the future. Anyhow, some people are in positions of greater responsibility than others according to their education, skills and training. But every individual working on this project has an important role to play. Therefore, you must think of yourselves as one large family. You are not here merely to earn your wages though that is also important, but you are engaged in a great national task which will bear fruit for the next fifty or hundred years. This is how you must look at these tasks. That will help you grow in stature as people engaged in great tasks do. Petty-minded people remain small and petty.

The greatest task before us today is to uplift the 37 crores of human beings in India. There can be no more exciting task than this. Whatever job you may do, in fields or in factories, it is part of the larger task of building a new India. All of you, men and women, boys and girls, must regard yourselves as part of this huge machinery engaged in the task of building a new India. You will grow the influence of a great task.

Please remember that we have to build a great country. It cannot be done by shouting slogans or making a noise. A nation becomes great through hard work and discipline. There is no other alternative. We must bend all our energy into the task of nation building in an atmosphere of unity, harmony and cooperation. If we fritter away our energies in pulling in different directions or in useless squabbles we shall only succeed in destroying ourselves.

As you know, there are various castes, communities, religions, provinces and languages in India. If they are all constantly at loggerheads with one another, it weakens the fabric of national unity. We must put an end to such tendencies. In my opinion, casteism is a terrible evil and must be rooted out. It may have been relevant two thousand years ago, but narrow-minded caste distinctions and taboos cannot fit in in the modern world. We must get rid of these evils and build a strong India and ensure complete harmony and unity among the people, irrespective of their religion and caste. We must extend a helping hand to our downtrodden backward classes, tribals and Harijans in particular.

We are facing grave difficulties at the moment. Crops have failed for three years consecutively, particularly in Uttar Pradesh and Bihar, and this has led to shortage of foodgrains, especially rice. We are importing foodgrains from other countries at an enormous cost, which casts a heavy burden on a poor country like ours. But we have no choice.

So we have to give careful thought to two things. One, we must make up our minds to increase food production in the country. There is no doubt about it that we can do it by using good seeds, fertilizers and ploughs and by setting up cooperative societies everywhere. Wherever it has been done, food production has immediately doubled. It is only by boosting production of foodgrains that we can hope to build steel plants or other industries. Unless we do that there will be no surplus available for investing in development.

Secondly, I do not have to point out that at a time of crisis like the present one, when there is a grave food shortage, we must control consumption and avoid waste. Rice must be consumed sparingly because there is a shortage of rice in the country. We must change our food habits a little and those who are accustomed to eating wheat must give up eating rice. We should leave rice for the rice eaters. This will help to ease the situation a little. There must be no wastage of any kind. We waste a lot of food in weddings and other social functions. We must put a stop to it.

I have talked to you of various matters concerning Rourkela and India as a whole. I will say one more thing. The world is in a dangerous situation today. There is talk of war and nuclear weapons and what not. You may have heard about the Russian satellite which is now orbiting in space. The world is making great progress though, to some extent, it is heading towards a grave abyss. But it is beyond doubt that there is progress. In such a situation, the countries which lack unity, cohesion and the will to work will lag behind. Therefore, we must build a strong India with unity, hard work and cooperation. We must not get bogged down in petty quarrels but make a genuine effort to maintain world peace. We talk of world peace. But before we do that, we must maintain peace within the country if we are to be heard in the world. The women of India in particular must remember that they have a major role to play in all this. A nation cannot progress until its women participate fully in national affairs.

Well, that is all. I hope you will think about what I have told you and participate in the national tasks wholeheartedly. You will benefit yourselves and serve the country too. There must be complete cooperation among the people and no room for petty squabbles or arguments. If there are any problems, we must try to resolve them amicably and accept the consensus. I hope you will have complete success in this great task that you have undertaken in Orissa.

Jai Hind! Please say *Jai Hind* with me thrice.

13. To Lal Bahadur Shastri¹

New Delhi
December 21, 1957

My dear Lal Bahadur,²

This morning, I had a flight in the Fokker Friendship plane which has come from Holland. I had previously seen this aircraft in Holland itself and liked it. I saw much more of it today and liked it still better.

I had a talk with Shrinagesh, our General Manager of HAL, who accompanied us. He told me that the Dutch are prepared and, in fact, are rather anxious to come to an agreement with us and give us licence for the manufacture of this aircraft in India, that is, Bangalore. I am writing to you because the Civil Aviation Department has been dealing with this matter. I do not know what they propose to do about it. But I should like to give you my own impressions. I suggest that your Civil Aviation Department should get into immediate touch with Defence Ministry or Air Headquarters to discuss this matter.

My own impression is that this Fokker Friendship aircraft is not only good, but specially suited to our needs. It is something between the Dakota and the Viscount, and is in fact much nearer the Viscount. It has the same engines, though it has only two. It takes off very rapidly over a short strip, and in coming down also, it does not require much space. It flies at about 270 miles an hour, which is nearly 30 miles less than the Viscount. It is a solid, comfortable aircraft, carrying about forty passengers or three jeeps, if necessary. It is pressurized and appears to be easy to fly. It looks a solid plane. We flew for a considerable time with one engine only, and it made no difference. Recently, this aircraft has flown to Leh in Ladakh and Srinagar, Poonch and Jammu.

Obviously, there are improvements in aircraft design and functioning from day to day. Whatever we may decide upon today, is in a sense out of date tomorrow. But, whatever the improvements may be, we have to decide on a good, solid, serviceable aircraft which will suit both our air services and Defence for transport purposes. This will always stand us in good stead, whatever the improvements may be in future. In any event, if we take up the manufacture of an aircraft, it will take us three to four years, and we have to think of replacing our Dakotas.

1. JN Collection.

2. Union Minister of Transport & Communications.

It is not merely a question of our using this aircraft. But, if we manufacture it, we can sell it, and there will be a ready market. The Dutch, I am told, are prepared to give us a licence to be operated from Aden to Japan, that is, practically the whole of Asia excepting the Soviet Union and China. All this area will be a good market for us.

The Fokker Friendship will just fit in with our scheme to supplement the Viscount. It will be particularly serviceable in Assam and the North Eastern Hills.

I gather that the price of the aircraft is about rupees twenty five lakhs, though I am not quite sure. This is not a very heavy price. But, the question of buying the aircraft is a separate one. What I am more interested is the licence to manufacture it. I am told by Shrinagesh that for this licence, we have to pay the cost of one aircraft, that is, about rupees twenty five lakhs. All this seems to me reasonable. Possibly, we can get slightly better terms.

The main question that arises is, first, of course, that it is suitable for us. That is for the experts to decide. But, as far as I can see, it is eminently suitable. The second question, and an important one, is the question of foreign exchange. I gather that the Dutch are prepared to give us long credit, though how long I do not know. This is a matter for enquiry.

I spoke about this matter to both the Defence Minister³ and the Finance Minister today. I am sending them copies of this letter. I suggest that some steps should be taken soon for Defence and Civil Aviation to consult about it. Finance Minister should, of course, be kept in touch and consulted.

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal Nehru

14. A Visit to Batanagar¹

In the summer of 1938, that is, nearly twenty years ago, I visited Zlyn² in Czechoslovakia and saw the great factories that the Bata brothers³ had constructed there, together with many associated enterprises. I was much impressed by what I then saw.

Two days ago, on the 24th December 1957, I paid a visit to Batanagar⁴ near Calcutta. I had heard of this enterprise from many people and wanted to see it. I was glad, therefore, of this opportunity. Shri M.L. Khaitan⁵ was good enough to take me round this great concern. Although I spent nearly two hours there, I could only visit part of the factory and the houses and amenities provided for the workers.

However, what I saw was certainly impressive. There can be little doubt of the efficiency of this big enterprise and of the modern methods that they employ. Efficiency depends greatly on the relationship existing between the workers and the employers as also on the discipline of the organization. I gained the impression that work is done smoothly and with the necessary discipline and industrial relations were satisfactory. I think that other enterprises and factories could learn much from this example.

My visit to Batanagar was worthwhile and I am glad I went there.

1. Note, Darjeeling, 26 December 1957. File No. 9/2/58-PMS. This note was sent to the Bata Shoe Company.
2. During his visit to Czechoslovakia in August 1938, Nehru, accompanied by Indira, visited Zlin for a day as a guest of Jan A. Bata.
3. Tomas Bata (1876-1932); Czechoslovakian industrialist, nicknamed as the "Henry Ford of Eastern Europe"; founded a shoe factory in Zlin in 1894. Under Jan Antonin Bata (1898-1965), Tomas's brother and successor, the Bata business expanded further—into shoe machinery, tyres, textiles, chemicals, mines, canals, a railway, film studios, manufacture of airplanes, department stores; Jan made Bata a multi-national economic giant, in spite of the recession, employing more than 100,000 people by 1939 from a level of 16,000 in 1932; fled the Nazis for the US and finally settled in Brazil, where he founded several towns; saved hundreds of Jewish families from concentration camps, sending them all over the world.
4. Batanagar, one of the dozens of industrial townships around the world planned, financed and built on the "ideal city" model under Jan Bata's leadership, was developed between 1934-37. The Bata factory here commenced manufacturing shoes in 1936. At Batanagar, Nehru was given three cheques, totalling Rs. 26,001/-, for the PM's Relief Fund, the Chancellor's Rabindranath Tagore Jayanti Fund and the Five Year Plan. One of the cheques was given by the workers. See also *post*, p. 247.
5. Motilal Khaitan (b. 1906); businessman and industrialist; Chairman, Board of Directors, Bata Shoe Company Private Limited, 1957-58.

15. Labour Problems in Indian Industry¹

Very few people can have a greater claim to write on labour problems in India than Shri V.V. Giri.² Intimately connected with the labour movement, he became later the Minister of Labour³ in the Government of India. He thus had the opportunity of dealing with important questions of labour from two different viewpoints. It was my privilege to know him as a labour leader. Later he was a Member of my Cabinet and I valued his help and advice very much.

We have embarked on a large-scale plan of industrialization in India. The growth of industry will lead to ever large numbers of industrial workers. Industry can only function satisfactorily if there are good and cooperative relations between the workers and the management. Therefore, the question of labour relations in India is one of high importance. No one will disagree with this, but there may be different approaches to this problem, as it is intricate and by no means easy. But if the basic objective is accepted, then it should not be difficult to solve problems as they arise.

Past experience in India and other countries helps us, but the past is not a very good guide for the present or the future, as conditions are changing rapidly. I am glad that in India we have accepted the cooperation of workers in the management of industry. I hope this will grow. It is only when there is full cooperation and a sense of partnership that the present day problems will be near solution.

I commend this book to those who wish to study labour problems.

1. Foreword to V.V. Giri, *Labour Problems in Indian Industry*, Darjeeling, 27 December 1957. JN Collection.

2. V.V. Giri was Governor of Uttar Pradesh at the time.

3. From 1952-54.

(iii) Food and Agriculture

1. To Sampurnanand¹

New Delhi

November 5, 1957

My dear Sampurnanand,²

The other day K.D. Malaviya³ told me that while there were about 225 tube wells in Basti District not more than 40 to 50 of them were functioning. This surprised me. Last year a similar complaint came from Bihar and we were much distressed by it. Fortunately we took action immediately then and all the tube wells in Bihar have been working now and helping significantly in meeting the present situation.

To have tube wells and for them not to be used is a double loss. Why this should be so I do not know. Perhaps because the rates are high and people cannot afford them or do not wish to pay for them. However that might be, it is the Government and ultimately the community that suffer. I think it is cheaper in such cases to give free water or we may give it free saying that we shall realize the dues later. Or the dues should be nominal or very low.⁴

This morning at a meeting of the Planning Commission we discussed for some time the food situation, more especially, of course, in Bihar, Uttar Pradesh, Orissa, etc. It appeared then that even now we have received no adequate information from the Governments concerned except, I think, West Bengal and one other Government. The first thing to be done is, of course, to have as accurate information as possible. I hope your Government will be able to send this information soon.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. File No. 31(36)/56-58-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

2. Chief Minister of Uttar Pradesh.

3. Union Minister Keshava Deva Malaviya was Congress Member of the Lok Sabha from Basti in Uttar Pradesh.

4. On 10 November, Nehru drew Sampurnanand's attention to his talks with two PSP members from Gorakhpur about conditions in Gorakhpur district. Nehru wrote to him, "They pointed out that many old wells had dried up and suggested that these might be repaired. Also, they said that, in Deoria, some test works which had been going on for some time had been stopped."

2. To Asoka Mehta¹

New Delhi
November 7, 1957

My dear Asoka,²

Your letter of November 4th. You have used generous language in this about the other members of your Committee.³ I am glad that you found them so. But, the fact that they could work well and cooperatively, must necessarily have depended a great deal on the Chairman and leader of the team.

I have not seen your report⁴ yet. I shall certainly read it with interest and profit. The talk we had the other day was helpful in giving me some indication of your work. In a sense, few things are more important than this question of food and prices. I do hope that your report and recommendations will help us to get out of these difficulties....

With all good wishes,

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. File No. 31(48)/57-58-PMS. Extracts. Also available in JN Collection.
2. Leader of the Praja Socialist Party. He was Chairman of the Foodgrains Enquiry Committee constituted on 24 June 1957.
3. The other members of the Foodgrains Enquiry Committee were: M. Thirumala Rao, S.F.B. Tyabji, Raja Surendra Singh of Nalagarh, Venkatesh Narayan Tivary, B.K. Madan and S.R. Sen. The Committee's terms of reference were, among others, to review the food situation and the rising trend of food prices, and to make recommendations to ensure an appropriate level of prices with due regard to the interests of the producer and the consumer and the maintenance of a reasonable cost structure in the country.
4. For the report of the Foodgrains Enquiry Committee, see *ante*, p. 74, and *post*, p. 156.

3. To Ajit Prasad Jain¹

New Delhi
November 14, 1957

My dear Ajit,

Your letter of November 14th, which I have just read. The point that you raise is that we should immediately proceed to approach Canada for the purchase, on some credit terms, of a considerable quantity of wheat. This matter is important both from your point of view as well as that of Finance. It involves accepting heavy burdens for the future, three or four years later. It must, therefore, be very carefully examined from all these points of view. We have made many mistakes in our planning because we did not keep the future in view. I think, therefore, that this deserves being considered in the Cabinet. I think the Planning Commission should also be consulted.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. File No. 31(58)/57-64-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

4. Congress Resolution on Food Situation¹

The All India Congress Committee, at its meeting held in New Delhi on June 1, 1957, passed a resolution on food production.² It drew attention to the serious situation that had arisen because of bad seasons and repeated and widespread calamities. In spite of this, there had been a progressive increase in food production, but this had not kept pace with higher standards of consumption and the rising population. The Committee treated this matter as one of urgent national importance and recommended in some detail a number of steps which

1. Draft resolution for the Congress Working Committee sent to U.N. Dhebar, Congress President, on 16 November 1957. JN Collection. Also available in AICC Papers, NMML. In the covering letter to Dhebar, Nehru wrote: "I have hurriedly jotted down some points for the resolution on the food situation. I enclose this draft." The Congress Working Committee, which met in New Delhi on 16 and 17 November, adopted the resolution with some minor changes on the second day.
2. In fact, the AICC passed this resolution on 2 June 1957. For the text of the resolution, see *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 38, pp. 113-114.

should be taken by the various Governments in India as well as by the public.

2. Since then heavy rainfall and floods in some parts of the country and in the mountain areas very heavy fall of snow long before it normally takes place, did great harm to the crops. Subsequently, owing to lack of rain in September and October, a drought resulted, more especially, in Bihar, the Eastern Districts of Uttar Pradesh, Orissa and parts of West Bengal and Madhya Pradesh and Bombay. Because of all these calamities, the food situation deteriorated still further and partly imperilled even the next harvest.

3. The Working Committee are³ informed that there are at present adequate reserves with the Government to supplement available stocks of foodgrains in the country and these should prove enough for some months, provided care is taken as to their proper use. It is proposed to import foodgrains also. These imports will largely consist of wheat and some coarser grains, as rice is not available in adequate quantities in the world market.

4. While there is no cause for alarm in the near future, it is essential that adequate preparations be made by the Central and State Governments as well as by the people, so that the period of difficulty during 1958 might be passed over without undue suffering to our people and foundations should be laid for a much greater food production in the future. It is essential to keep the prices of foodgrains at a reasonable level.

5. The Committee presided over by Shri Asoka Mehta has recently reported,⁴ but this report is not before the Working Committee. The report is expected to help in laying down some aspects of the future policy to be pursued. Meanwhile it is urgently necessary to review and take adequate steps both from the short term and long term points of view.

6. From the short term viewpoint, the following steps are essential:

- (i) All waste of foodstuffs must be avoided and foodgrains should be carefully preserved. Restaurants, hotels and like institutions should take particular care to avoid waste, more particularly in regard to foodgrains. Feasts, banquets, etc., should be on an austerity scale and the numbers invited to them should be limited.
- (ii) In particular, the consumption of rice in the wheat-eating areas should be strictly limited so that this may be available in the other parts of India.
- (iii) Organized attempts should be made to introduce substitute foods and to encourage balanced diets, even though these might involve change in

3. The resolution adopted by the Working Committee had 'is' in place of 'are'.

4. For the report of the Foodgrains Enquiry Committee headed by Asoka Mehta, see *ante*, p. 74, and *post*, p. 156.

the pattern of food consumption. As has been often stated, the present food habits in the country are not conducive to health and recognized authorities in medicine and nutrition are of opinion that even from the point of view of health and nutrition there should be a change in favour of a more balanced diet. Where rice is the basic diet, some part of it should be replaced by wheat or⁵ other articles of food. Production and consumption of vegetables should be increased.

- (iv) Production of short term crops should be taken up systematically and immediately. Among the short term crops maize and some of the coarser grains should be cultivated wherever suitable. Potatoes and bananas should also be used as staple articles of diet. *Kutch* wells should be sunk to supply water for these short-term crops.
- (v) More fish should be produced and consumed by those who have no objections to such a diet.
- (vi) Every available small piece of land should be used for growing vegetables etc., more especially land near villages. [This will be particularly applicable to areas of Madhya Pradesh in the old Madhya Bharat and Vindhya Pradesh.]⁶ Small parcels of land of one acre or so which are at present not being cultivated should be given to some nearby family temporarily. No elaborate arrangements are required for this. *Usar* and saline land should also be used wherever possible for raising suitable crops and should be treated so as to make it cultivable.
- (vii) Relief works should be specially related to agricultural production. Small schemes should be encouraged and village panchayats should be put in charge of these schemes. The community development blocks should particularly interest themselves in these small schemes. Doles should be avoided [except in the case of the infirm].⁷ Every attempt should thus be made to fill the deficit by this short-term production. It should be realized that the present crisis can only be met by the fullest coordination between official and non-official agencies. Targets should be set for this short-term production and each village and, wherever possible, each family should be set a target.
- (viii) The Agricultural Departments of State Governments should be activated and should take up this work as one of top priority and extreme national urgency.

5. Instead of 'or' it was 'and' in the final resolution.

6. This sentence in square brackets was omitted in the final resolution.

7. The words in square brackets were omitted in the final resolution.

- (ix) There should be no hoarding. The Government should also take adequate steps to prevent it.

7. While the short-term aspect is of immediate importance, it is necessary to keep the long-term problem in view and prepare for it. The only solution of the food problem is greater production. Indeed the whole progress of the country, the five year plan, industrialization, etc., depend ultimately on agricultural production, more especially of cereals. That is the foundation on which everything else has to be built. While there has been continuous progress in food production during the past few years, the pace of this progress has not been adequate and has to be accelerated.

8. The climatic changes which appear to be taking place affecting the normal rainfall make it even more incumbent on us to increase food production rapidly. For this purpose all attempts should be made to convert *usar* and saline lands into cultivated areas.

9. Food production depends chiefly on regular rainfall. This is controlled to a considerable extent by forests and trees. The lack of trees has led to irregular and precipitate rainfall in large quantities which destroys crops and leads to soil erosion. It is a special feature of deserts to have this precipitate rainfall in large quantities and dry periods subsequently. The fact that such sudden and precipitate rainfall is occurring in some areas in eastern UP and parts of Bihar indicates that the situation is deteriorating and long term measures have to be taken in order to check this deterioration. The growth of desert areas has not only to be stopped but the deserts have to be conquered by large-scale afforestation.

10. In the Punjab there is a vast area which is waterlogged. This is a dangerous development and must be treated as early as possible.

11. While the position is a serious one, it can undoubtedly be met satisfactorily if there is a combined effort on the part of the people and the Governments on the lines indicated above. In spite of the numerous calamities from which the country has suffered during this year and the bad seasons of the past two years, the actual deficit is only about ten per cent. This will partly be met by imports. The rest must be met by further production, by avoidance of waste and extravagance and equitable distribution.

12. The Working Committee calls upon the people to undertake this programme immediately.

5. To Rajendra Prasad¹

New Delhi

November 16, 1957

My dear Rajendra Babu,

We discussed this afternoon at considerable length in the Working Committee, the food situation in the country.² This is already serious, but the danger is that it might get worse. In a sense, we shall carry on with what we have and what we are likely to get, till April next, even though there will be considerable hardships. The period from May to October is going to be a still more difficult one.

So far as rice is concerned, very little is available in the world market. We shall get some, though not much, from Burma. We might get a little elsewhere. At the most, we might perhaps get five hundred thousand tons, though even that is doubtful. We have, therefore, to get wheat and coarser foodgrains in a much larger quantity. All this involves a terrible and almost unbearable strain on our economy and especially on foreign exchange.

We shall try to get what we can from abroad within our resources. But, inevitably, we have to take steps within the country to economize and avoid waste, and try to raise short term crops, wherever possible. We shall have to appeal to the people to this end and take such other measures as are possible to prevent the waste or extravagance. We shall also have to appeal to the wheat-eating areas not to eat rice. Naturally, if we do so, we shall have to set an example ourselves.

I suggest for your consideration that in banquets given at Rashtrapati Bhavan, simpler fare than usual should be provided and, more particularly, rice might be avoided. You will remember that, in 1947-48, the Mountbattens cut down their dinners and banquets to an absolute minimum. Indeed, they went below the minimum, and people remained hungry. Rice was cut out completely and so, I think, was wheat. There was no sugar and no milk even for tea or coffee. I do not think we need to go that far. But, a certain simplicity in the banquets would no doubt be appreciated, more particularly in regard to rice.³

1. File No. 31(30)/56-PMS.

2. See the preceding item for the Congress Working Committee resolution on food situation.

3. President Rajendra Prasad replied the next day, "I have myself been anxious about the food situation and will talk to you about it when we meet next." Regarding Nehru's suggestion for economizing on food and avoiding waste, he said: "I shall have a talk with the Military Secretary and ask him to take necessary steps for the purpose."

We have to steer rather carefully. On the one hand, people should realize that the situation is a serious one, and, therefore, they have to put up with certain limitations. On the other hand, it is dangerous to create a scare, which will have a bad effect.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

6. To Ajit Prasad Jain¹

New Delhi
November 16, 1957

My dear Ajit,

I have just seen a telegram No. 904 addressed to H.M. Patel, from Govindan Nair from Washington, dated 15th November.² You must have seen this. From this it appears that Secretary Benson³ has got the idea that we are quite happy till the end of June and it is only after that that some other steps might be taken. Obviously, this is not the position and I hope you will clear it up immediately.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. File No. 31(58)/57-64-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.
2. Govindan Nair informed H.M. Patel, Principal Secretary in the Ministry of Finance, that during discussions in Washington on India's request for additional aid, the Indian Food Ministry had informed the US Agriculture Secretary Benson that India had one million tons of foodgrains in reserve stocks. This had led the US officials to infer that there was no urgency to continue PL 480 supplies at the level of about 250,000 tons a month after January 1958 and that India could afford to wait for allotment from fresh PL 480 appropriation for the next financial year. Govindan Nair asked for clarification of the position.
3. Ezra Taft Benson (1899-1994); American church leader and right-wing politician; became Executive Secretary, National Council of Farmer Cooperatives, 1939; ordained to the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles, 1943, and became its President, 1973; served as Secretary of Agriculture for both of the administrations of President Eisenhower; became President of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1985.

7. Avoid Feasts to Save Foodstuffs¹

Will you please write immediately to the Chamber of Commerce in Kanpur where I am going on the 29th November that in view of the food shortage and the resolution of the Congress Working Committee against feasts for large numbers of people,² I do not think it will be at all proper for any big luncheon to be given. The money to be spent on this luncheon should be utilized for some other and more appropriate purpose. I should like them therefore to cancel this luncheon.

I am however prepared to meet the members for a short while after their meeting. They can serve coffee and biscuits then.

Send a copy of this letter to Dr Sampurnanand, Chief Minister of UP. Also a copy to Shri Munishwar Dutt Upadhyaya, MP, President of the UP Pradesh Congress Committee.

In addition to this letter, you might send a telegram to Shri Jaipuria³ who invited me personally to this Chamber of Commerce meeting and lunch. Say as follows:

“Prime Minister suggests that in view of the food situation and the decision to avoid large feasts and prevent all wastage of foodstuffs, the luncheon proposed after the Chamber of Commerce meeting should be abandoned. Only coffee and biscuits may be served after the meeting. Fuller letter follows.”⁴

1. Note to K. Ram, Principal Private Secretary, New Delhi, 18 November 1957. JN Collection. Also available in File No. 8/46/57-PMS.
2. The Congress Working Committee passed this resolution on 17 November 1957. See *ante*, pp. 148-151.
3. Sitaram Jaipuria (b. 1926); businessman and financier, owner of vegetable ghee factory, collieries, oil, *dal* and rice mills, rolling mills, silk and art silk mills, plastic factory, sugar mills, etc; Director, Jaipuria Brothers Ltd; Chairman, Advisory Committee of the Government Textile Institute, Kanpur; Member, Committee of Employees, Association of North India, Kanpur; Member, Committee of the Merchants' Chamber of Uttar Pradesh, Kanpur.
4. For Nehru's speech at the silver jubilee function of the Merchants' Chamber of Uttar Pradesh at Kanpur on 29 November 1957, see *ante*, pp. 85-90.

8. To Chief Ministers¹

New Delhi

20 November, 1957

My dear Chief Minister,

I am writing to you rather a special letter. This is not my normal fortnightly. I wish to draw your particular attention to a resolution passed by the Congress Working Committee recently in regard to the food situation² and the steps to be taken to meet it. I am referring to the Working Committee resolution because it has indicated in a concise form various steps which should be taken in this matter. We have to deal with this food situation with clarity and yet with tact. We have to impress upon our people that the situation is a serious one requiring special steps and extraordinary measures. At the same time, we have to take care that there is nothing in the nature of panic. Sometimes, even an incautious statement leads to prices going up. This has obviously to be avoided.

2. The position broadly is, as stated by our Food Minister, that we have fairly considerable stocks at present, amounting to about a million tons of foodgrains. We expect more to come in. But, our present expectations are not likely to carry us beyond April next. The *Rabi* crop will not help much. Therefore, unless some additional imports come in considerable quantity or we make some very special efforts in the country, both to increase production of some kind of foodstuffs and to avoid waste and extravagance, we shall have to face a very difficult situation from May onwards till October when the next harvest is due. Obviously we cannot wait till May to take some special steps. We have not only to prepare the ground, but take these steps in the near future.

3. You will remember that when the Second Five Year Plan was in a draft stage, it was suggested there that we should aim at an increase of ten million tons of foodgrains in the course of this five year period. When this was discussed at the National Development Council and otherwise, we decided to increase this target to 15.5 million tons by 1960-61. This was not done in an ad hoc way, but after the fullest consultation with State Governments in September-October, 1956. The Planning Commission had in view a forty per cent increase. However, after all these detailed discussions with representatives of State Governments, it was decided by the Planning Commission to aim at a minimum of twenty four per cent increase in foodgrains during this period. This amounted to 15.5 million

1. File No. 31(30)/56-PMS. Also printed in G. Parthasarathi (ed.), *Jawaharlal Nehru: Letters to Chief Ministers 1947-1964*, Vol. 4, pp. 599-605.

2. See *ante*, pp. 148-151.

tons. The Planning Commission gave an assurance to the States that the funds needed for achieving these targets would be provided in the annual plans. In November 1956, a press communique was issued by the Planning Commission, with the concurrence of the Food and Agriculture Ministry, indicating the results of these decisions. These results were also placed before the National Development Council and approved by that body in December 1956. In the annual plans for 1956-57 and 1957-58, adequate provision was made for schemes for achieving these targets. In most of the States, the amounts provided have not been fully utilized.

4. I am giving this past history because of the recent Report of the Asoka Mehta Committee. In Chapter V of this Report, the following statement is made by the Committee:

Most of the State Governments told us that not more than sixty per cent of the revised targets under the Second Plan will actually be achieved. We, therefore, feel that the revised targets of additional foodgrains production are no longer realistic.

The Committee thereupon suggested a target of 10.3 million tons as against the fifteen million tons previously agreed to by the States. Later on, however, in the Report, the Committee says:

In fact, we believe that if full use is made of all our resources, it may still be possible to reach closer to the Plan target than the above estimate.

Thus, even the Asoka Mehta Committee felt that the Planning Commission's target of fifteen million tons could be achieved if full use was made of all our resources. If so, it is not clear why they should have thought that this was not realistic and that realism consisted in not expecting full use of our resources.

5. What disturbs me, however, is that the State Governments should have told the Committee within a few months of their accepting the targets, after full consultation with the Planning Commission, that they could only fulfil sixty per cent of the targets. You will appreciate that such changes and doubts in regard to a vital sector of the Plan within a few months, make planning very difficult. I really do not understand this change in the attitude of some of the State Governments. I should like you to look into this matter.³

3. Paragraphs 3 to 5 above were written at the instance of V.T. Krishnamachari, who had drawn Nehru's attention on 20 November to the discrepancy in the Asoka Mehta Committee report regarding the possibility of achieving the Plan target in respect of additional foodgrains production. Krishnamachari wondered why it was "realistic" to assume "that full use will not be made of all our resources," and requested Nehru to put this point to the Chief Ministers.

6. We have been repeating almost ad nauseam that agricultural production, and especially production of cereals, is the very basis and foundation of our plan and of our progress. For the last year at least, we have laid the greatest stress upon it. In Parliament, during the Planning Commission debate, this has been emphasized by many Members and on behalf of Government. The recent drought has made this a matter of extreme importance. But, even apart from the drought, it is clear that our future depends largely on food production. How, then, can we treat this matter so lightly and change our opinions and estimates within a few months?

7. The fifteen million ton target was not, I repeat, fixed on an ad hoc basis, without full calculation. Is it that we do not fully realize the extreme urgency of this matter, and imagine that it is difficult to make a big effort? That is a depressing conclusion to arrive at.

8. I am quite convinced that this extreme effort is essential and that we cannot aim at anything lower than fifteen million tons, and that this can be done if we try hard enough. Are we going to try hard enough or are we to sit supinely and wait for things to happen?

9. I have drawn your attention to the Working Committee resolution which you must have seen. In this, both the short-term and the long-term aspects have been considered. In the long-term aspect, attention is drawn to the progressive spread of what might be called desert conditions in some parts of the country. The way rains come down precipitately now, due chiefly to lack of forests and trees, is a dangerous symptom. In fact, while we talk about planting trees and *van mahotsava*, actually we treat this rather casually and as some kind of an annual event. Our forests disappear, leading to disastrous results. We must have an extensive and clearly defined plan of afforestation on a large scale.

10. In some parts of the country, more especially the Punjab, we suffer from water-logging. Again, it appears that we wait for some major schemes to deal with this dangerous development. Surely, this is not good enough. A great deal can be done by small schemes or in a small way. Everything now is made to depend on large sums of money as grants from somewhere. The local area asks for a grant from the State Government; the State Government looks to the Centre; the Central Government looks for credits or grants to other countries. This is not the right approach, and if we depend on everybody but ourselves, we shall sink more and more in this morass.

For the short term, it is essential that:

- (1) All waste of foodstuffs must be avoided. Restaurants, hotels and like institutions must be asked to avoid waste, more particularly in regard to

foodgrains. We must give up feasts and banquets. We must limit people invited to functions where meals are served. In fact, we should do all this on an austerity scale.

- (2) The consumption of rice should be limited everywhere, and, to some extent, replaced by wheat or other grains. In the wheat-eating areas, more particularly, rice should be strictly limited, so that it may be available in other parts of India. It should be remembered that it is very difficult to get rice from abroad. There is scarcity of it the world over. We hope to get some from Burma, but that will not be much. Wheat, at least, we can get, though every import is a heavy burden on us.
- (3) Organized attempts should be made to introduce substitute foods and to encourage a balanced diet, even though this involves change in the pattern of food consumption. It has often been stated that the present food habits in the country are not conducive to health, and recognized authorities in medicine and nutrition are of opinion that even from this point of view there should be a change in favour of a more balanced diet. Production and consumption of vegetables should be increased.⁴
- (4) More fish should be produced and consumed by those who have no objection to such diet.
- (5) Production of short-term crops should be taken up systematically and immediately. This will depend on the area as to what crops can be grown there. In some places, maize or some of the coarser grains can be cultivated. Potatoes and bananas should be encouraged. For these short-term crops, *kutch*a wells should be sunk to supply water, wherever this is feasible. *Kutch*a water channels can also be made.
- (6) Every available small piece of land should be used for growing some foodstuff. More particularly, this should be done near villages. It is possible to make even *usar* or saline land cultivable with a little treatment.
- (7) Relief works should be specially related to agricultural production. Small schemes should be encouraged and village panchayats should be put in charge of these schemes. The community development blocks should particularly interest themselves in these small schemes. Doles must be avoided except in the case of the infirm. Every attempt should thus be made to fill the deficit by short-term production. It should be realized that the present crisis can only be met by the fullest coordination between official and non-official agencies. Targets should be set for the short-term as well as long-term production, and each village, and wherever possible, each family should be set a target.

4. See also *post*, p. 251.

11. It has sometimes been said that the Agricultural Departments of State Governments are considered not too important. This is obviously not right. They have to deal with the most important sector of our economy. They should therefore, be activated and take up their work as one of top priority and extreme national urgency.

12. I have repeated here some of the suggestions that have been made. No doubt, others will suggest themselves to you. The point is that all of us should realize the vital necessity of attacking this food position from all fronts and not wait for some miracle to happen from the Centre or from overseas. Our attention must be diverted more and more to self-help.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

9. To Ajit Prasad Jain¹

New Delhi
21st November, 1957

My dear Ajit,

Last night I dictated a letter to the Chief Ministers of States in regard to the food situation. This is being issued today and a copy will reach you in the course of the day.

This morning I see in the *Statesman* a news item on page 1. This refers to the opinion within the Food Ministry expressing satisfaction that the Committee's analysis has led to vindicate the stand consistently taken by the Food Ministry with regard to production targets and requirements. Further, it is pointed out with great smugness that the fault has all along lain with the Planning Commission for its erroneous outlook on policies.²

1. JN Collection.

2. Referring to opinion within the Food Ministry, *The Statesman* report said that the Asoka Mehta Committee's admission about the effect of the absence of buffer stocks on prices only confirmed what successive Food Ministers, including A.P. Jain, had emphasized for many years. "It is known, however, that the proposal for buffer stocks of imported grains was opposed by the Planning Commission on the ground that internal production should be stepped up further in preference to an increase in imports, which would have cost valuable foreign exchange." It was for this reason, the report added, that the Planning Commission had stepped up by about five million tons the production target fixed by the Food Ministry, with which the Asoka Mehta Committee was in agreement rather than with the figure advocated by the Planning Commission.

You will have seen this in the *Statesman*. I should like you to have an immediate inquiry made in your Ministry as to who is responsible for giving or suggesting this item in today's *Statesman*. Apart from the extreme impropriety of any official of the Food Ministry behaving in this way to the injury of the nation merely because he wants to show how much better his Ministry is than the Planning Commission, this raises other and wider issues also. If the officials of the Food Ministry think and act in this way, are they competent to deal with the serious food situation that has arisen? I have long had an impression that your so-called experts tend to be obstructive to any new idea. If they cannot deal with the situation, then they should go and somebody else who is more competent should be appointed. It is disgraceful for any official at any time, and more especially at the present juncture, to go about trying to show how wise he was and how foolish the Planning Commission is. Do we work in separate empires?

I shall be grateful if you will please have an inquiry made as to who has been in touch with the *Statesman* reporters in this matter.³

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

3. Jain replied the same day that on 20 November, Prem Bhatia, political correspondent of *The Statesman*, had asked him about the Asoka Mehta Committee report and he had told him that "the Committee had supported the various measures taken by the Ministry to deal with the food situation." He added that he had not laid any blame on the Planning Commission. He further wrote that he had enquired from his officers and he was told that "none of them had any talk with any newspaperman." Jain offered to resign in case Nehru considered his talk with Prem Bhatia as improper or if Nehru thought that things would improve by his quitting the Ministry.

10. To M.K. Vellodi¹

New Delhi

November 21, 1957

My dear Vellodi,²

Yesterday, I sent you a copy of a letter issued to Chief Ministers about the food situation. This was sent to all the Cabinet Ministers also and to Members of the Planning Commission.

I am a little troubled about this matter, not so much about the situation itself, though that is bad enough, but, even more so, because I have a feeling that we are not dealing with it adequately. I refer specially to the States. Also, I gather that the Food & Agriculture Ministry, or rather the Agricultural part of it, is not functioning satisfactorily. I had a vague idea that this was so, but I had a talk with Food & Agriculture Minister this evening, which surprised and rather alarmed me. He told me that the Agriculture Ministry was at sixes and sevens and senior officials were pulling in different directions and quarrelling with each other. He said that he had spoken to you some time ago, about a month or so, and suggested that some changes should be made there among senior officials. He mentioned especially that he wanted a change in the Secretary, Thapar,³ and a Joint Secretary whose name I forget.

If this is the state of affairs there, surely, you must take early action and put some really bright and energetic people there.

I enclose a note⁴ which I should like you to circulate to the Cabinet for consideration at a meeting.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.

2. Cabinet Secretary.

3. P.N. Thapar.

4. See the next item.

11. The Food Situation: Short-term and Long-term Aspects¹

The food situation in India demands concentrated attention. There are many aspects of it to be considered—the short term and the long term. A number of suggestions have been made, more or less on well recognized lines. But, whatever the suggestions or proposals might be, the main thing is, how to implement them, both at the Centre and, more especially, in the States.

2. It has often been said that the Agricultural Department in the States is considered a relatively unimportant department. This has to be remedied, and the State Governments should realize the vital importance of their Agriculture Department. What exactly we should do in this matter is not clear to me, except to impress this fact upon them.

3. So far as our own Ministry of Food & Agriculture is concerned, the Agricultural side of it requires immediate attention, so that it might be geared up for action. I had a talk with the Food & Agriculture Minister this evening on this subject, and he agreed with me. Indeed, it was he who suggested this.

4. Ultimately, the problem is of increasing food production as rapidly as possible. I do not propose to refer here to the various steps we have taken or intend to take. But, there are three aspects of this, which, I think, require special attention:

- (1) The areas affected by the recent drought, more especially, the eastern districts of Uttar Pradesh, a number of districts in north Bihar, Orissa, and, perhaps, some parts of West Bengal, present problems which are not temporary in their nature. These areas are very heavily populated and suffer from a permanent deficit. The land is becoming dry and some conditions which are usually associated with desert areas, can be observed now. This is a dangerous development, and we should take some very special measures to combat these tendencies. The State Governments concerned have made various proposals which, no doubt, are worthy of consideration. I feel, however, that a deeper study of this problem in these scarcity areas should be made. I suggest, therefore, that a small expert committee, say, of three persons, should be asked to study these areas from all these various points of view and to suggest remedies. This

1. Note for the Cabinet, New Delhi, 21 November 1957. File No. 31(30)/56-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

is, no doubt, a long term project. That is all the more reason that some kind of a beginning should be made.

- (2) Then, there is the question of *usar* and saline lands and reclaiming them for cultivation. Undoubtedly, this can be done if water is available and, in many places, water is available. Small experiments have succeeded. We might extend this reclamation on a bigger scale.
- (3) Water-logging in the Punjab. The Punjab has done very well in food production. It can do infinitely better. And it is a tragedy to see some millions of acres deteriorating fast because of water-logging. I am told that this problem has been studied for some considerable time past, and engineers have made various suggestions. All of these involve vast expenditure of money, which is beyond our capacity. But, we cannot possibly allow this fairly rapid deterioration to go on. All our efforts at more food production are neutralized by this good land becoming uncultivable. I feel, therefore, that this question should also be considered as an urgent matter and from the point of view of finding some remedies which are not terribly costly. The Punjab has very good irrigation engineers. Unfortunately, they have got used to thinking in a big way. Perhaps, they might be induced to think in smaller ways and suggest simpler methods. Even bigger methods can be introduced gradually.

5. All these three major problems of North India ultimately resolve themselves into stopping the reversion of cultivable land into uncultivable land. There is a fourth and equally important matter, and that is the growth of desert conditions, in western UP, Madhya Bharat, etc., that is, the spread of the Rajasthan desert. Slowly, but inexorably, this has been spreading. I believe something has been done, but I doubt if it is much. The only real way to combat the spread of the desert is by planting trees, in fact, by growing forests in various places.

6. Also, I think that it is possible in various parts of Rajasthan to get some subsoil water. These parts may not be extensive but even that water will help in irrigating some areas and in growing trees, which will help in preventing desert conditions from spreading.

7. I should like this note to be circulated to Members of the Cabinet and put up at a meeting of the Cabinet for a preliminary discussion. The Food & Agriculture Ministry might be requested to put up such information as they may have in regard to the points mentioned above.

12. To Partap Singh Kairon¹

New Delhi

November 21, 1957

My dear Partap Singh,²

You may have noticed in the resolution of the Working Committee on the food situation that special reference was made to water logging in the Punjab.³ I am rather alarmed at the extent of this water logging there. I am told that this matter is very much in your mind and that your engineers have made various proposals. The Punjab has good engineers, but they have got so used to gigantic schemes that they can only think in a big way. I wish you could induce them to think in smaller ways and suggest smaller remedies which do not involve the expenditure of vast sums of money. This water logging is a very dangerous development which may well ruin the Punjab if not adequately dealt with forthwith. We are giving thought to this matter, but I am writing to you so that you may also think about this in a more intense way.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. File No. 31(30)/56-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

2. Chief Minister of Punjab.

3. See *ante*, p. 151.

13. The Importance of Agricultural Meteorology¹

I send my good wishes on the occasion of the Agricultural Meteorology Division celebrating twenty-five years of its existence. An increase in agricultural production, and more especially the production of cereals, has become a matter of vital importance for us. We have to approach this problem from the scientific point of view, taking advantage of new knowledge and new techniques. In this matter this Agricultural Meteorology Division of the India Meteorological Department ought to be able to do important work.

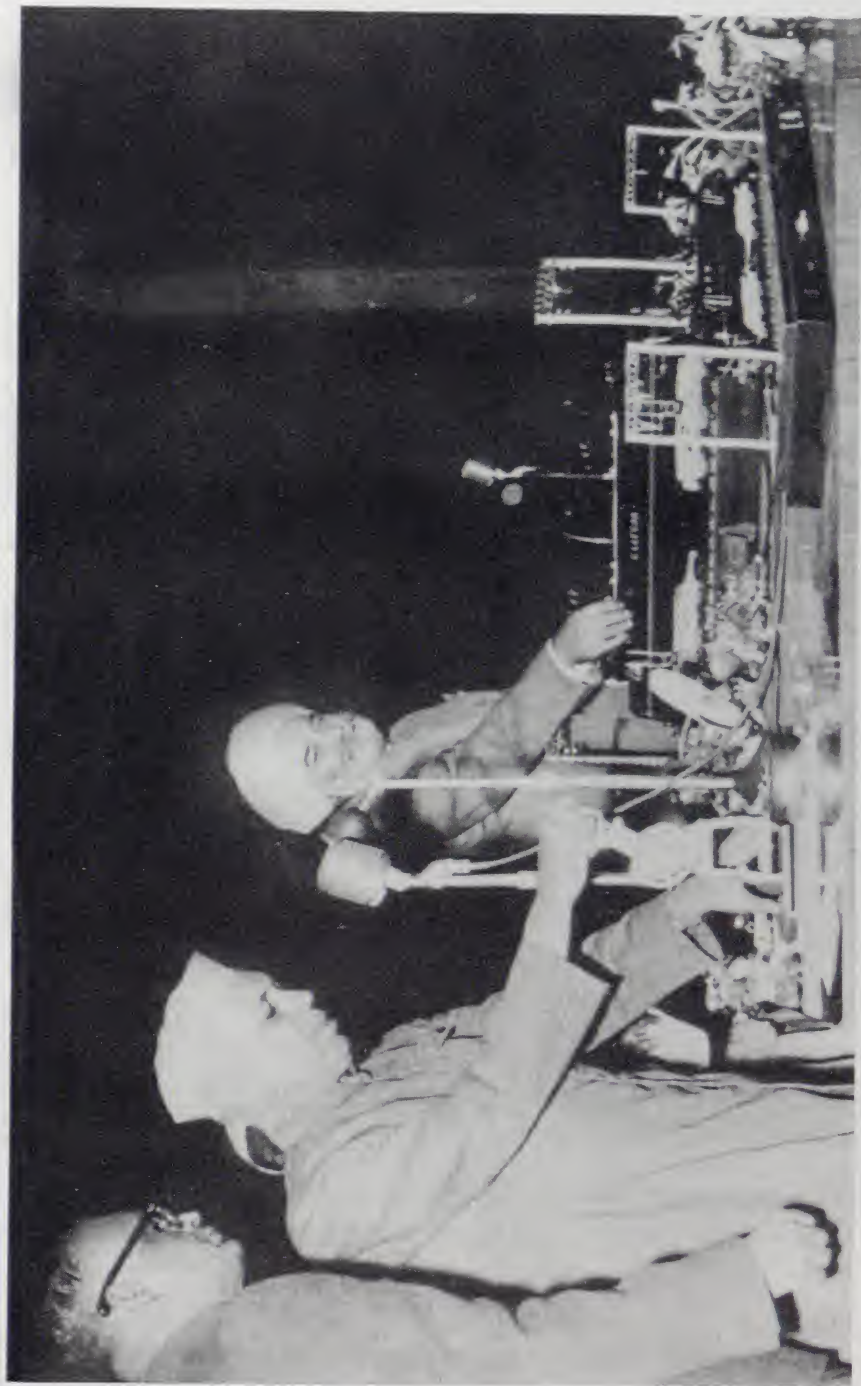
1. Message to the India Meteorological Department, 22 November 1957. File No. 9/2/57-PMS. Published in the *Indian Journal of Meteorology & Geophysics*, December 1957.



LOOKING AT THE PLAN OF THE ROURKELA STEEL PLANT, ROURKELA, 15 DECEMBER 1957.
U NU, PRIME MINISTER OF MYANMAR, AND RAJIV GANDHI, NEHRU'S GRANDSON, ARE ALSO SEEN



AT THE BATA SHOE FACTORY, BATANAGAR, KOLKATA, 24 DECEMBER 1957



INAUGURATING THE ELECTRIC TRACTION OF EASTERN RAILWAY, KOLKATA, 14 DECEMBER 1957



ADDRESSING THE ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING OF THE ASSOCIATED CHAMBERS OF
COMMERCE AND INDUSTRY, KOLKATA, 14 DECEMBER 1957

Any student of past history in India knows that Rajasthan was very far from a desert area in the past. The desert has grown there and is unfortunately still gradually creeping forward. We have not only to stop its progress but to reconquer the land from the desert and make it fertile. One of the obvious methods is afforestation, and this has to be taken in hand with much greater determination than hitherto.

In desert lands, whenever it rains it comes down in a sudden downpour. This does little good and often does much harm. This kind of thing is beginning to be noticed in the eastern districts of UP and in parts of Bihar. This is a dangerous symptom because it signifies the gradual approach of desert conditions. In these areas the population is very dense and hence they are always deficit areas.

These and like subjects are of immense practical importance to us. Climate is being affected and so is rainfall, and the Agricultural Meteorology Division should try to help and indicate the steps that should be taken to meet these new dangers.

14. To Chief Ministers¹

New Delhi

24 November, 1957

My dear Chief Minister,

Four days ago, I sent you a letter chiefly devoted to the question of agricultural production. I am writing to you again on this subject. This itself will indicate to you how my mind is full of it and how I want your mind to be equally engrossed in it.

2. It is more than ten years now since Independence. These ten years have been years of hard work for all of us and, I think, of achievement. But still it is true that at the end of ten years or more, we are struggling with the food problem. It is also true that we have had numerous natural calamities to face.

3. Still, it is a painful thought that after ten years of Independence, an agricultural country like India cannot feed itself. It would be wrong for us to blame the gods or the stars or floods and drought. We must recognize that there must be something lacking in our approach which has led to this relative lack of

1. File No. 31(30)/56-PMS. Also printed in G. Parthasarathi (ed.), *Jawaharlal Nehru: Letters to Chief Ministers 1947-1964*, Vol. 4, pp. 606-610.

success. I know that our production has grown progressively, but it has not grown enough to meet the demand made upon it. The test is not some statistical one showing growth but of meeting all the food requirements of the country easily and even in times of flood or drought.

4. Whenever this question of additional food production is raised, the reply often is that this requires money. "Give us money and we shall show results." I do not think that is an adequate reply at all. But let us examine even this reply.

5. The expenditure on agricultural production and minor irrigation during the First Five Year Plan was Rs 18,115 lakhs. This works out at Rs 3,623 lakhs per annum.

6. In the first year of the Second Plan (1956-57) the allotment made for agricultural production was Rs 1,513 lakhs and for minor irrigation Rs 2,069 lakhs, totalling Rs 3,582 lakhs. The revised estimate is Rs 943 lakhs for agricultural production and Rs 1,519 lakhs for minor irrigation, totalling Rs 2,462 lakhs. The revised estimate is thus, as you will see Rs 1,120 lakhs less than the original estimate. In other words, the amount provided for agricultural production and minor irrigation has not been spent and has had to be reduced very considerably. It is quite possible that even the revised estimate may not be reached in expenditure.

7. If this is so, then surely the question is not of providing more money but of knowing how to spend profitably. Apparently, we are not in a position to spend even the money that is provided.

8. A second reason for our lack of success in making adequate progress in food production appears to be failure to utilize irrigation facilities that have already been provided.

9. Both these reasons indicate a lack of administrative efficiency in our States. This is not so much the fault of any individual but of the system under which we are working and our administration does not appear to be capable of facing present-day problems. They are too big for it or perhaps the broad and comprehensive outlook necessary to solve them has not yet been developed.

10. I feel also that we do not attach much importance to expertise or technical knowledge and experience of farming. Of course we employ technical officers but we consider them usually of a lesser breed than administrative officers. Technical departments like Agriculture, Animal Husbandry, etc., are often headed by administrative officers and not by experts or specialists in those departments. We have inherited this practice from the past. It is not a good practice and I doubt if it exists anywhere else. A Minister naturally is not supposed to be an expert. But if the head of a technical department also is not an expert, then we are likely to fail in coming to grips with the problem. We shall continue to think in terms of official memoranda and notes and circular letters and not have a real

understanding of the good earth from which food comes. Nor will there be that human touch which is so essential in dealing with a human problem.

11. Food production is production by farmers and not by big machines or plants. The farmer is the human factor and unless he is approached and understood and enthused, results will not come. Therefore, the crux of the problem is approaching each village and each farmer; of putting the responsibility on the village panchayat or the village cooperative; of utilizing the trained village-level worker in all the various activities of the village.

12. We have built up a very fine organization—the community development movement, which has already spread to nearly half of rural India. It is true that it has not met with an equal measure of success everywhere. But the organization is there and is improving. There is no other organization which can deal with rural problems in an integrated way. Thus, it follows that it is only through the community development movement that we can adequately reach each village and each farmer's household and deal with them in regard to the core of the problem, that is, the increase of yield per acre in irrigated areas or where there is water available through adequate rainfall or otherwise. There are about 100 million acres of this type of cultivated land (total cultivated area is about 250 million acres in India). We have to concentrate on these 100 million acres and make them produce more per acre. The only way to do so is to reach the individual farmer and lay down a target for him. Although this should be one of the main efforts of the community development blocks and the village-level workers, even this approach can only succeed through the village panchayat and the village cooperative. The village-level worker should of course be intimately in touch with both the panchayat and the cooperative. That is one of his chief functions. Thus, we can produce enthusiasm in the village and integrate our activities there.

13. There is one other urgent need. That is village schools of the basic pattern. Schools of course are necessary anyhow, but now I am discussing it from the point of view of the farmer and more food production. But, above all, we must give up the office and bureaucratic approach and go down to mother earth. Also the problem must be tackled more and more by technicians who know something about agriculture and not by laymen.

14. I write to you with a sense of deep urgency which no doubt you share with me. It is not our mistakes that harm us much because we can recover from mistakes. It is ignorance and inertia that come in our way—ignorance of the scientific approach and even more so of the human approach, inertia which always sits heavily on a country if we work through routines and out-of-date methods. But even more so what is depressing are some of our social customs which come in our way. Today, I read in the newspapers that a mad monkey is

creating havoc in Lucknow and has bitten already 200 persons or more. Nobody dare touch him and even the District Magistrate does not know what to do, because if he is killed the religious sentiments of some people might be offended. If we are to function in this way in this country, then there is not much good our talking about planning and progress. We have to be clear about these issues. I think it is little short of scandalous that such a question even should arise in the mind of a District Magistrate when a mad monkey is going about biting hundreds of people. We have to decide whether India is going to be a fit country for human beings to live in or for monkeys or for other animals to take possession of.

15. I wrote to you about the Rajasthan desert in my last letter. One of the principal reasons for these desert conditions is the presence of goats which wander about with nomadic tribes. A goat is more dangerous for crops or anything that grows in the field or garden than any other animal. If Rajasthan is to recover then we have to deal with this goat menace. Instead of goats, attempts may be made to keep sheep. But the real social problem is to settle the nomadic tribes with goat herds by giving them lands or otherwise put an end to these wandering groups of goats. There is going to be the new Rajasthan Canal which may offer many opportunities for settling this problem.²

16. But, above all, I urge you to get your Agricultural Departments to become vital, energetic, dynamic and moving. Let them go down to the people. Let them take every help from the community development movement. Let them work through panchayats and cooperatives and let them deal with all these matters scientifically, speedily and effectively and not bureaucratically.

17. I shall be grateful if you will kindly let me know what steps you are taking to energize your Agricultural Departments.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

2. The Rajasthan Canal, renamed as the Indira Gandhi Canal in 1984, is one of the biggest canal projects in India, aimed at transforming the wasteland of the Thar desert into agriculturally productive area. Its construction started in 1958. The canal starts from the Harike Barrage, a few kilometers below the confluence of the Sutlej and Beas rivers in Punjab, and running south-southwest in Punjab and Haryana but mainly in Rajasthan for about 650 kilometres, it terminates near Jaisalmer in Rajasthan.

15. To Ajit Prasad Jain¹

New Delhi

November 25, 1957

My dear Ajit,

I have just had a visit from Dr Ensminger,² the representative of the Ford Foundation in Delhi. You must know him as he has been here for several years. He was connected in the United States previously with the New Deal and, more particularly, with agriculture, when Roosevelt had had to face a terrible slump and had to pull industry and agriculture out of the slump.

Ensminger apologized for taking up my time, but he said that he had been feeling unhappy and wanted to unburden himself to me. There had been a good deal of rather pessimistic talk about Indian agriculture. So far as he was concerned, and he had studied this question during the last few years, he was not at all pessimistic about the future of Indian agriculture. In fact, he was sure that there was no need for a pessimistic outlook at all.

Because of various reasons and the mere fact of the difference between yields per acre in India under more or less similar conditions indicated a tremendous room for advance. Thus, the potential in India was very considerable and the ultimate ceiling was very high. In effect, he thought that the problem of agriculture in India was primarily a problem of administration and organization. Of course other factors came in, like money. But looked at in proper perspective, the problem was one of administration.

He had recently been to the Srinagar Conference and he said that while he recognized the desire of the Ministers of Agriculture present there to analyze the situation and to do something, he had come away rather depressed from it and with the conviction that the Ministries of Agriculture in the various States in India were mentally, emotionally and otherwise not suited to their task and not adjusted to a programme of dynamic agriculture.³

Somebody had asked him about the difference between the bureaucracy in the United States and in India. His reply had been that the bureaucracy in the United States was supposed to think always in terms of growth and development. In India the bureaucratic element thought more in terms of continuing things as

1. File No. 31(30)/56-61-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

2. Douglas Ensminger, American expert in rural sociology, was the representative of the Ford Foundation for India and Nepal, 1953-70. Earlier, he was the representative of the Foundation for India and Pakistan, 1951-53.

3. A conference of the Agriculture Ministers of States was held in Srinagar from 11 to 13 October 1957.

they were and had no dynamic outlook.

He made some other suggestions. He said that he firmly believed in a policy of price support.⁴ Otherwise farmers hesitate to invest because of fear of fluctuation of price. Also he believed in a warehousing programme.⁵

The question of land reforms and the uncertainty about it had also become a factor coming in the way of more production. A man with a large holding was hesitant to do much because he was afraid of losing it. A man with a small holding was afraid because he had no security of tenure for the future. Thus, because of this uncertainty, neither of them could put in their best effort.⁶

He said that the community development programme was apparently not looked upon in many States as a long-term affair. They considered it as something temporary. Because of this temporary staff was engaged and the calibre of such staff was not high. Indeed, this calibre had gone down even within the last two years. It was important that everyone should realize that the community development programme was a permanent thing and not a temporary one, and good people should be put in charge of it.⁷

He said that there was a tremendous gap between a decision or a resolution and its implementation. The Srinagar Conference came to certain decisions and then long afterwards circulars were issued conveying the results to the various States, etc. This was the normal slow bureaucratic method which conveyed no sense of urgency. If this matter was urgent, then people should have rushed by

4. Replying to Nehru's letter on the same day, Jain wrote that the Government approach to the price support policy had not been sufficiently bold: all that the Cabinet had done "was to issue a lukewarm handout saying that the prices shall not be allowed to go below economic levels", there being "some argument about incentive prices, reasonable prices and economic prices." According to Jain, what was required was "a categorical assurance of price support at a level which provides incentive to the farmer", and it was up to Nehru to have a clear decision on the question.
5. Jain wondered how the warehousing programme was to gain momentum when the government-owned LIC was hesitating to buy shares of the National Warehousing Corporation.
6. Stating that the principal point of contention in the matter of land reforms was the ceiling on holdings, Jain pointed out that, "constituted as our State legislatures are with a large element of middle class farmers, any programme of a ceiling finds little support there." He, however, thought there was no major difficulty in conferring security of tenure on the tenants.
7. A.P. Jain wrote that there had been "more emphasis on quantity than on quality" in the community development programme, and the question was whether it was profitable to go on extending the programme "or to consolidate our achievements and confine the emphasis to areas where irrigation or assured rainfall exists."

air and train immediately, carrying directions to all the important centres, discussing these with the people in the States or in the development units and thus giving a dynamic start to it.

He referred to the difficulty of obtaining good seeds in many areas. Good seeds should be available to each farmer at an easy distance where he could personally go with his bullock cart and get them. He knew of instances where farmers wanted them and could not get them or whenever they went to a depot there was none available. Further, there were many States which had not organized themselves for producing good seeds even yet.

Ensminger added that he had read the recent Food Enquiry Report by the Asoka Mehta Committee and he ventured to say that he did not quite agree with some of its conclusions. They had not put forward an integrated approach and had taken a pessimistic view.⁸

He left me again repeating that it was far more an administrative and organizational matter than anything else and what was required, in the States chiefly, was this dynamic approach.⁹

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

8. Jain wrote that "we not only need technical personnel and administration" but also some measures like a "price support policy at an incentive giving level in order to produce much more than 10.3 million tons of additional foodgrains per year, which was the figure considered feasible by the Asoka Mehta Committee. Jain felt that "age-long poverty and ignorance have crushed all life and enthusiasm out of the farmer" and this had to be invoked.
9. Jain pointed out that what Ensminger had told Nehru "has at one time or another been before us." He admitted, "there is not only slackness on the part of the State Governments but there is also vacillation and indecisiveness at the highest level in the Centre, including my Ministry. Our thinking and diagnosis are correct. We also find out the solution but the implementation is wanting."

16. Pros and Cons of Collective Farming¹

Please reply to Dr A.N. Puri as follows:

“The Prime Minister has received your letter of the 23rd November for which he thanks you. He agrees with much that you say in your letter. But your proposal to divide the irrigated land into a number of huge farm units ignores the social realities in India. It may be that by this method more can be produced ultimately, but it will lead to even more unemployment and social upheavals.”

Forward Dr Puri's letter and your answer to the Agriculture Ministry.

1. Note to Private Secretary, 26 November 1957. JN Collection.

17. Ways to Increase Agricultural Yield¹

...I think that while it is very interesting and important for us to discuss the various aspects of this problem, there is always a danger that in discussing too many things you lose sight of the principal things. Now, we have a report [of the Foodgrains Enquiry Committee] and I am glad Mr Thirumala Rao² has told you more or less the argument of the report. But no doubt most of you agreed the report gives useful facts. We must base any decision on facts.

Mr Thirumala Rao said, and it is a fact of course, that previously India used to import a good deal of foodgrains from Burma or elsewhere. Since we used to import it our population has grown, many other things have happened, and if we function in a static way the conclusion would be not only that we should import but import more and more every year because the population grows

1. Speech at the Congress Parliamentary Party meeting, New Delhi, 26 November 1957. Tape No. M-28/C, NMML. Extracts.
2. Mosalikanti Thirumala Rao (1901-1970); Congressman from Andhra Pradesh; suffered several terms of imprisonment during the freedom movement; Member, Central Legislative Assembly, 1937-40, Council of States, 1945-47, Constituent Assembly, 1948-50, Provisional Parliament, 1950-52; Deputy Minister of Food and Agriculture, 1950-52; Member, Lok Sabha, 1957-70; Chairman, Foodgrains Enquiry Committee, 1950, and Member, Health Survey Committee and Foodgrains Enquiry Committee, 1957.

more and more every year. That is an impossible situation. Let us look at it from another point of view because, after all, the question before us is more food production, not only because there is a deficit but there is a growing population. Now, can we do that and how can we do it?

It is well known that the rate of yield per acre in India is a very, very low one, compared to any country in the world. I am not talking about America and the rest, but countries which are not mechanized. It has nothing to do with mechanization. Mechanization does not really increase the yield so much; it increases the per capita income. That is a different thing. Now, I was reading only yesterday the Chinese plan for this year, their agricultural plan for this year and the next five, six, seven, ten years. I do not remember the figures, but to begin with they start at a much higher yield per acre than we do. I would quote figures because I am not sure, but it is a higher yield. They hope to increase that yield and to double it in 10 years or whatever it is. And they have done this for each different area of China, not one figure for the whole of China. For one year one province, they have said, well, 200 per cent, another 150, another 100, another for ten year or twelve-year period, another 80. So they have gone into it according to the capacity of the soil or other things. Now this fact that our yield per acre is very low itself should put us to enquire why is it low and why should we not do what other countries do?

Another fact you might consider. In India you hear often about prizes being given to agriculturists and farmers with good yields. Of course, the prize-winners show tremendous yields—I would say about 400 per cent more than every-year yield. Now it is true that those people cannot become the average. They have the best land, they feed it like anything, they nurse it like a baby, they give it good fertilizer and they get a good yield. But, nevertheless, if your average, say, of wheat is 11 *maunds* or something per acre and the prize winner produces 50 and 60 *maunds*, it is a tremendous difference. It does indicate that 50 and 60 is difficult but why should not 11 be made 20 or 25. I mean not suddenly but the soil should be given proper care and proper nourishment to produce much more. Therefore, the first point to remember is that our yield is a very flexible thing, capable of great increase, gradually no doubt but fairly rapidly, provided, of course, enough steps are taken to that end.

I might mention in this connection an alarming thing, that is, in a sense the yield per acre, instead of increasing, in many parts of India the yield per acre is decreasing. Take just a few of these figures, some UP figures. Whether it is a temporary thing or permanent I do not know. It depends on the weather. But the fact is that climatic conditions in eastern UP and in part of Bihar are rapidly deteriorating and conditions are coming here which are the preliminaries to almost desert conditions. Desert is a big word but it is that. The rain, when it

comes, does not come as it should, spread-out rains, but it comes suddenly, a downfall; no rain, sudden downfall. When there is no rain there is drought; sudden downfall washes away everything. Neither is good. You do not profit. Now this is the typical sign of desert conditions. Because it is the trees in the forest that regulate the climate and the rainfall. When the trees in the forest go, this regulation does not take place and rain comes down suddenly because in these dry conditions the climate changes from morning to night and all that. What I have said applies to many areas adjoining the Rajasthan desert. It applies to the Rajasthan desert itself. I think that a great part of the Rajasthan desert can be made cultivable, but the base of it is forest, its trees. We talk about *van mahotsav* and all that, treat it always as a joke, and go on, plant a tree, Ministers plant trees, and their photographs are taken. Well, what we want is not an odd tree but forest. So that is a matter of the highest importance.

The point I want you to remember is this that our yield per acre is low, that it undoubtedly can be raised as we can see. In selected areas where you work it has been raised three times, four times. Therefore, it is a flexible yield, it depends on the amount of attention paid to it and other steps taken, whether it is fertilizer, manure, etc. That itself makes you think in hopeful terms that you can go far because you can. You will remember what the World Bank experts said, last year I think. They said the yield of Indian agriculture can be increased 300 or 400 per cent. Think of that. We argue about 20 per cent and all that; they said it can be increased tremendously, not suddenly but still in not too long a period. I am not talking about a hundred years, I am talking about maybe 10 years, 15 years, something like that. They said it can be increased by 300 and 400 per cent. We will be very, very happy if our yield is increased by 50 per cent. Well, 25 per cent it is going to be. You see when the yield is high it is more difficult to increase it, because you may have reached an optimum figure. But our yield by and large is low, in some places it is higher, and in Punjab it is a little higher, but by and large it is a low yield. And as all experience shows, not only in other countries but in India, it can be increased where care is taken.

Now, therefore, when you have got this very optimistic outlook, that the job can be done and satisfactorily done then, the question arises, what we should do to do the job. Our farming methods are what is called extensive farming. The Chinese and Japanese method is intensive farming. They almost look after it like a garden. Maybe we cannot do that in that way but nevertheless we have to become more intensive about our farming. How can you do that? The Food and Agriculture Ministry here can issue circulars, letters, directions and they gradually peter out. The only person who can do intensive farming is the farmer, nobody else. Therefore, think of the farmer all the time. Think of your approach to the farmer. Think of how you help the farmer. Think of the farmer putting in

consultation with you or otherwise setting a target for himself. These broad targets, all-India targets, Planning Commission targets, are good for a book, they are no good for the farmer. I say each farming family must have a target in which he believes and you have to help him, again I repeat.

The real problem of India is not reclaiming more and more land. We can do that; of course, we shall do it. The real problem of India is increasing the yield per acre of, let us say, the cultivated land—not of uncultivated land. There are roughly, I think, 250 million acres of cultivated land in India. I believe that 100 million acres are more or less irrigated. Now, let us, to begin with, concentrate on that 100 million. Deal with the others too but concentrate on that to increase the yield per acre. You have presumably water in the 100 millions. You have to supply them other things, good seeds, maybe fertilizer, maybe manure and whatever other kind of help. Now, it does not require any major decision. It requires administrative ability at the lowest level. I have come to the conclusion that there have been many things that we have lacked in the past. The major thing is administrative ability at the lower level. Of course, the responsibility for that you will place where you like but in a sense it is the responsibility of the State Agricultural Department. As Mr Thirumala Rao said, most State Governments do not attach that importance to agriculture as they should. It is a basic thing and normally their idea of better agriculture is, well, to ask for more fertilizer, ask for this, ask for schemes. I do not object to that. But somehow they forget that the real thing is supplying the ordinary simple things like better seeds. Now, we are not normally getting seeds from America and elsewhere. We have to grow better seeds ourselves. Some States have taken no steps to produce better seeds. They have got the habit of asking the Centre, 'Send us better seeds.' This habit of asking is a most amazing thing, as I said in the House.³ We have got into such a tremendous tangle that the poor farmer asks somebody else, he asks somebody, that person asks the State Government, the State Government asks the Central Government, the Central Government asks America. We are all asking everybody to help. You say we do not do the job ourselves. It is a most extraordinary situation. It is quite impossible, this kind of a thing. In a crisis we have to ask naturally. In a crisis we have to get the things from abroad. But we must realize that it just makes us think in wrong terms and, therefore, act in wrong terms.

Therefore, we have to increase the yield per acre and I say that all the major things that you talked about, the major schemes or the minor schemes, they are all good but I say that without a major scheme, without a minor scheme, you can increase the yield per acre by administrative and other measures. But it requires

3. See *ante*, p. 75.

a great deal of administrative work down at the lowest level. Now, who can do that? Of course, the State Governments are responsible and they should do it. Fortunately you have an apparatus, that is, the community development scheme. That is a tremendous organization but it may not be probably functioning satisfactorily here and there. But there is no other organization. And I would say the old organization of the poor District Magistrate may work and issue orders, the *tehsildar* and all, that is no good for this purpose. The panchayat may be good if it is working satisfactorily. The cooperative organization in the village, of course, if it is there and works satisfactorily, it is good. Therefore, I look upon this matter as one of intimate contact with the villager and helping him with his simple means, good seeds, fertilizer, of course, so far as you can give it, but encouraging him in making compost and green manure, helping him set a target, keeping in touch with him, encouraging him, and all that.

Now, I am told that in many places, for instance, the villagers want good seeds but they cannot easily get them. They may be hundred miles away but they cannot go there. It should be easily accessible to them. There are simple things which can be done. You and I give long lectures here about broad food policies, forgetting that the base of it is something within easy reach if we work hard enough in an intelligent spread out way. There are so many little things like that that can be done. I am quite convinced that if we concentrate on the 100 million acres which are either irrigated or which have plenty of normal rain and concentrate on increasing the yield per acre, the results will be quite surprising. And, of course, in other places too we work. But I am mentioning the 100 million acres because by and large they are not affected by lack of bad monsoon. To some extent they are but not so much. In the other areas you have to either rely on the monsoon or on your irrigation works which you will gradually build up. But the other thing can be taken in hand immediately. And this can only be taken in hand by the agricultural apparatus of the States becoming wide awake and dynamic and the community development schemes also dynamically working for this and always going to the farmer and giving him these facilities that I have mentioned, seeds, etc., just a few, and I think you will hit the core of the problem.

But again, I repeat, you must remember that our food production is a flexible thing and is capable of vast growth. Because the moment you accept that, immediately the burden of this terrible problem becomes lighter. It is not easy, I say it requires hard work. But hard work is one thing, and a feeling that we can not do a job, the job is too much, we must live on food that comes from abroad, etc., that is what oppresses one. Our friend just talked about the Electricity Minister or the Irrigation Minister; they were here. I said forget them, forget electricity, forget irrigation, forget everything and go and see what you can do. Not that I want you to forget that but you should not immediately begin to rely

on electricity or irrigation which gradually will work itself out....

Now, I heard the other day of one Anna Sahib Sehestrabudhe and his farm where he does not use any fertilizer but he uses compost for it from night soil and he has produced remarkable results, about 400 per cent more. Of course, it is a relatively small area. But then our social customs come in the way and people sniff and would not do it. He says, "It is a very clean way of doing it"; the other person says, "I never touch it." It is not a question of touching it, but it is basically a question of making compost bricks and using them. And immediately production goes up. So it is not a question of food production only but I am becoming convinced that in every activity of ours we must plan in a big way and have our big factories and big plants. If you want iron and steel, you must. But the real source of power is what the villagers can be made to do if they understand it. And one very good, hopeful feature is that we have got an organization today which can work to that end, that is, the community development organization. If it does not, it is our fault, it is their fault; but it can, it is there. Therefore, I suggest you to look upon this problem in this way—discuss separately, if you like, the long term projects—because, I quite agree with you, we want small irrigation schemes all over. Undoubtedly that too is a part of the community project. It is only the big things that are not their part. Let them do that, but if you want to wait for electricity to reach all our villages, well, obviously you have to wait a long time.

Now electricity should spread certainly and all that...⁴ True, true. Now, that again is a very important point. That we have not in the past few years utilized to full capacity what we have got, whether it is a tube well or other things or tanks, it is true. I believe you are doing that now. Under pressure of circumstances it is being done. But it is a bad thing. We build a canal and it take two years, three years before the water is utilized by the farmers. Well, normally it does take a year or two, they get used to it but under the crisis you cannot afford to wait for two or three years. I am quite convinced that it is far better for us, for the first two or three years, to get the water free to them, instead of letting the water run away. Let there be a graded system of payment—free for two years, a quarter of the normal price third year, half fourth year and so on. They get used to it. You profit by it. All these things certainly have to be looked into and I think they are before all State Governments.

You must have seen the resolution of the Congress Working Committee about the food situation. It laid down a number of practical steps which people should

4. A member interjected that the use of electricity for agricultural purposes appeared to be a waste.

take. Of course, there are many more which you can think over. But, anyhow, they were good steps if we could deal with them. Now, the odd thing brought out by the Foodgrains Inquiry Committee Report about our food situation is that small differences have big consequences. That is to say, a small deficit has much bigger consequences than is warranted and a small surplus has also big consequences. It is extraordinary, however of the little variations that the consequences are bigger than they ought to be and they have dealt with that matter. Now, therefore, how we can get over this, is a difficult matter. But it is a fact that more food production that we require, that is a final thing. And it is a fact that we can have that more production even in existing circumstances, I say, without any major scheme, because of the irrigated area and the rain-fed area, if only we would set about it without any pomp and show and without any major schemes and deal with that situation village-wise.

Well, may I just add one word? It is that we have to balance as to how we should approach the public or Parliament in this matter. If we adopt a complacent attitude, of course it is bad. We should not be complacent. We have been complacent in the past. The public should realize that they have to sit up and do something. They should not waste or do all mannerless things. So we have to make them realize that. On the other hand, if you overstress this kind of thing and take an alarmist view, well, you worsen the situation. Because where this question of small surplus and small deficits is concerned, psychology comes in and the psychology may promote hoarding. So that we have to avoid saying anything which is alarmist and yet we have to view it as a serious matter. So, how to strike a happy balance between the two is not easy, but we have to try to do it.

18. Administrative Problems in Irrigation Projects¹

The Director of the US Bureau of Reclamation saw me today and I had an interesting talk with him. Shri Kanwar Sain² was also present. You must have met him already.

There are two points he made in his talk with me:

1. Note to S.K. Patil, Minister of Irrigation and Power, New Delhi, 28 November 1957. JN Collection.
2. Chairman, Central Water and Power Commission.

- 1) That there is far too much centralization and reference from one quarter to another. Responsibility is not fixed. Result is delay and lack of initiative.
- 2) That a large number of engineers are on temporary service for the project. The result is that they are not happy about it and not very interested to complete the project. I had not thought of this previously, but it is an important point to be considered. We should give some assurance of service to these engineers.

These are just two points I am just mentioning to you. There are many other things he spoke to me about, and he has promised to send me a full report later, which will go to you.

19. Fertilizer Policy¹

The Cabinet took note of the points made in the Prime Minister's minute dated 21st November, 1957.²

2. The Prime Minister remarked that two or three fertilizer factories could have been set up with the money spent on the import of fertilizers during the last five years, and these factories would have made the country self-sufficient in fertilizers. The Cabinet agreed that the future policy regarding import of fertilizers should be re-examined from this angle.

3. The Prime Minister remarked also that, in order to get the best results, the top positions in the Agriculture Ministry and the Agriculture Departments in the States should be manned by technical men with practical experience of agricultural problems and these men should be allowed freely to operate on their budget allotments without irksome interference by the Ministry of Finance. There was general agreement with this realistic approach suggested by the Prime Minister.

1. Minutes of the Cabinet meeting, 4 December 1957. Item No. XI/299, C-III, 1957, Confidential Section, Planning Commission.
2. See *ante*, pp. 206-208.

20. Import Programme for 1958¹

The Committee decided that the import of rice during 1958 should be limited to 5 lakh tons but, in case it was possible, a trade agreement could be negotiated with Burma for the supply of 7.5 lakh tons of rice per year, the major part of these imports being covered by purchases of commodities from India.

2. The proposals contained in para 14 (ii), (iii) and (iv) of the Food Department's note dated 7th December, 1957, were also approved. It was further decided that the proposals should be given effect to in close consultation with the Planning Commission and the Ministry of Finance.

3. The Prime Minister deplored the country's continuing dependence on food imports and the growing mentality of looking for charity from other countries. He said that there was not sufficient awareness in the country of the importance of food production and a mental revolution was called for in this respect. The Committee agreed with these remarks and decided that a conference of Chief Ministers and Agriculture Ministers of States should be called in the near future to discuss this important matter. The Planning Commission was requested to convene this conference in the first half of January, 1958.²

1. Minutes of a meeting of the Cabinet Committee on Food, 13 December 1957. JN Collection.

2. The National Development Council meeting held in New Delhi on 12 January 1958 was also attended by Agriculture Ministers of all States.

(iv) The Cooperative Movement

1. To Keshava Deva Malaviya¹

New Delhi

November 3, 1957

My dear Keshava,²

You wrote to me on October 20th, 1957, about the All India Cooperative Union and the conduct of B.J. Patel.³ At your suggestion, I gave these papers to V.T. Krishnamachari.⁴ He has now written to me. He tells me that B.J. Patel possesses a sound practical knowledge of cooperation and has worked hard for it. Further, that he holds his views honestly. I am also informed that you have had a talk with Ajit Prasad,⁵ who has agreed that no action need be taken in regard to B.J. Patel.

I am not interested in any action being taken against B.J. Patel. But, I am very much interested in the policy pursued by the All India Cooperative Union. Is this policy to oppose the policy of our Government and the Congress, and to criticize it whenever opportunity offers? We should be clear on this subject, because Government gives a great deal of financial aid to the All India Cooperative Union. There is no particular reason why we should aid an organization which opposes an important policy of Government.

The other day, Ranga said something about a conspiracy against Andhra farmers.⁶ This was in reference to Vinobaji's movement and the meeting we

1. JN Collection.

2. K.D. Malaviya, Union Minister of Mines and Oil, was also associated with the cooperative movement.

3. Associated with the cooperative movement; born in an agricultural family in Baroda district; studied law; represented almost all cooperatives in Baroda district; associated with several State level cooperatives in Gujarat; Director, Gujarat State Cooperative Union; General Secretary, National Cooperative Union of India, 1949-59; represented India at the International Cooperative Association, and became a member of its executive committee.

4. Deputy Chairman, Planning Commission.

5. Ajit Prasad Jain, Union Agriculture Minister.

6. N.G. Ranga, Congress Member of Lok Sabha from Andhra Pradesh, was reported to have stated at a farmers' conference at Machilipatnam, in the middle of October, that there was a conspiracy by Central Ministers, newspapers and the town people against Andhra millers and peasants. For Nehru's letter of 19 October to Ranga, wherein he took objection to Ranga's statement, see *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 39, pp. 346-347.

had in Mysore.⁷ Evidently, Ranga does not believe in any kind of cooperation.⁸ I have written to Ranga separately on this subject.⁹ The question, however, for us to consider and to decide is an important one. What policy do we pursue as a Government and as Congress Party? Secondly, what policy does the All India Cooperative Union pursue? Are these two policies in conflict? If they are in conflict, then we have to consider what our relationship with the All India Cooperative Union should be. This is not a personal question of B.J. Patel.

I am also given to understand that B.J. Patel recently attended a meeting of the International Cooperative Alliance in Stockholm. He did so on behalf of the All India Cooperative Union. At this meeting, I am told that he voted against the admission of China and, indeed, actively canvassed against such admission. Here, again, he acted in direct opposition to one of our basic policies and committed the All India Cooperative Union to it. Surely, we cannot accept all this supinely. The cooperative movement is not something in the thin atmosphere. It has to deal with the problems of today. Where even political problems impinge on the cooperative movement, the attitude to be taken up has to be clearly defined.

There is the International Red Cross Conference going on in Delhi now. Here also, the question of China has arisen, and there is a definite conflict of views between national delegations.¹⁰ It is obvious that Red Cross work has nothing to do with this political issue. Nevertheless, the question arises because of the cold

7. A *gramdan* conference, organized by the Akhil Bharat Sarva Seva Sangh under the chairmanship of Vinoba Bhave at Yelwal, near Mysore, on 21 and 22 September 1957, was attended by Rajendra Prasad, Nehru, Jayaprakash Narayan, E.M.S. Namboodiripad and other leaders of various political parties and members of the Central and State Governments. In a statement issued after the talks, the participants expressed high appreciation of the objectives underlying the *gramdan* movement and pointed out that the governments concerned would have to proceed with their schemes of land reforms, which were based on abolition of all intermediate interests in land, limitation of holdings and promotion of the cooperative movement in all its phases with the consent of the people. They thought the movement would lead to a fuller development of cooperative life and effort in villages concerned and also create the necessary psychological climate in the country for the development of cooperative life.

8. Ranga advocated the superiority of peasant family farming over cooperative farming, and strongly believed that cooperative farming, if undertaken in India, would undermine the foundation of peasant economy in the country. He was also opposed to the *gramdan* movement on the ground that it would result in enslaving the peasants to the new landlordism of village panchayats.

9. See the next item.

10. See *post*, pp. 679-680.

war. So also, the question arose in the Stockholm Conference, and the representative of India took up a line which I consider harmful and objectionable. What exactly are we supposed to do about this?¹¹

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal Nehru

11. On 27 November, Nehru wrote to K.D. Malaviya, in reply to Malaviya's letter of the same date: "I do not understand proposals to have Afro-Asian conferences of any kind. The Bandung Conference was all right for special reasons. But, we are reluctant to repeat the performance. How can you have such a conference of two continents to consider the Cooperative Movement which differs utterly in various parts of these wide areas? The conference will cost a lot of money and yield little result."

2. To N.G. Ranga¹

New Delhi
November 3, 1957

My dear Ranga,

Thank you for your letter of October 25th.² You refer to what you call the unfriendly, contradictory or confusing orders passed by our Central Food Ministry. I do not know to what exactly you refer and, therefore, I cannot deal with that matter. Here we are facing a very grave food situation in India, more especially in relation to rice. It has always been our policy to build up stocks of foodgrains. This is quite essential and there is no escape from it. Naturally, this has to be done taking every factor into consideration, including the interests of the food growers. I must say that I have no particular sympathy for millers who want to profit by the country's disaster.

1. File No. 32(5)/59-61-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.
2. Ranga denied having charged the Government, the Congress or any other interest with conspiracy in any matter, though he admitted to having given "vent to the strong resentment felt by most people in Andhra, especially rice producers and millers, against the unfriendly, contradictory or confusing orders passed by the Food Department of the Centre and shortage of wagon supplies."

You then refer to the idea of *gramdan* panchayat ownership.³ What form this might take ultimately, I do not know, and it may take many forms. The essence of it is cooperation. In the Five Year Plan as well as in repeated policy resolutions of the Congress, cooperation has been laid down as an essential objective to be aimed at. With this, it has always been said that this is a voluntary movement.

Cooperation can be of the service type, that is, apart from joint cultivation. This, of course, is absolutely essential anywhere, but more especially in a country with very small holdings. There can be no scientific progress otherwise. So far as joint farming is concerned, I think that is desirable. But, it is a matter to be proceeded with afterwards and, naturally, with the consent of the people concerned.

As a matter of fact, so far as *gramdan* panchayats are concerned, the matter is left rather vague. I really do not see what is socially dangerous and economically unproductive in this. Indeed, it is the natural social direction in which every country moves, and as for production, the whole purpose is to increase it.

This has nothing to do with Communists as such. As I have said above, our Planning Commission has dealt with it for several years past, and so has the AICC.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

3. Ranga regretted that the Yelwal conference agreement on "the idea of *gramdan* panchayat ownership, management and cultivation of all the lands" was reached without consulting those "who have been in intimate contact with peasants and their organizations." He added: "What hurt me even more is the decision of the conference over the crucial matter for which Communists have been waiting for such a long time."

3. Financial Assistance to Cooperative Societies¹

A proposal made by the Finance Ministry for increasing the provision made in the Second Plan for Industrial Finance Corporation from Rs 15 crores to Rs 22.25 crores was considered. Shri H.M. Patel² explained that the increase was

1. Summary record of the meeting of the Planning Commission, 22 November 1957. JN Collection. Extracts. Jawaharlal Nehru was Chairman of the Planning Commission.
2. Principal Secretary, Ministry of Finance.

required to enable the Industrial Finance Corporation to meet the commitments already made by it mostly on account of assistance to cooperative sugar factories. It was pointed out that sugar cooperatives could not obtain loan assistance directly from the Reserve Bank of India and it was not possible for them to raise capital in the market. Moreover, the Industrial Finance Corporation had already made commitments and it should be enabled to honour them as far as possible.

2. Chairman said that generally the cooperative societies deserved to be encouraged by providing necessary financial assistance. However, care had to be taken that only genuine cooperatives received such assistance....

4. To Govind Ballabh Pant¹

New Delhi

December 1, 1957

My dear Pantji,

The enclosed copy of a letter addressed to you, has been sent to me about trade in the Nicobar Islands. I remember Bishop Richardson² or some other persons from these islands discussing this matter with me about two years ago. They were very apprehensive then that this trade might not be handed over to some Marwari traders from India and were anxious to develop cooperatives. I encouraged them to do so. I do not quite understand why any proposal should be made which comes in the way of these cooperatives. In any event, the goodwill of the headmen of these villages is important.

I gather that Bishop Richardson is seeing you tomorrow about this matter.

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal

1. File No. 44(37)/58-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

2. John Richardson (1896-1978); Honorary Tehsildar, Andaman Islands, 1925-45; Nominated Member of the Lok Sabha from Andaman and Nicobar Islands, 1952-57; took special interest in the welfare of tribals and development of Andaman Islands.

II. SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

(i) General

1. The Role of Scientific Research in Development¹

I am glad to know from what Professor M.S. Thacker, Director of the Council of Scientific and Industrial Research, has said and from other sources that the work of the National Laboratories and Institutes has been improving and has produced good results in many cases.

India's resources in coal and hydro-electric power are limited. We have given thought to such problems and the Government has been laying stress on scientific and industrial research. Apart from this, fundamental research has to be carried on. You should keep in intimate touch with the actual requirements of the country. That, of course, does good to the country, but it also does good to the scientists. People also see something affecting their daily life.

I agree with Professor Thacker that scientific work should not be starved because of financial difficulties or foreign exchange difficulties. I should like you to look at even this financial picture of India in proper perspective.

We are at present facing a number of difficulties and we have to try our utmost to overcome them. The difficulties are due to many causes, some of them are important causes which we cannot control. There has been considerable bad luck—the monsoons, drought and all that. The real problem for India is internal resources. We should get over the foreign exchange problem from year to year but we do not get over internal resources, which are always with us, because we always have to expand these. That is the basic problem and that is the problem in which scientists should help us.

The increase in agricultural production is of vital importance in order to help our industry to advance. And agricultural production means, principally and largely, the production of cereals. I feel that all this talk of foreign exchange crisis has, to some extent, blurred this real problem—internal resources which we have to build up. But, scientific advance can help us greatly. There are so

1. Speech at a conference of the Directors of National Laboratories, New Delhi, 16 November 1957. From *The Hindu*, 20 November 1957, and *National Herald*, 21 November 1957.

many aspects of this problem—how to make our land yield much more as it does in other countries. People talk about fertilizers. But I rather dislike and am alarmed at the tendency of looking at some outside commodity to do something to help us, even fertilizers. There are other things like green manures which can be made available.

In the world today there is inevitably centralization and the Government has to play a very important role. I do not deny that. But it has a bad effect if everybody is looking up to the Government to do something. I think it is psychologically, basically, practically bad. If the people of India, scores of millions of them, in an organized way, did something in a very small way, if every village built five miles of road, you might get millions of miles of roads in India. If a village makes two or three miles, it goes to make up thousands of miles.

Then there is this development regarding atomic energy and space travel. It gives a mental shock to know that this has been done and some day, many people, who did not conceive this kind of thing happening, find people walking on the Moon. This is such a revolutionary age, a changing age.

There can be no settling down to a routine in scientific research or in any creative ability. The moment we settle down or our mind settles down to a routine we will lose the capacity for creative work. You become a routine official. This is a matter of great danger.

2. Appreciation of Scientific Research¹

I presided over a meeting of Directors of National Laboratories and Institutes this morning. We usually have such meetings once a year and the Heads of these National Laboratories attend and discuss matters of common concern. Such meetings, I find, are of great value.

2. On the whole, the impression gathered by me is that we are making good progress in our scientific work in these laboratories, but that sufficient advantage is not taken of this by agencies of Government.

3. One outstanding discovery recently made has been by Dr Nijhawan² of the Metallurgical Laboratory at Jamshedpur. Stainless steel, of which we import ten crores worth a year, has thus far been made with the help of nickel. We

1. Note, New Delhi, 16 November 1957. File No. 17 (273)/57-59-PMS.

2. Bal Raj Nijhawan (b.1915); Metallurgist; Assistant Director, National Metallurgical Laboratory, 1948-53, Deputy Director, 1953-56, and Director, 1956-70.

have no nickel. Dr Nijhawan tried to use manganese instead of nickel. He succeeded remarkably well where people in other countries had failed.

4. Now comes an instance of the peculiar way in which we carry on our work. This significant discovery ought to have been patented immediately. Instead, I find that papers relating to this patenting have been going backwards and forwards between the Commerce and Industry Ministry, and the Finance Ministry. This delay might well prove very harmful to us as the Americans, getting to know of Dr Nijhawan's discovery from his own accounts, are setting about manufacturing stainless steel in this way. Our Ministries appear to be waiting for further proof about the validity of this discovery. That proof, of course, has come in terms of high praise from England, the United States and I think some other countries, who are greatly interested in this. Dr Nijhawan, who went to the United States with some delegation recently, was unwise enough to explain the nature of the process he had discovered and the Americans have taken advantage of this immediately, while we are still considering whether we should patent it or not.

5. It might be mentioned here that in view of this discovery manganese can certainly be used in place of nickel for some of our coins.

6. In the course of the discussions of the Directors this morning, another point was emphasized. They said that they read in the newspapers about the major projects and about foreign teams coming and agreements being arrived at with foreign countries or foreign firms about some of these major projects. The National Laboratory concerned with that particular subject does not seem to come into the picture at all and is completely bypassed. I was astonished to hear this, because I would have thought that in any scientific or technical matter, our principal adviser should be the National Laboratory or Institute concerned with that subject. Evidently this is not so.

7. Thus the Director³ of the National Chemical Laboratory is an authority on dyes, but in all our discussions about the development of the chemical industry, drugs, dyes, etc., with the USSR, the US, Germany, etc., our own Chemical Laboratory was not brought into the picture. All kinds of notings are made here about the patent rights and other matters and apparently we accept them without any further enquiry. I am told that on examination it was found that most of the so-called patents did not exist and they ceased to function. In any event, this is a particular matter in which expert advice should be taken and our laboratories should be consulted.

8. Many of our Ministries have trained technical or scientific advisers. That is good. But it is obvious that, however good that individual might be, he cannot

3. G.I. Finch.

take the place of the concentrated and accumulated experience of a national laboratory, headed usually by the most outstanding man in India on that subject.

9. The odd thing is that when foreign teams come to India they go straight to our National Laboratory dealing with that subject and get many of their facts and figures from them, which subsequently they embody in their reports. But the Laboratory itself is severely left alone afterwards and is not consulted or told what is happening or even sent the report.

10. The Director of the National Glass and Ceramics Laboratory⁴ pointed out that he had been reading in the newspapers about some agreement to start an Optical Glass Factory. No approach had been made to him or to his laboratory on the subject. Nor was their advice taken in any way.

11. There were some other instances of this kind of thing also which demonstrated that while living in a scientific age, our Ministries have not developed the scientific mind. We deal with scientific and technical processes as if they were static and something that can be hired or purchased. We attach little importance to scientists or technicians and decide matters relating to them without taking the trouble to consult them. Having built up a magnificent series of National Laboratories and Institutes, we bypass them.

12. This really is very extraordinary and appears to me to be typical of the non-scientific administrative mind which is always static in such matters.

13. Probably there might be some measure of professional jealousy between the Advisers of our Ministries on technical subjects and our National Laboratories. We cannot and must not encourage this. The basic fact must be recognized that the highest scientific and technical advice that we can get is through our National Laboratory on a particular subject; of course, we may add to that by taking other advice.

14. I think that the Director or Directors of our National Laboratories should be made honorary Advisers to the Ministries concerned. I do not suggest that their advice should be taken for normal routine work, but on every important matter, they should be consulted. More particularly, whenever there are any negotiations on expert level and the Laboratories feel that they can contribute something worthwhile, they should be given full chance to do so. In fact, in any major project, they should be consulted from the very beginning.

15. I was told that when one of our principal Directors wanted to see some papers relating to a project, he was told that they were confidential papers and, therefore, he could not see them.

16. Another instance might be cited. This is about our Food Research Institute

4. The reference is to the Central Glass and Ceramic Research Institute, Kolkata. Dr Atma Ram was its Director.

at Mysore which is doing extraordinarily good work. There appears to be very little liaison between this Institute and our Food and Agriculture Ministry and, I believe, our Ministry is losing by its lack of liaison, because many experiments have succeeded in the Institute which could be taken advantage of by the Ministry. There can be no doubt that we have to think more and more in terms of a scientific approach to the food question and not merely of importing food. We have to think in terms of substitute food. We have to make a scientific approach to the problem of growing more food. The Mysore Institute has been making this scientific approach and has succeeded in many ways.⁵

17. Another difficulty was brought out to me. The Financial Adviser to the Council of Scientific and Industrial Research apparently does not have much authority to agree to decisions taken. The fact came out that when the budget was considered and discussed, the Financial Adviser agreed to it, but later he sent long notes on that budget criticizing many parts of it; presumably he did so after reference to the Finance Ministry. This kind of thing delays important matters and is rather a frustrating experience, because whatever is done is undone and one has to cover the same ground again. Whatever arrangements are made should be such that the representative of Finance can take an effective part and give final decisions about minor matters. This applies to Selection Committees too where he sits.

18. The rest of the world is rapidly and painfully coming to realize that scientists count and count more than others. Recently, and more especially after the Russian adventure in space, even the United States of America have felt that they have not adequately encouraged their scientists and are now prepared to pour money in particular types of scientific research. Evidently, we have not quite developed that appreciation of the importance of science, and further we do not appreciate the good work that is being done in India itself. We consult foreign experts and foreign firms but ignore our own people.

19. I do think all this requires careful consideration.

20. I might add that I was told that there was a good deal of cooperation between the Ministry of Steel, Mines and Fuel and the National Laboratory concerned with their work.

5. On 22 November 1957, Nehru wrote to M.S. Thacker that during his visit to the Central Food Technological Research Institute (in September 1957) he was shown many of their products. "Some of these were very attractive and no doubt could find a good market. When I mentioned some of them to people here (Delhi), they asked me where they could get them, more especially some children's foods, etc." Nehru asked Thacker, "Are any of these things available here? In any event, could it not be a good thing to have some kind of an agency here of all these products of our Food Research Institute?"

3. To T.T. Krishnamachari¹

New Delhi

18th November, 1957

My dear T.T.,

Thank you for your letter which you sent in reply to my note about the National Laboratories etc.² I have passed on your letter to Professor Thacker and asked him to see you.

There are several aspects of this matter which, I think, deserve further consideration. But at the moment what I wish to stress is that our National Laboratories are something bigger than individuals whether those individuals are heads of those Laboratories or independent advisers to Ministries. A Laboratory, like the General Staff in an Army, is supposed to be the repository of much more experience than any individual might possess. Scientific advance is made usually not by a great genius, but by innumerable persons working in a particular field. Therefore, I think it is essential that there should be full cooperation between these National Laboratories and our Ministries in regard to any projects which may concern them. I am afraid many of our senior and very good people in the Government of India still have not quite caught up with the scientific age. Even technologists sometimes lag behind.

You refer in your letter to estimates, etc., coming up from National Laboratories or the CSIR in a vague and amorphous state and hence the delay in passing them. Surely, the way to approach this problem is to make them better at the initial stage and not to hold them up at various subsequent stages. I doubt if any scientific work in other countries functions in this way.

Personally, as you know, I have always been in favour of a great deal of decentralization in authority subject to control at vital points and general supervision. I think that we still are very backward in this respect and there is a great need for improvement.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. File No. 17(273)/57-59-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

2. See the preceding item.

4. Association of National Laboratories with Ministries¹

In our present difficulties about foreign exchange we might lose sight of many other very important matters. Thus, the question of internal resources is obviously far more important than foreign exchange. Also in being compelled to cut down our present Plan or phasing it because of the compulsion of events we might ignore the next stage of the planning business. Planning, of course, is not rigidly confined to certain periods. We mention periods like five year plans for convenience, planning being a continuous process. That is why planning is often divided into two parts, planning for the limited period in view and perspective planning for the future. The first must fit in with the second. Otherwise, one comes to a full stop at the end of the first period and there is a gap.

2. It is because of this that we are anxious to train people who might be required five or six to seven years later. It takes much longer to train a person than even to build up a factory or a plant. We are going ahead with training of engineers of various kinds. I have written all this as a preamble to lay emphasis on our keeping in view the next stage of our planning and not to get tied up too much in our present difficulties and forget those succeeding stages for which preparation has to be made today. It was really in this connection that I thought of the Foundry Forge Plant or of the Chemical Industries, i.e., steps leading to something. The Foundry Forge Plant obviously will have to fit in closely with the whole machine building plant and will have to be coordinated with it.

3. Is this approach being made and when are we to get decisions on this subject? Please keep in touch with the Ministries concerned so that there might be no delay.

4. Day before yesterday I sent you a copy of the note² which I had sent to some Ministers and to the Deputy Chairman, Planning Commission, after attending a meeting of the Directors of National Laboratories. The Finance Minister has written to me in answer to that note, but I feel that his reply somewhat bypasses my main contention. I have sent his reply to Professor Thacker and asked him to see the Finance Minister. Anyhow, I want steps to be taken to associate our National Laboratories much more closely with our projects than they have been in the past. The whole purpose of a National Laboratory is

1. Note to M.K. Vellodi, Cabinet Secretary, New Delhi, 18 November 1957. File No. 17(267)/57-70-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

2. See *ante*, pp. 187-190.

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6. Science, Technology and Civilization¹

Mr Rector,² Governor Zakir Husain,³ friends,

Ever since I arrived in Calcutta this morning from Santiniketan, I have felt like a performing animal being taken round from place to place. I do not mind it, I am used to this kind of thing, but still it does become a little difficult to be asked to say something worthwhile every few minutes at different places. Anyhow, here I am, and I shall endeavour to say something which you might perhaps find of interest.

This is an engineering establishment and I take it that those who have got their degrees or diplomas are all engineers or budding engineers. I remember coming here many years ago to Jadavpur, and saying something then about the importance of engineers in India. I suppose that since then almost every one realizes that in the India of today, engineers of various kinds and types are of primary importance. I say this because all of us have grown up in the tradition of the salt of the Indian earth being the Indian Civil Service, which manages everything, not only general but those relating to specialized knowledge. I think our administrative services are, by and large, good. I am not complaining of them. But it is all wrong, I think, to imagine that people in the administrative services belong to some upper strata of society to which others cannot reach. One can, in the world of today, perhaps do away with the administrator; one cannot do away with the engineer. In fact, gradually, the engineer himself may function as an administrator; the administrator is not likely to function as an engineer because he does not know the job at all. Anyhow, my point is that the world of today requires all kinds of human beings, certainly it requires first class administrators. But let us realize that the world of today is run more and more basically by scientists, engineers and the like, by people having specialized knowledge, expert knowledge, and I include in that, of course, expert knowledge in the administrative field. And so the problem before us, when we consider, let us say, our Five Year Plan, is, above all, how many engineers are required and how are we to produce them. The other day, we had some kind of a census made, a manpower census of engineers in India. It was a very good one, I think

1. Speech at the annual convocation of the engineering students of the Jadavpur University, Kolkata, 24 December 1957. AIR tapes, NMML.
2. Triguna Sen.
3. Governor of Bihar. He delivered the convocation address.

very great care was taken about it. It was the second one; the first one was not very successful. In the second one, which is available to you—I suppose—it has not yet been printed, but copies are available in libraries—it is a fascinating study, the present number and kinds of engineers in India. As far as I can remember, the total figure was 72,000. I was rather surprised, I did not think there were so many in India. But the point is that when we make our calculations for the future, we require, I believe, hundreds of thousands of engineers. When I say engineers, of course I mean all grades. I do not mean top-ranking engineers of that number, I include the smaller ones also.

So, you see the modern world, even India, cannot be run without a vast number of trained specialists, chiefly in various types of engineering. We build all kinds of things. We build plants, cities, we build this and we build that; every effort at construction requires some type of an engineer, whether it is roads, or plants or factories or something. So when people discuss in terms of a five year plan, they discuss all kinds of things, like the financial aspect of it, the so-called physical aspects of it, that is to say, what our needs are. There is great argument often as to whether planning should proceed in terms of physical needs or in terms of financial resources. The argument appears to me, if I may say so with all respect to those who argue, completely absurd. But those who talk in terms of planning according to physical needs, have got a lurking suspicion for the communist method—because in Soviet Russia they had talked about this, therefore there must be some danger in applying this test of physical needs. The real way to plan is to see what financial resources you have got. Surely whatever your financial resources, you have to plan in terms of what you want. I see no other way out of it, that is, in terms of the physical needs of a nation. In the final analysis, physical needs are what are called consumer goods which are manufactured by capital goods, by plants, and those plants are manufactured by others which produce the machines, so that, ultimately, you have to plan on the basis of what a nation needs. It may need, essentially, let us say, power. Every nation needs power. You cannot do anything without power today. We need iron and steel, we need machine-making plants. These are the basic things out of which other things grow. On the other hand, for a person merely to plan from the point of view of needs without paying attention to resources, financial or other, he will be planning in the air with no foundation. After all you cannot go very far beyond your resources. So, both are necessary. In other words, planning should be physical planning conditioned by resources. Both factors come in but the main object is that you must plan for what you want. Normally speaking, in private enterprise there is no such broad approach to planning.

Why does a private entrepreneur start a factory? Because he expects to make money out of it; and he is entitled to, of course; there is no harm to make money out of it. This is to say, his test is: will I supply some physical need? Let us say, if I make shoes, can I sell enough shoes to make a profit? That is his test. It is a good test, there is no harm in that, but it does not look far enough ahead. He may supply an immediate physical need, but he will not lay the foundations of supplying the basic needs of the nation tomorrow and the day after.

However, I have branched off from my main argument. What I wish to tell you is this: we may talk about physical needs, and we may talk about financial or other resources, but the final bottleneck in planning is not money, it is trained personnel. That is the basic thing. Have you realized that, let us say, we are building three iron and steel plants, three major ones; in fact, in a sense, five, which is a tremendous effort. Well, a big iron and steel plant may take, let us say, five years to build, but the man who can run that steel plant will take ten years to be trained or more. It takes longer to train a person than to build a plant. We are thinking now—we are in the middle of the Second Plan, but whatever we may want to do in the Third Plan and in the Fourth Plan we have to begin training people for that now, here and now; otherwise we would not have the men we want for the plan. I am saying all this to point out the extreme necessity and urgency of training engineers as well as others, who are required for these specialized fields of work, and planning for that training straightaway. I do not know how many engineers Jadavpur produces now. Whatever it may be, it is bound to be much short of the necessities of the situation.

Having impressed you adequately with your own importance, which is always a good way of beginning in addressing an audience, I want to tell you something which might lessen your importance, at any rate lessen your conceit, if you have any conceit. That is to say, it is all very well to be clever engineers, and it is very important that you should be good and clever engineers, but life requires something more than clever engineering. We have in the world today vast numbers of highly trained specialists, whether in engineering or any other departments of science or technology, vast numbers of them, and yet somehow we find that many of them are at each other's throats most of the time, or want to spring at each other's throats. What is the good of all the engineering skill, technical skill and scientific skill, if that leads you and us and the world in a wrong direction? The very skills and the very powers that you get through your technical skill are used or may be used for wrong purposes. Surely, there is something wrong about that. Because power is a neutral thing, it is neither good nor bad; power can be used for good purposes or for bad purposes. A pen knife



ADDRESSING A MEETING OF THE DIRECTORS OF NATIONAL LABORATORIES, NEW DELHI, 16 NOVEMBER 1957



AT JADAVPUR UNIVERSITY, KOLKATA, 24 DECEMBER 1957



ARRIVING TO INAUGURATE THE ALL INDIA NEWSPAPER EDITORS' CONFERENCE, NEW DELHI, 8 NOVEMBER 1957



WITH DHIRENDRA BRAHMACHARI AND OTHER YOGIS, NEW DELHI, 28 NOVEMBER 1957

is neutral, you can do useful things with it, and cut a man's throat with it. It is not the fault of the pen knife. It is quite neutral. So, science is neutral or what you learn from science or technology is neutral. You have to develop something in yourself which is not neutral, which knows how to utilize the neutral thing for right purposes. Of course, the question arises, what are right purposes? I am not going into that matter, but I take it that some things are not right. A world, which periodically indulges in violence and slaughter, surely does not do the right things. A world, which is full of fear and hatred, does not have the right emotions, whether it is the world or an individual.

While it may be difficult for me or you to say exactly what in the fullness of things is right, I think it is easy to say sometimes what is wrong, and by negative process at any rate to do what is right. So, you and I may well say that many of the trends in the world today towards violence and wars and hatred are bad. They cannot yield good results. Of course, you may go back and think of one of the most important of Gandhiji's teachings, that is, that means are as important or even more important than the ends. That is to say even for a worthy objective you should not adopt wrong means. If that lesson was understood, perhaps many of our problems would be simpler today. Therefore, it is not enough to be a good engineer, you have to be a good citizen of your country, a good citizen of the world. Then only can the ability you have gathered be used for right purposes. The world perhaps is too big a thing for us to encompass immediately in our minds, even our country is rather big. However, we cannot function in a lower plane.

Let us think on another line. We live in an age of very rapid progress or change in technology, in the applications of science. Have you ever thought what amazing changes have been brought about by science and technology in the last, let us say, one hundred and fifty or two hundred years? Take communication. You can take almost anything. Since the beginning of human history and till about one hundred and fifty years ago or so, there was no great change in the speed of communications. It is a fact to remember. The fastest way of communicating, or sending message, was probably on the back of a fast horse. It was the same whether you go back to three thousand years, two thousand years or one thousand years. That was the fastest method. I believe some minor variations to that statement might be made. You could communicate some message by mirrors, you could communicate maybe by drums at stated intervals faster but leave that out. Broadly speaking, fastest was the horse. And till only about one hundred and fifty years ago, for thousands of years human beings themselves could not move faster than that, nor could they send any

message or communicate faster than that.

Then suddenly something revolutionary comes. Steam, electricity and other things come one after another. Now, the wireless, radios, etc., are commonplace; leave out telephone and telegraph and we come to the radar. I do not know what other things have appeared since radar. See the enormous difference that has taken place in a hundred years or so, many good things coming in our lifetime, in the last twenty to thirty years. Radar has come really in the last War, practically. See, that human society was naturally conditioned greatly by, let us say, the speed of communications—it is a vital factor in the organization of human society or countries or empires; the speed of communications is a vital factor. For thousands of years, society, human beings, were conditioned by that factor and organized accordingly. Then these revolutionary things come in which break up that old static condition. And you will notice that the pace of change becomes ever more and more rapid, madder and madder, if I may use that word. Till now, you have artificial moons, and people talk quite seriously of paying a visit to the moon. Only a generation ago, say in my childhood, we used to read books what are called science fiction by Jules Verne⁴, H.G. Wells⁵ and others. And we were fascinated by it, but all of us thought even while reading them, interesting as they were, these were imaginary things. Today, the wildest flight of imagination does not catch up to reality, it is extraordinary, it does not catch up to prospective reality. It shows the terrific pace of change that is taking place in factors governing human life. I do not know what more a person of my age or my generation is likely to see in the shape of revolutionary change, because the pace is great. But whether I see any great changes or not, it is dead certain that you youngmen, who have taken your degrees or diplomas today, you will see enormous changes based on scientific or like discoveries, changes which change the shape of the world, the shape of human relationship. In this rapidly changing world which is seeing enormous scientific developments, national boundaries and passports are already out of date, considering the

4. (1828-1905); French writer whose work shaped the development of science fiction; his books, which include *Five Weeks in a Balloon*, *A Journey to the Centre of the Earth*, *Twenty Thousand Leagues Under the Sea* and *Around the World in Eighty Days*, portrayed fantastic yet carefully conceived scientific wonders that often anticipated 20th-century technological achievements.
5. Herbert George Wells (1866-1946); well-known writer; achieved fame with scientific fantasies such as *The Time Machine* and *War of the Worlds* and a range of comic social novels, notably, *Kipps* and *The History of Mr Polly*; a member of the Fabian Society; also wrote several socio-political works.

developments in communications. But this technical advance is totally inadequate to deal with the problems of the age. So, I want you to view this world in this revolutionary and changing pattern and not in a static way, and therefore, try to adapt yourselves to it, try to understand it. If you want to serve it, you have to understand it and be in tune with this changing pattern.

Another question arises, to which I hinted a little while ago, that all that good engineering and all the knowledge of technology in the world may yet be totally inadequate to deal with the problems of the age, because it requires something else than engineering. In the final analysis, it requires some wisdom in the human beings. What is wisdom? I do not know how to define it, but surely mere knowledge of technology is not wisdom. An engine driver is a competent mechanic. He runs an engine properly, he knows it. Plato⁶ was no good as engine driver, yet nobody can say that because an engine driver knows how to drive an engine, he is a higher human being than Plato. Obviously not. Plato presumably possessed something deeper—knowledge, understanding and wisdom, which made him what he was, even though he was deficient in the knowledge of engine driving or technology. For anyone now to say, “Let us go back to Plato’s time,” or if I may give an Indian parallel, “Let us go back to the time of the *Upanishads* or the *Mahabharata* or the *Ramayana*,” is, well, to show a complete misunderstanding of how the world goes on growing. You cannot go back. You may draw some inspiration from something that happened in the *Mahabharata*; you may draw tremendous inspiration from the *Bhagvad Gita*, which is supposed to be an episode of the *Mahabharata*, because that contains deep wisdom. That is a different matter, but when you talk, or anybody talks, in disgust with the present world, that we want to go back to our old ways, he is saying something which is absurd, which cannot be done, which should not be done. You cannot put back the clock of life in this way, and if you try to do it, you are neither here nor there, you become static, you become reactionary. In your attempt to go back you sink deeper and deeper into the morass, because you lose touch with the spirit of the times. You have to be in tune with what the time represents, as has been said, the *yuga dharma*. You cannot function, even though an individual who wants to function as if he lived in ancient India may do so perhaps if he retires from the world and goes and

6. (BC 428–348); Greek philosopher who with his teacher Socrates and his student Aristotle laid the philosophical foundations of Western culture; in BC 388, he founded, at Athens, the Academy, an institute of scientific and philosophical research; his writings consist of thirty-five philosophical dialogues and a series of letters.

lives in some distant Himalayan valley, perhaps—I do not know—he might; he certainly cannot in a society; no social life is possible or else he will be a complete misfit. You have to accept the world as it is and try to fit in, and try to improve it if you like. You cannot go back.

I repeat this because many people, rather disgusted with the present, dream vaguely of some past age which is called a golden age. Well, I do not know if there was ever a golden age of that type which people dream of and poets write about. There were great ages of great men, I admit, but a golden age in which everybody was happy and prosperous and loving to each other, I rather doubt if at any time it existed. Of course I can understand that a thousand or two thousand years ago, when the population of India was probably one hundredth of what it is today, there was no land problem. Then, there was plenty of land and human beings were less in number. It is true that no new problems arose and in that sense there was enough land to grow food, there could be no food problem. There could be no land problem then. But, essentially speaking, poverty has been with us throughout the ages, and it is only with the development of science and technology that human beings have been given the power to overcome poverty. We have that power, there is no doubt about it, if properly exercised and if properly understood.

So, you and I have to accept the basic spirit of our times and fit into it. What the basic spirit is you might argue about, of course. It may differ in different parts of the country, but essentially, it is the spirit produced by science and technology. We live in a world of science and technology, in a world which becomes more and more governed by science and technology. The only major question that worries me is how far science and technology will be governed themselves by wisdom. If not, then they go astray; otherwise, they lead us to what might be called the earthly paradise, provided you yoke wisdom to science and the children of science. That is a problem of the age, whether wisdom can be yoked to it or not. I hope that you, young engineers, will keep this in mind and not think that by becoming engineers you have solved the problems of life. You have done a good thing by becoming engineers, a useful thing, but you have to be good citizens also.

I was not fortunate enough to be here when Dr Zakir Husain addressed you, but as you might have noticed, when I arrived here I asked him in a hurried whisper, "What did you say?" And in a sentence or two he told me. I do not know of course whether I understood rightly or not but, I believe, he said to you of balancing the science and the humanities, the scientific type of culture with the other types of culture, because if you do not do that, then you become

lopsided.⁷ If you have humanities alone, it is a good thing; but you are rather out of place in this scientific world if you have no conception of science, because science is the basis of modern life. On the other hand, if you have science and technology alone without the human approach, that also is dangerous and not good enough. We should aim at an integrated human being who fits in with the spirit of the age and yet represents these essential, shall I say, cultural features which mark the advance of man from the brute stage to what he is today. After all, if you read history, if you read the story of man, you may pursue that theme in many ways; but one of the ways is how far he has developed his civilization, his culture and all that goes along with culture. Of course, science and technology and all that is part of culture, a very important part, but there are other things too which make a man a man, and without which, however accomplished a technical person he might be, he may not be a civilized man. It is conceivable that an uncivilized man may yet learn technology—a possibility—and he can use his technical power for evil purposes. A civilized man represents the accumulated experience of ages past, the restraints and all that of which civilization is a symbol.

Let us hope that in this age of science and technology we shall progress in India in science and technology, but let us also hope that in doing so we shall never let go of the deeper wisdom which a civilized person should possess.

7. Referring to the evergrowing scale of engineering projects in India, Zakir Husain warned against the engineer turning his mind "into a machine" incapable of appreciating "what life has to offer." He said that in the changed circumstances, "it is essential to stop effectively the recruitment, to the ranks of our educated, of youngmen who are blind to the beauty of their own art, deaf to the harmonies of their own music, ashamed almost of their cultural heritage..... woefully unaware of their own literature, indifferent to the social scene around them and out of touch with the aspirations of the people."

(ii) Atomic Energy

1. India's Representative to the IAEA¹

I have had a talk with Dr Homi Bhabha on this subject.² Later, I discussed it with Foreign Secretary.³ I was at first inclined to think that this special work could be performed by our Minister in Vienna. But, I realize now that this would not be an adequate arrangement, at any rate to begin with. The work is of a very special nature and it is necessary that we should try our best at this early stage of the formation of the Atomic Energy Agency to take it in the right direction.⁴ Already much has happened that is not very satisfactory. If we do not pull our weight fully at this stage, then some serious damage may be done to the Agency.

2. Therefore, I agree that we should appoint a Permanent Representative to the Agency and that this should be for a period of six months for the present. After that, we can review this matter, and I hope it will be possible to combine this post with that of our Minister in Vienna.

3. I agree that Shri B. Rajan should be appointed to this post. He had already been selected to join the Atomic Energy Department in Bombay.

4. I should like our Minister⁵ in Vienna to be associated with him in this work, so that he may get acquainted with it.

1. Note to Homi Bhabha, New Delhi, 15 November 1957. JN Collection. Bhabha was Secretary, Department of Atomic Energy, and Chairman, Atomic Energy Commission, Government of India.
2. It related to the appointment of India's representative to the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA), which was set up in October 1957 with its headquarters at Vienna.
3. Subimal Dutt.
4. In notes written at Bandung on 18 April 1955, Nehru had expressed his concern as regards some undesirable features of proposals connected with the establishment, at US initiative, of the IAEA, including the reported move to confine the membership of the Agency to the US and its close allies. See *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 28, pp. 205-209.
5. India's Minister-Envoy in Austria was Mohan Sinha Mehta.

2. The Economics of Atomic Power Development¹

I am sending you nine copies of an address delivered by Dr Homi Bhabha² at the Dublin meeting of the British Association for the Advancement of Science³ on September 6, 1957. Probably some more copies will reach us later.

2. I understand that a copy has been sent already to the Finance Minister and probably to the Deputy Chairman of the Planning Commission. I would like you to send these copies to Cabinet Ministers who may be specially interested. If more copies come you can send them to other Cabinet Ministers also. One copy should anyhow be sent to the Planning Commission.

3. This address is important and interesting not only because it gives some information about the development of our atomic energy work, but more especially because it deals with the problem of atomic power for civil use. A comparison is made with thermal stations. The first point raised is that in any event we have not got enough power resources, whether from hydroelectric power or coal, to meet the requirements of India in the future. Thus we have to seek other resources, and the obvious one appears to be atomic energy.

4. The second and more important point is the costing of this. At present this cost is certainly much greater than that of a thermal station situated near the source of coal supply or a hydroelectric station where such power is available. But in parts of India where coal is not easily available, it may well be that an atomic energy station is cheaper. For instance, in a place like Ahmedabad, where there is a great demand for power and coal has to be transported a great distance, atomic energy will be cheaper. In Rajasthan also this would be so.

5. It is probable that in future the cost of producing atomic energy will be much less. For all these reasons, we have to plan ahead in this matter. It may well be that in some places it is even desirable to think of atomic energy stations rather than thermal ones.

6. For the present, of course, the most we can do is to think in terms of building up one atomic energy power station. Even though this may be somewhat costly it has to be done, both to gain experience and to make a beginning.

7. Anyhow, we should give thought to this matter and I am, therefore, suggesting to you that you might circulate this to Cabinet Ministers.

1. Note to M.K. Vellodi, Cabinet Secretary, New Delhi, 18 November 1957. JN Collection.

2. The topic of Bhabha's address was: "On the Economics of Atomic Power Development in India and the Indian Atomic Energy Programme."

3. The British Association for the Advancement of Science was founded in 1831 to promote general interest in science and its applications.

3. Electric Power through Atomic Energy¹

I enclose a note by Dr Bhabha.² I agree with him that the time has come for us to consider the possible generation of electric power through atomic energy wherever any large-scale power is needed. It may not be possible to supply electric energy everywhere where we need power. But this should be considered at that time. This, of course, applies only to large-scale schemes of power.

Therefore, the Atomic Energy Department should be supplied with such information as may be necessary for this purpose.

As for a representative of the Department being included as a member of various bodies, I do not know what bodies specially consider this matter. It may not be necessary for any formal inclusion of such a representative of the AED,³ but it should be remembered that wherever such a matter is considered, a representative might be invited. The point is that this should be done at the earliest stage and not later when much has already been decided.

Dr Bhabha suggests that this matter be discussed with the Planning Commission. This would certainly be desirable, but I rather doubt if this can be done in the near future. Anyhow, you might discuss this with the Deputy Chairman, Planning Commission, and reply to Dr Bhabha.

I am sending both copies of Dr Bhabha's note which he has sent me. One should be returned to him.

1. Note to M.K. Vellodi, Cabinet Secretary, New Delhi, 13 December 1957. File No. 17 (278)/57-60-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.
2. Bhabha stated that for large-scale generation of electric power from atomic energy, certain strategic considerations would have to be taken into account. The Department of Atomic Energy could carry out detailed planning, and construction of atomic power stations could be undertaken by the Ministry of Irrigation and Power.
3. Department of Atomic Energy.

4. Status of the Atomic Energy Commission¹

I had hurriedly seen these papers previously. I have now gone through them again.²

I think that it would be desirable for the Commission on Atomic Energy³ to have wide powers delegated to it. The Commission will have a Member for Finance who will no doubt be a senior officer approved by the Finance Ministry.

Generally speaking, I feel that we should have much greater delegation of powers to our corporations, etc., than we have had in the past. Every country is being driven to this in order to expedite work and make it more efficient and avoid waste of time and expense. This would be particularly necessary in connection with the Department of Atomic Energy which deals with matters which are very special. Naturally expenditure will have to be within the money sanctioned and allotted to that Department and subject to the approval of the Financial expert attached to it. If any special matter of principle arises, the Member for Finance of the Commission would certainly be entitled to refer it to our Finance Minister for his advice. But presumably this will be rarely necessary.

Broadly speaking, the Atomic Energy Commission might well function in this matter as the Railway Board does.

1. Note to the Ministry of Finance, New Delhi, 13 December 1957. File No. 17(62)/57-63-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.
2. At this time the Government had under its consideration certain proposals for the reorganization of the Department of Atomic Energy. In answer to a question in the Lok Sabha on 2 December 1957, Nehru stated that the proposed reorganization had been "necessitated by the important and rapid strides made by the Department in the research into and development of atomic energy for peaceful purposes and by the greatly expanded programme that is envisaged for the future." Pointing out that the central idea was to create an organization with full authority to plan and implement the various measures on sound technical and economic principles and free from all non-essential restrictions, Nehru stated that in devising such an organization, "the specific requirements of atomic energy, the newness of the field, the strategic nature of its activities and its international and political significance will also be borne in mind."
3. An Atomic Energy Commission was set up in August 1948 under the Atomic Energy Act of 1948 with the object of developing atomic energy for peaceful purposes. Apart from promoting research in fields related to atomic energy, the Commission had also been responsible for the setting up of the Indian Rare Earths Factory at Alwaye.

5. Delegation of Powers to the Atomic Energy Commission¹

I have seen the note of the Finance Minister.² Whatever the description might be, the point is that a highly technical organization like the one controlling atomic energy development should be given adequate powers to spend within the allotments made by Parliament and subject to money being available. There is no question of an outside body controlling a Government Department. The Atomic Energy Commission will be the expert body advising the Department of Atomic Energy³ which will decide.

2. The whole question is of delegation of authority subject to certain broad limitations. This question is likely to be considered in its broader aspects by the Cabinet in the near future.

1. Note to T.T. Krishnamachari, Finance Minister, and Homi Bhabha, New Delhi, 17 December 1957. File No. 17(62)/56-57-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.
2. Krishnamachari was amused by the suggestion in Bhabha's note that the Atomic Energy Commission would control the Department of Atomic Energy. He commented that no outside body could control a Government Department, and in this case the Department was under the control of the Prime Minister.
3. The Department of Atomic Energy was created by the Government of India in 1954 and was under the direct control of the Prime Minister. Homi J. Bhabha, Chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission, was its Secretary. Located in Mumbai, the Department had taken over all matters connected with atomic research from the Ministry of Natural Resources and Scientific Research.

(iii) All India Institute of Medical Sciences**1. To B.C. Roy¹**

Raj Bhavan
Calcutta

14th December, 1957

My dear Bidhan,²

You will remember writing to me on November 5th 1957 about the All India Medical Institute. You referred to a talk you had with Dr John B. Grant³ of the Rockefeller Foundation. You pointed out that it would be desirable to have same types of syllabus and course of training for the different medical colleges and that it would be undesirable for the All India Medical Institute to lay down one syllabus and course of training and the Indian Medical Council⁴ another. Further, you suggested that there should be an Advisory Committee attached to the Central Medical Institute composed of the Deans of the Faculties of Medicine of the Universities all over India.

I sent copies of your letter to Rajkumari Amrit Kaur⁵ as also to our Health Minister, D.P. Karmarkar. Being a layman, it is a little difficult for me to express any opinion about these matters.

I enclose a copy of a letter which Rajkumari Amrit Kaur wrote to me on this subject.

Karmarkar was of opinion that the Indian Medical Council should have some connection with the All India Medical Institute, but he did not like the idea of any Secretariat being attached to the All India Medical Institute or the Rockefeller Foundation financing it.

1. File No. 40(134)/57-58/PMS. Also available in JN Collection.
2. He was the Chief Minister of West Bengal and a well-known physician.
3. (1890-1962); medical practitioner; joined International Health Board, 1917; Director, All India Institute of Hygiene and Public Health, Kolkata, 1939; Director, International Health Division, Rockefeller Foundation, European Region, 1948; Associate Director, Medicine and Public Health, Rockefeller Foundation, 1951; Chair, Public Health Care and Medical Practice, University of Puerto Rico, 1955; Consultant to the World Health Organization for many years.
4. The Medical Council of India, set up in 1934, is responsible for granting recognition to medical colleges and maintaining the standard of medical instruction in India.
5. Amrit Kaur, former Health Minister, was Chairman of the Governing Body of the All India Institute of Medical Sciences (AIIMS).

I really find it difficult to express any definite opinion on these subjects. But, prima facie, it seems to me that there should be some connection between the Indian Medical Council and the All India Medical Institute.

I am rather concerned at the numerous points of friction that are arising between the All India Medical Institute, our Health Ministry and the Indian Medical Council. This is a bad beginning for the Central Institute.

Yours affectionately,
Jawahar

2. To Amrit Kaur¹

Raj Bhavan
Calcutta
14th December, 1957

My dear Amrit,

I must apologise to you for the delay in dealing with some of the letters you have written to me about the All India Institute of Medical Sciences. I have been so very heavily occupied during the last two-three weeks that I could not even find time to read all the letters that I have received. Any long letters which appeared to be not very urgent were put aside for future consideration.

I have since received a long letter from Jivraj Mehta.²

Your first letter dated November 14th. This is a kind of reply to the letter of Dr B.C. Roy of November 5th a copy of which was sent to you. I have just written a letter to Dr Roy on this subject and I enclose a copy.³

Your second letter is dated 29th November in which you refer to the All India Institute of Medical Sciences (Amendment) Bill, 1957,⁴ which had been introduced in the Lok Sabha by Dr Atchamamba.⁵ I had not heard of this Bill

1. File No. 40(134)/57-58/PMS.
2. He was Minister of Finance, Government of Bombay, and Member of the Governing Body of the AIIMS.
3. See the preceding item.
4. The Bill, moved in the Lok Sabha on 22 November 1957, sought to amend sections 4 and 28 of the All India Institute of Medical Sciences Act, 1956.
5. K. Atchamamba (1906-1964); obstetrician and gynaecologist; participated in the freedom struggle; Member of the Communist Party of India; Vice-President, Andhra Provincial Medical Association, 1943-48; resigned from the CPI owing to difference of opinion on policy matters and joined the Congress Party, 1948; Member, Lok Sabha, 1957-62; Member, Red Cross Society, Vijayawada; Honorary Secretary, Bharata Grameena Mahila Sangham, New Delhi; Honorary Magistrate, Juvenile Court, Vijayawada.

previously and I was rather surprised to learn of it from your letter. I sent for the Bill to have a look at it. I agree with you and with your Council that it was not right or proper for Dr Atchamamba, a member of the Institute, to propose such a Bill. Apart from the merits of the Bill, a member of the Institute should have discussed such matters in the Council itself as well as with the Government. So far as I know, she made no reference to anybody about it. I do not think it is desirable to have any such amendment so soon after the original Act was passed. Whether it can be withdrawn or not I do not know because it has already been put in. I am writing to her and telling her that I am surprised at the action she has taken⁶.

Then there is your letter of December 3rd with which you have sent me resolutions passed by the Governing Body of the All India Medical Institute. The first resolution is about Dr Atchamamba's Bill. I have referred to this above.

The second resolution refers to various matters. Among these is the proposal to appoint Colonel Iyer and Colonel Rao as Professors of Surgery and Medicine respectively.⁷ As your Council has come to a decision after full consideration of this subject, I have nothing further to say.⁸ It is true that I had spoken to Jivraj Mehta and suggested that these two persons might be appointed as Professors in the Institute. The Vice-President, Dr Radhakrishnan, had also mentioned this matter to me. My own impression has been that both Colonel Iyer and Colonel Rao are very efficient in their respective subjects. That is the impression of many persons in Delhi who have had dealings with them. Personally, I have considered them the best doctors we have had in Delhi, and it was certainly my desire as also of the Vice-President that it would be a good thing if they could stay in Delhi and be associated with the Medical Institute. Naturally I do not know your rules nor did I know whether they had had any

6. On 16 December, Nehru wrote to Dr Atchamamba that he wanted to make the Institute a thorough success which was not possible in an atmosphere of controversy and conflict. Nehru also said that the Bill would add to this controversy and advised her not to press it. Dr Atchamamba withdrew the Bill on 20 December 1957.

7. On 28 October 1957, Nehru had written to Karmarkar that it would be unfortunate if the services of Rao and Iyer were not utilized, and thought they would make excellent professors in the All India Institute. Nehru added that he had mentioned this matter to Jivraj Mehta who had promised to look into it. See *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 39, p. 301.

8. In the meeting held on 2 December, the Governing Body of the AIIMS rejected the Health Ministry's proposal to appoint Colonel Iyer and Colonel Rao as professors in the Institute. On 3 December, D.P. Karmarkar wrote to Nehru that the proposal to appoint Colonel Iyer and Colonel Rao as professors was strongly opposed by Amrit Kaur.

teaching experience or not. As it has been pointed out by the Governing Body that teaching experience is essential and as neither Colonel Iyer nor Colonel Rao had any such experience, this matter assumes a different aspect. As I have said, I do not wish to go against the considered opinion of your Governing Body.

In the course of the papers you have sent me, it is stated somewhere that someone on behalf of the Health Ministry said that the sixty beds in the Safdarjang Hospital would only be made available if Colonel Iyer and Colonel Rao were appointed Professors. Certainly any such proposal, if it was made, was not right. The two matters have to be considered separately.

Stress is laid in the Governing Body's resolutions as well as in Jivraj Mehta's letter to me on the urgency of building a hospital for the Institute. So far as I am concerned, I am very anxious that the Institute should function adequately and efficiently as soon as possible. But it is just beyond our capacity to spend large sums of money on construction in the near future. We are facing a much greater crisis than people realize. Jivraj Mehta has pointed out, quite rightly, that we are putting up three or four large technological institutes and yet we seem to grudge the money for this one All India Medical Institute. It is true that one technological Institute has been put up in Kharagpur and two others are going to be put up.

But both these others are being put up by funds supplied by the German and Soviet Governments respectively. If we had to put up any of these institutes now with our own money, we would have postponed it. I am merely pointing out our difficulties to you, but certainly I should like to do my utmost to help in completing the Institute. I must say, however, that I was taken aback when I saw the various estimates for the building programme of this Institute. I am not competent to judge them and Jivraj Mehta has written to me at some length explaining this expenditure side on buildings.

In your letter you say that "very strong views were also expressed in regard to the constant attempts, as one member said, by the government to interfere with the autonomy of the Institute". The instance quoted is of "forcing twenty-one students on the Institute". This matter was discussed by me with the Governing Body and I was not aware of any compulsion being exercised by Government. In fact, I had some grievance with the way the Governing Body had unnecessarily protested about some matters. Does the Governing Body object to Government sending them their views about any matter?

I believe in autonomous institutions of this type. But surely it is expected that even autonomous institutions will deal with Government with courtesy and in a spirit of cooperation. Unfortunately, this almost appears to be absent. It may be that the fault has sometimes lain with the Government.

But the impression I have got is that the Governing Body does not go even halfway to meet Government. Obviously, such an attitude is not likely to be helpful in future whatever the Government may be or whoever might function on behalf of Government.

There are some other matters in the resolutions of the Governing Body and in your letter which it is difficult for me to deal with as I do not quite understand the position. But, broadly speaking, there can be no doubt that the Institute should be helped by Government in such ways as are possible. Unfortunately, for various reasons which I am unable to fathom, the Institute is not very popular with Members of Parliament and even outside and this certainly creates a difficulty. Members of Parliament may be unreasonable. But they happen to occupy positions of importance and can make their views felt. They cannot be told curtly to behave because the Institute is an autonomous body. We have large autonomous corporations for the river valley schemes and constantly they are referred to in Parliament, much against my wishes.

I would have gladly met Dr Lakshmanaswami Mudaliar⁹ and others. But I could not even read your letter for some days after it came and they had gone away then.

I am sending a copy of this letter to Jivraj Mehta as this will be in a sense my answer to his letter to me also.¹⁰

Your sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

9. Vice Chancellor of Madras University.

10. Nehru wrote to Jivraj Mehta on 14 December that he attached the greatest importance to the AIIMS but unfortunately there were many complaints from various members of the Government and Parliament about the Institute. Nehru also wrote that there was a lack of cooperation between the authorities of the Institute and the Health Ministry which was not good for the Institute.

(iv) Other Matters

1. Offer to an Indian Scientist Abroad to Work in India¹

Please send the following letter to Dr Suraj N. Gupta²:

Dear Dr Gupta,

The Prime Minister has received your letter of October 19, 1957.

On receiving your previous letter of April 26, to which the Prime Minister replied,³ he communicated with a number of eminent Indian scientists. All of them replied recognizing your abilities and expressing a wish that you could serve in India. But it also appeared that when some offers were made to you, you were reluctant to accept them. Subsequently you accepted an offer, but later again changed your mind. From this it appeared that you were yourself doubtful either about your returning to India on the conditions offered or perhaps did not consider those conditions adequate enough. Reference was made to this when your name was mentioned in Parliament by one of the MPs.⁴

Apparently two or three offers were made to you on various occasions, but you did not ultimately accept them. There is no question of treating you as you say, "in a shabby way". The Prime Minister is sure you will be welcomed here, but you will appreciate that there must be a measure of cooperation in this on all sides.

Yours sincerely,

Send the letter of Dr S.N. Gupta dated October 19, 1957, or a copy of it with copy of your reply to Professor Thacker.

1. Note to K. Ram, Principal Private Secretary, New Delhi, 21 November 1957. JN Collection.

2. Professor of Physics at Wayne State University, Detroit, 1956-61.

3. For Nehru's reply of 13 May 1957, see *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 38, p. 767.

4. During the debate in the Lok Sabha, in July 1957, on the demands for grants of the Department of Atomic Energy, Saif Tyabji had referred to Indian scientists being abroad and asked why they were not in India. He mentioned the names of two scientists: Suraj N. Gupta and Subrahmanyan Chandrasekhar.

2. Proposal for a National Orchidarium¹

Some days ago, just before I left Delhi, I wrote a note which I think was sent on to your Ministry. This was about a proposal for an orchidarium near Shillong.²

2. During my previous visit to Shillong and round about, I had been struck by the enormous variety of orchids that grew there, many in a wild condition. I had then come across in Shillong a man named Shoilesh Chandra Mustafi who was intensely interested in orchids, and with very little resources he had collected hundreds of varieties of them in his very small garden patch. It seemed to me then that we should make special efforts to have an orchidarium as we are so rich in orchids. Apart from the botanical aspect, even from the commercial point of view this appeared to me worthwhile. Orchids are in great demand in Europe and high prices are paid for them. It should be easy to establish some kind of a market in Europe for our orchids. As a matter of fact, I have had orchids sent to friends in England through Mustafi and both the plants and the cut flowers arrived there safely and were much appreciated.

3. On return to Delhi I think I wrote a note on this subject. Presumably this was forwarded to the Botanical Survey. I was told that a scheme for an orchidarium was under preparation. This was some years ago, but apparently little progress has been made. I gather that the old scheme or a new scheme is still under consideration, the idea being to have an orchidarium near Shillong.

4. The Botanical Survey of India has an Eastern Region comprising Bengal, Assam, etc. They have some kind of a branch at Shillong, but no special effort is made to collect orchids systematically. This is a pity as Assam and NEFA are

1. Note to M.S. Thacker, Darjeeling, 26 December 1957. JN Collection. Also available in File No. 17(210)/56-59-PMS.

2. Referring to his meeting with S.C. Mustafi, an orchid expert, at Shillong some years back, Nehru, in his note of 21 December 1957 to Education Secretary, enquired about the proposal to develop an orchidarium near Shillong. He pointed out that he had been told two or three years ago that the Government of India had been in touch with Mustafi in connection with such a proposal. On 13 December 1957, Nehru had also asked M.O. Mathai to find out the position in this matter. He wrote, "Governor Fazl Ali mentioned his name to me today and asked if he should not be encouraged to do the work he could do so well." Mustafi was at this time temporarily employed by the Government of West Bengal as a Special Officer for Orchids.

very rich in orchids. Indeed, NEFA is almost an unexplored area and might yield many new specimens.

5. I should like you to look into this matter and expedite decisions about the establishment of an orchidarium. Obviously, somewhere near Shillong will be the best location for it. This could function under the Eastern Region of the Botanical Survey. I do not think it would involve any heavy expenditure.

6. We have many competent botanists, but I do not know how far any of them has specialized in orchids. From the practical point of view, Mustafi, to whom I have referred above, has specialized very much in them and indeed has built up a good collection. It might be worthwhile to put Mustafi in charge of this orchidarium. I saw him here in Darjeeling and he told me that he would like to give his collection of orchids to the National Orchidarium.

7. At present Mustafi is employed rather temporarily by the West Bengal Government in Darjeeling for orchids. Darjeeling is a good place for botanical gardens, but not a particularly suitable place for orchids, especially for the type of orchids that attract a market. Near Shillong will be the best place for that.³

3. The National Orchidarium and Botanic Garden was established near Shillong, Meghalaya, in 1959.

III. EDUCATION AND CULTURE

1. The Future of English in India¹

I have been asked to send a message for the eighth session of the All India English Teachers' Conference to be held in Hyderabad. I do not quite know what message would be appropriate on this occasion. But I gladly send my good wishes.

There is a good deal of controversy going on in India at present over the language question. That controversy certainly has relevance and the subject is one deserving careful consideration. But an approach in a controversial spirit will not help in its calm consideration.

It is clear that we have to encourage all our great national languages which are mentioned in our Constitution. It is clear also that Hindi has to be progressively used in place of English. That is not because Hindi is superior to our other great languages but it is most widespread and therefore can more easily serve that purpose. But this does not mean that people speaking other languages should in any sense be made to suffer. Nor does it mean that the English language should be pushed away from India. I think that it is important that English should continue in India and that large numbers of people should know it adequately. I would like to encourage other foreign languages too in India and I hope this will be done. But inevitably because of our association with English for more than a hundred years and also because English is the most widely used language in the world today, we must keep up our knowledge of it and that knowledge should be of a fairly high order.

1. Message to the All-India English Teachers' Conference, New Delhi, 2 November 1957. File No. 9/2/57-PMS. Also available in JN Collection. The conference was held in Hyderabad on 29 December 1957 and was attended by over one hundred delegates from Indian and foreign universities and colleges.

2. Free Reading Room of Sahitya Akademi¹

... 3 . The President remarked that while he was glad to note that a free reading room had been opened by the Sahitya Akademi, he would like that the time during which the reading room remained open to the public should be longer and that it should also remain open on Sunday mornings. Secretary² explained that this had not been done so far for the lack of a separate staff for the purpose. At present the present library staff was working overtime for the reading room. President suggested that a separate post might be created to make the reading room function better and for longer hours...³

1. Report of the twelfth meeting of the Executive Board of the Sahitya Akademi, New Delhi, 6 November 1957. File No. SA 2, Sahitya Akademi Records, 1957-58. Extracts. Nehru was the President of Sahitya Akademi, the National Academy of Letters of India.
2. K.R. Kripalani.
3. At this time the Secretariat of the Sahitya Akademi was housed in some small rooms in hutments, called the Theatre Communication Building, in Connaught Place in New Delhi. One of the office rooms adjacent to the Library of the Akademi was converted into a public reading room. Following Nehru's suggestion the reading room was kept open beyond normal office hours on working days and on holidays as well. About 120 literary journals in 15 languages were made available to readers. In 1961, the Tagore birth centenary year, the Secretariat shifted into Rabindra Bhavan, specially designed and built for the Sahitya Akademi and two other national Academies.

3. To B.V. Keskar¹

New Delhi

November 7, 1957

My dear Balkrishna,²

Night before last there was some kind of a dance and music performance in Rashtrapati Bhavan after dinner in honour of President Diem.³ This was, I believe, organized by your Ministry. The items were good in themselves, but I

1. JN Collection.
2. Union Minister for Information and Broadcasting.
3. President Ngo Dinh Diem of South Vietnam was in Delhi from 4 to 8 November 1957.

thought that some of them were not at all suited for a foreign audience. I wish that this fact is borne in mind in future and something is put forward which really can be understood and appreciated by the foreign audience.⁴ In this matter there should be consultation with our Chief of Protocol.⁵

Next year I think we are having two centenaries, that of Acharya P.C. Ray,⁶ the great chemist, and Jagdish Chandra Bose, the great botanist. Both are famous Indians and they deserve being remembered by the present generation. I think we are likely to have stamp in their honour.

I think also that it would be a good thing if you could produce some kind of films about them, separately of course. They might be of the documentary type. This will not only bring out two famous Indians and remind the present generation of them but will also lay stress on the development of science in India. In foreign countries such people are honoured in this way, and the younger generation especially is supposed to see these films. Some of these foreign films are of course very ambitious like that of Pasteur⁷ or other great scientists. I am not suggesting anything very ambitious.

I should like you to think about this. A film of this kind requires not only film technique but scientific knowledge of the subject, as well as knowledge, of course, of the work of the individual concerned. So far as Jagdish Bose is concerned, I am sure you could get a great deal of information from the Bose Institute in Calcutta which is now run by Jagdish Bose's nephew, Dr D.M. Bose. Also Boshi Sen⁸ could help. So far as Acharya Ray is concerned, there is also a committee of scientists organizing a centenary.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

4. Replying to Keskar's letter of 9 November about cultural performances for foreign dignitaries, Nehru wrote to him the next day: "I do not quite know what you mean by stable arrangements. What foreigners like is some good Indian dancing and also some idea of our music. You can hardly have the same dancer appearing all the time or the same musician. Inevitably, we have to make some special arrangements on each occasion. Sometimes we might get a good dancer from Bombay or Madras."
5. M.R.A. Baig, Chief of Protocol, MEA.
6. The centenary of Prafulla Chandra Ray fell in 1961.
7. Louis Pasteur (1822-1895); French chemist and microbiologist, famous for the germ theory of disease, invention of vaccine for rabies and the process of pasteurization. *The Story of Louis Pasteur*, directed by William Dieterle, was released in 1936.
8. Agricultural scientist who worked with J.C. Bose and was later associated with the Green Revolution in India.

4. The Objectives of Basic Education¹

I send my good wishes to the annual conference of the workers of Nai Talim.² In the final analysis, no subject is of greater importance than that of education. It is the men and women in a country that make and build a nation, and it is education that is supposed to build those men and women.

The process of education, therefore, must help to build men and women suited to the age and the tasks they have to perform. It should presumably deal with certain basic factors in the development of boys and girls to give them strength of character and the right outlook on life. I do not mean by this that they should be conditioned only in one particular way, but rather that they should develop, apart from the essentials of character, a trained, receptive and tolerant mind which is capable of considering problems in their entirety and trying to arrive at solutions. They should, in effect, develop into integrated human beings. Integration means not only a process within themselves, which, of course, is highly important, but also a measure of integration with the environment.

The part of training that deals with the environment will necessarily vary with the age and the kind of work that these people may be called upon to do. We live, as is well known, in an intensely transitional age. We cannot go back upon it and we can only try to understand it and look forward to the changes that are likely to come. The Industrial Revolution has changed the face of the world in the course of the last one hundred and fifty years. In a sense, it is continuing and tremendous scientific and technological advances are taking place now at an almost unthinkable pace. These will no doubt affect the structure

1. Message, New Delhi, 10 November 1957. File No. 9/2/57-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

The message was sent to E.W. Aryanayakam, President of the All-India Nai Talim Sangh, on the occasion of the twelfth All-India Basic Education Conference. The Conference was held from 28 to 30 November 1957 at Turki, in Muzzafarpur district, Bihar. About 2,000 delegates, besides several eminent Indian and foreign educationists, attended the conference.

2. Nai Talim, literally meaning New Education, was the concept of education enunciated by Mahatma Gandhi as a radical alternative to colonial education. Under Nai Talim, also known as Basic education, the learning of a craft was the centerpiece of the entire teaching programme, and the schools were self-supporting as far as possible. The first institution of Basic education was opened at Wardha in April 1939.

of human life and association. How to fit in with this and yet to retain those fundamental traits of character which are considered essential, is the problem of the age. Probably most of our difficulties are due to the fact that there is this lack of concordance between the individual and the environment. This physical environment has changed so rapidly that the human being has not adapted itself to it except, to some extent, externally.

In India we have perhaps to face even greater changes than elsewhere because, whether we will face it or not, we cannot cut ourselves off from this powerful current of change. We are entering not only the industrial age but the atomic age and perhaps a little later the interplanetary age. We are doing all this before we have found our feet even in the initial stages.

The problem is a colossal one and yet it has to be faced. Basic education laid stress on various factors of importance, notably the coordination of the mind with manual work. That is an essential feature which we have to encourage. As a result of this, stress was laid on what are called the development of cottage industries and a seeming contradiction arose between cottage industries and the machine age that we live in. We cannot get out of the machine age and the question is how far such concordance is necessary and to what extent we can bring it about. It is a difficult question to answer for the distant future. But in the present, it is clear that however much we may advance in the technique of the machine age, and I feel sure that we must advance that way, it still remains necessary for us to develop in a large way cottage industries and the like. Also, India can only develop if her villages develop, and too great a hiatus between the village and the city is bad. The whole purpose of the community development scheme is to develop the villages along modern lines but keeping their inner basis to some extent intact.

I think that there should be as close a coordination as possible between Basic education and Nai Talim and the community development schemes, which undoubtedly are going to make a vast difference to rural India.

India has got a reputation for being a strong champion of peace and non-violence. That reputation is partly deserved but not wholly so, because while we talk of peace and non-violence, we indulge constantly in something the very opposite of it in our domestic and national life. This conflict within ourselves is, I am sure, very harmful. How far basic education can help in dealing with this problem, I do not know. But it has to try to the best of its ability. In doing so, it will not help much if it works in a narrow and limited sphere, cut off from the current of national life.

In this message I have touched upon some aspects of education and especially of Basic education, which perhaps are not usually considered in their fullness. I trust that the Conference that is being held will pay some attention to them.

5. To Satyendra Nath Bose¹

New Delhi

November 18, 1957

My dear Dr Bose,²

Thank you for your letter of the 11th November with which you have sent me your report on the incidents on the 26th October.³ Your report reveals a very unfortunate state of affairs. Whatever the provocation, it is very extraordinary that Dr Ghosh⁴ should actually hit a brother professor with a stick. From this alone it would appear that he is a very irascible and rather cranky person. A professor or teacher has not only to be competent but should have the capacity to get on with others, including his students. If he has got their respect then alone he can teach them. I rather doubt if he will be able to have that respect in future or to do his work adequately.

The indiscipline of the students is also very unfortunate.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. File No. 40(9)/56-59-PMS.

2. Vice-Chancellor, Visva-Bharati, 1956-58, and Member, Rajya Sabha, 1952-58.

3. On 26 October, when Santidev Ghosh, a professor of Visva-Bharati, was holding a rehearsal for an English drama to be staged at the forthcoming Inter-University Youth Festival in Delhi in November, Ram Kinkar Beij, Artist Professor of Kala Bhawan, and who had himself produced many plays, offered him some suggestions. Some of the suggestions offended Santidev Ghosh, who flew into a rage and allegedly attacked Ram Kinkar with his stick.

4. Santidev Ghosh (b.1910); joined Sangeet Bhawan (College of Music), Visva-Bharati, 1938; worked on the notation system of Tagore Music; Principal, Sangeet Bhawan, 1964-66, and 1971-73.

6. Access to Archival Records¹

I think you have been dealing with this matter. The Home Ministry had decided not to permit these people to see some of our old archives.² I did not quite understand this or agree with it. I could understand some special papers not being shown, but for all our old papers to be kept away from some people who were suspected of communist tendencies seemed to me absurd. The matter was referred to the Home Ministry again. I do not remember seeing their reply, but it appears from the attached letter that they were given some material, though not all.

What exactly is the position? After enquiring you can write to Shri Sohan Singh Bhakna³ about it.

1. Note to K. Ram, Principal Private Secretary, 20 November 1957. JN Collection.
2. The matter related to granting permission to some members of the Desh Bhagat Yadgar Committee for consulting old records for writing a history of the Ghadar Party. See also *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 39, p. 183.
3. (1870-1968); revolutionary and freedom fighter; worked with a Namdhari sect in Punjab, 1896-1908; left for the USA, 1909; co-founder and first President of the Hindi Association of the Pacific Coast, precursor of the Ghadar Party, 1913; sentenced to death in the Komagata Maru case; sent to the Andamans after commutation of the sentence to life imprisonment by Lord Hardinge; released in 1930; participated in the civil disobedience movement, and was later associated with the Kisan Sabha movement; joined the CPI, 1934; participated in the Akali movement; wrote, inter alia, *Life Struggle* (in Punjabi).

7. Schools in Rural Areas: Improvement through Community Participation¹

I am sending you a report which might interest you. The writer of the report is Mr F.B. Carbasius-Weber, an expert in food technology and especially horticulture, whose services have been placed at the disposal of the Uttar Pradesh Government by the FAO. He met me some months ago and told me of the deplorable state of the schools in the Kumaon and Garhwal mountain areas of Uttar Pradesh. The account he gave was depressing in the extreme. He had of course many suggestions to make. But one minor suggestion was that even Rs 10,000/- spent in a wise way could bring about a change in many of these schools. I was surprised at this and asked him how far Rs 10,000/- could go in a whole district with so many schools. However, I said I would place this at his disposal. In fact, I gave him Rs 15,000/-. He has now sent me the report which I am enclosing. He has actually spent less than Rs 11,000/- yet for which he has sent me a detailed account per village. The average expenditure of a village varied from about Rs 150/- to Rs 300/-.²

The main purpose of my sending you this report is to draw attention to what can be achieved with small sums of money intelligently utilized with the cooperation of the village folk. I am becoming more and more convinced that our approach is far too rigid and bureaucratic to yield the results we aim at. Those results can never be obtained without the full cooperation of the people and without making them realize that it is their work.

How can we pull ourselves out of this trough of bureaucratism and of always relying on others to help? How can we think less in money terms and grants from above and more in terms of cooperative work in the village? There is no hope for us unless we do that.

1. Note to President, Vice President, Chief Ministers, Members of the Cabinet and the Planning Commission, and Congress President, New Delhi, 24 November 1957. File No. 40(135)/57-58-PMS.
2. Giving an account of the improvement brought about in 37 primary schools in Kumaon with the help of the amount received from Nehru in April 1957, Carbasius-Weber wrote that he sought to raise the standards of the schools by creating awareness among the teachers, parents and kids about the importance of hygiene, games, acquaintance with nature, etc.; by providing items like teaching aids, garden tools, and sports goods; and by introducing new activities for children and obtaining the involvement of officials as well as non-officials in conducting them. He said two factors had greatly helped in this work: Nehru's name, which worked magic among the villagers; and the cooperation received from officials, villagers and village-level workers.

8. Visit of the Smetana Quartet¹

I am glad to learn that the Smetanovo Quartet² from Czechoslovakia is coming to Delhi and I should like to welcome them. I welcome them as a message of goodwill from Czechoslovakia. I also welcome them because they will give the people of Delhi another chance of listening to good European music. In India there is naturally and rightly a desire to encourage in every way and develop Indian music. That is as it should be. At the same time I think that we should keep in intimate touch with European music as this is one of the major artistic achievements of Europe. We should open our doors to all the triumphs of art and music from every part of the world, while holding to our own. I feel also that this mutual understanding between Indian music and European music will be to the advantage of both, even though they are so different. Therefore, I welcome this Smetanovo Quartet and wish them success in India.

1. Message, New Delhi, 25 November 1957. File No. 9/2/57-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.
2. The Smetana String Quartet, named in honour of the Czech composer Bedrich Smetana, had its roots in the Quartet of the Czech Conservatory, founded in Prague in 1943, during the Nazi occupation, by the cellist Antonin Kohout. The Smetana Quartet, which gave its first performance in November 1945 in Prague, had a history that evoked great nationalistic passion. The Quartet learnt its repertory by rote and performed mainly without scores, which allowed its works to achieve a high degree of intensity and intimacy. The Smetana Quartet had an acclaimed international performing career, making some of the finest chamber music recordings of the 1950s and 1960s, and remained popular until its final concert in 1989.

9. Policy Regarding Osmania University¹

I am inclined to think that it is better to drop this proposal for the present.² I realize that dropping it now may mean dropping it completely. But, there is no other choice. It is not good trying to force a decision on the Andhra Government and people.

As for a separate Hindi University,³ I do not think we should think of it.⁴

1. Note to K.G. Saiyidain, Education Secretary, 26 November 1957. File No. 23-109/56-US, Ministry of Education, National Archives of India.
2. The Andhra Pradesh Government had written to the Education Ministry that the Central Government's proposal to reconstitute the Osmania University as a Central University with Hindi as the principal medium of instruction would raise a storm of protest from various quarters in the State. As there was no controversy in Andhra Pradesh as regards the compulsory learning of Hindi and its importance as a national language and since the State Government were making every possible effort to satisfy the special interests of Telengana, they thought it would not be desirable to embark on such a scheme. Education Minister A.K. Azad wanted that the Prime Minister might be asked for his guidance in the matter. The idea of making the University a Central institution was mooted in 1949.
3. The Andhra Pradesh Government had suggested that if the Centre wished to establish a separate Hindi University in Hyderabad, the State Government would render every possible assistance for its establishment.
4. Azad agreed with Nehru that the proposal might be dropped altogether.

10. To Khwaja Ahmed Abbas¹

New Delhi

December 20, 1957

My dear Abbas,²

Your letter.

I told you last night that I liked the picture, 'Pardesi'.³ It was very well produced, the photography being very good. Technically it was a fine picture. The story was interesting and well built up, though inevitably it had to be imaginative.⁴ There were certain elements in the picture which did not fit in from the point of view of period. But from the public point of view and the objective aimed at, the picture certainly was a success and I congratulate you on it.⁵

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. File No. 43(56) 56-57-PMS.

2. Well-known writer, film producer and director.

3. Called 'Pardesi' in the Hindi version, it was the first film produced with Soviet cooperation and was co-directed by Vassili M. Pronin and K.A. Abbas. When work on the film began in 1956, Abbas assured Nehru that the film was inspired by Nehru's ideals of international goodwill. Nehru promised to see the film on completion. See also *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 34, p. 100.

4. The film is about the first Russian to set up a trading mission in India in the 15th Century. A Muscovite, Afnasi Nikitin (played by Oleg Strizhenor) travels to India down the Volga, across Iran and the Arabian Sea. In India he meets Champa (played by Nargis) through whom he discovers Indian civilization.

5. On 25 November 1957, Nehru wrote to Indira Gandhi to tell her what K.P.S. Menon, India's Ambassador in Moscow, had written to him after seeing 'Pardesi': "He says that it is one of the most lifeful films he has seen. It is rather long than an average Russian film..."

11. To K.C. Reddy¹

New Delhi

December 21, 1957

My dear Reddy,²

Soon after seeing the model for the Gandhi Memorial, it struck me that it would be desirable to consult some well-known mural painter. As you know, it is proposed to have a number of mural paintings. If so, a mural painter should be consulted at the earlier stages when he can make suggestions. This does not mean that we should decide upon the paintings or of the painter.

I suggest, therefore, that you might get hold of Satish Gujral who, I think, is the best mural painter we have, and show him the model and ask for his suggestions. We can consider these later.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.

2. Union Minister of Works, Housing and Supply.

12. Visva-Bharati and Tagore's Legacy¹

Governor,² Vice Chancellor,³ teachers and friends,

I am in a bit of a dilemma on these occasions about which language to speak in. Unfortunately, I cannot speak the beautiful language of Santiniketan. Therefore, I have to choose between Hindi and English. Sometimes I speak for a few minutes in both languages. But it would be a good thing if the people in charge of Visva-Bharati were to make a rule that their Chancellor⁴ should learn Bangla. Perhaps he may do so out of fear of that rule. It is always a good thing to learn

1. Speech at the annual convocation of Visva-Bharati University, Santiniketan, 23 December 1957. AIR tapes, NMML. Nehru first spoke in Hindi.

2. Padmaja Naidu, Governor of West Bengal, was also the Rector of Visva-Bharati.

3. Satyendra Nath Bose.

4. Nehru was the Chancellor of Visva-Bharati.

something new. But as one grows older and the pressure of work is great, it is more difficult to learn a new language. Bangla is by no means a new language for us. There is such a close link between our languages particularly of North India, that knowledge of one can enable a person to understand a little of the others.

I am always happy to be in Santiniketan because it is soothing to the heart and mind. I like this tradition of assembling under the mango trees, away from the stifling formality in other places. This is a place which is inextricably linked with memories of the past, of days spent in the company of Gurudev.⁵

Pictures come crowding into my mind. The places where great human beings have lived become sanctified. In a sense they become shrines. So the load of responsibility and problems seems to lighten in recalling great deeds and events. In this connection, I would like to tell you, as the Vice Chancellor has already pointed out, that we shall be celebrating Gurudev's birth centenary in three years' time. It would be proper to do so in the right spirit. We cannot build a memorial to Gurudev for the whole of India or Visva-Bharati and Santiniketan already stand as memorials to him.

However, it would be proper to make some arrangements to project the aims and ideals which led him to establish Santiniketan and Visva-Bharati, and which shaped his thinking and writings and the message that he sought to convey to India and the world. I am sure we shall do something officially. But I feel that such occasions demand more than official celebration. There must be people's participation in it. Therefore, I shall remind you that the people must come forward with contributions for the memorial which is being thought of. They must share the burden of building the Rabindra Bhavan.⁶ I do not want that to be a governmental effort.

Well, when I come here my attention is drawn towards many things, and especially as to how far Visva-Bharati and Santiniketan are guided by the principles that you reiterate. The new graduates repeated them just now after the Vice Chancellor. But how far do they really influence our actions? There is a difference between Visva-Bharati and Santiniketan and the other universities. I do not say whether they are good or bad. But there is a difference and I do not want that Visva-Bharati should become a copy of the universities in other big cities. As Dr Sidhanta pointed out just now, Gurudev chose not a city but this secluded spot a hundred miles away from Calcutta to live in. He came to this barren land which is surrounded by small villages inhabited by the Santhals. It

5. Gurudev Rabindranath Tagore.

6. Rabindra Bhawan was conceived as a museum to preserve the memorabilia of Rabindranath Tagore.

would have been an easy matter for him to choose a big city. But he chose this spot and that in itself has a special significance.⁷ He built this place into a centre not for Bengal alone but for the whole country, for the whole world. On the other hand, you will find that right from the beginning he laid stress on establishing close links between this centre and the village and tribal folk living all around. He did not want this centre to exist in a rarefied atmosphere as a separate compartment. He wanted the inmates of the centre to learn from as well as teach something to the simple village folk because the two things go hand in hand.

Santiniketan began with Sriniketan especially to establish a link with the people in the villages. You must not think of teaching them because first you have to learn something from them before you acquire the right to teach. It has never been a one way street—learning and teaching go hand in hand.

India is in ferment today. We make mistakes and often stumble and fall. But it is clear to anyone that the country has been shaken to its foundations and is on the move today. Sometimes in our hurry we stumble and fall. But we pick ourselves up and go on. There is no doubt about it that India is full of vitality. Huge industries with big machines are coming up. River valley schemes to draw the rivers for irrigation and generate power are being taken up all over the country.

All these things are going on. But the most revolutionary step in my opinion is the community development schemes that we have taken up in the rural areas. Eighty per cent of our population lives in villages and is dependent on land for its livelihood. No matter how far twenty per cent of the population progresses, India will continue to remain weak and downtrodden until the other eighty per cent progresses. That is why I feel that the community development schemes are bringing about a silent revolution in the country. They may or may not work well everywhere, but that will be rectified. We started these schemes just five years ago and already it has spread to two lakh fifty thousand villages, that is, roughly half the country. It has spread very rapidly. I agree that the speed might bring down efficiency. But it is one of the major projects in India at the moment.

I am deeply interested in the project which has been started in Sriniketan. I visited it yesterday and found several new ideas being tried out there. The

7. Delivering the convocation address, Nirmal Kumar Sidhanta, Vice Chancellor of Calcutta University, said that when Rabindranath Tagore established his school at this spot he was attracted by the wide expanse of open fields and not repelled by their apparent barrenness, and wanted the young to be nurtured by nature with the aid of human helpers. This could be done in surroundings conducive to concentrated effort and meditation on the treasures of nature, away from the distractions of a busy city.

national extension schemes and community development projects are mutually complementary. I hope that the work at Sriniketan will be given great priority not only because it was dear to Gurudev's heart but also because it is of paramount importance to India today. I am talking about the entire area of rural uplift and the schemes for integrating the tribal and other communities into Indian society by providing greater opportunities for development. We want to break down the barriers which now exist between the urban and rural areas created during the British rule in India. There are other barriers which have come down from earlier times like casteism and done great harm to the country. The British came and created a new elite of the English educated intelligentsia which became completely alienated from the rest of society. It is a good thing to learn English and I am not opposed to it. But it is not a good thing to create elitist classes which consider themselves superior to the rest of the society.

Well, the most urgent task before us today is of rural uplift, to infuse new life into the people and train them to stand on their own feet so that they can contribute to the nation's progress. Since I consider these community development schemes to be revolutionary I am concerned that those in Visva-Bharati who are involved in them should remain vigilant and active. There has to be all-round development in the country. Education of every kind must be imparted in our schools, colleges and universities. But we have to lay special stress on rural development. That does not mean that we should slacken our efforts in other directions. But very little attention was paid to the rural areas in the past and the urban areas grew at the expense of the villages, it is now our duty to compensate for that earlier neglect.

I would like to mention that whether education at the school level or the college and university level is of high quality or not, depends on the relationship between the teachers and the students. You are all teachers and I do not have to say this. Dr Siddhanta also mentioned something just now. There is a great deal of criticism about our educational system. It is a good thing that people are constantly thinking about it. But sometimes it is more than necessary. Anyhow, I would say that one great problem that has arisen in our education is that the close relationship between the teacher and the students, which had existed previously, has weakened. One reason is the tremendous burden on the teachers. As Dr Siddhanta said just now, in Calcutta every teacher has so many students in his class that he cannot give them individual attention at all. He can merely give a lecture to hundreds of students. There is no personal contact among them. That makes excellence in education difficult to achieve even if the teachers and students are very good by themselves.

Well, this is a universal problem. But in an institution like the Visva-Bharati, which has been founded on the principles of close contact between the teacher

and the taught, there is no scope for evading it. This is not a factory for mass production of graduates. Therefore, the relationship between the students and teachers is of paramount importance here.

You have made me the Chancellor of this place. A better word is the one which has come down from ancient times, *Kulapati*. What does it mean? It means that the entire institution is one large family and must conduct itself like one. There is no relationship of master and servant here. It is very important that Santiniketan at least must set an example by being like one large family. Students come here from far and wide, from India and abroad. They must see how the teachers and students live like one large family, with mutual respect and understanding and discipline.

I have mentioned this especially because the incidents which occurred here a few days ago were not very becoming of a good institution.⁸ It was not good for the teachers or the taught. I was very unhappy to hear about these incidents because beautiful buildings cannot make up for a good relationship between the teachers and the students. The entire atmosphere gets vitiated. I was sorry to hear that it is happening here. I hope that the teachers and the Vice Chancellor and the Working Committee will pay attention to this. It is not something that money can buy. It has to come from within and unless you strive to cultivate it the atmosphere of Visva-Bharati will be ruined. I want you to pay special attention to this.⁹

Governor, Vice Chancellor, graduates and friends,

You have been listening a little while ago to the address delivered by our respected chief guest, Dr Sidhanta.¹⁰ I listened to him and you must have listened to him with great interest, because he raised a number of matters, a number of questions which are of great importance, and it is well that we should think

8. In October 1957, an altercation between two Professors during the rehearsal of a play had led to a brawl. See *ante*, p. 220.

9. Hereafter, Nehru spoke in English.

10. Emphasizing the need for moral values in life, N.K. Sidhanta said that if the products of an academy had not appreciated the work of intellectual integrity and made it the motto of their life, the academy had failed to do its work. It had failed because its instrument, the guides of youth, had been content with theorizing without illustrating the precepts by personal examples. From the teacher emanated the sparks which kept alive the flame of intellectual honesty to illuminate the countless generations of youth. In the sphere of moral values, Sidhanta added, the university shared its responsibility with the home but could not divest itself of it. For one who had to be a useful member of any profession, mere intellectual equipment was not enough. The moral qualities of service and self-control were equally indispensable.

about them even though we may have some slightly different opinions. There should be a clash of opinions, if necessary, on this subject, a friendly clash, so that we may see more and more facets of the truth in discussions and arguments. But the main point is that we should consider these matters coolly, objectively and in a friendly way. So, I was happy to listen to what Dr Sidhanta said, discussing some present-day problems, discussing the outlook of universities and teaching institutions, discussing the ideals of this great institution.

Now, obviously, Santiniketan and Visva-Bharati are places which are different from other places. That does not mean any criticism of other universities. We have great universities in India. Apart from the ancient traditions and the ancient ways, even the modern universities are a hundred years old—Calcutta, Bombay and Madras—and they have produced great men. So, I am not criticizing any university, but the fact is that Visva-Bharati is different from Calcutta or Bombay or Madras, and it was meant to be different it is not accidentally so. And behind it lies the great personality of one of the very great men of our generation and the lessons that he taught us. Gurudev was great in many ways, a great poet and singer, a great artist, a great educationist and above all a great man. He was not merely a dreamer of dreams, although he was a great dreamer. He was a practical man who wanted to give shape to those dreams, and this Santiniketan and Visva-Bharati were one such manifestation of his desire to give shape to his dreams. So, when we think of this institution, we have to think of his basic ideals, how far we are living up to them and how far we may have slipped away. It is true that every institution, as every individual, has to be in keeping in line with the spirit of the times, with the *yuga dharma*. It cannot live isolated from it, or else it is left out in the stream of change and progress. So, how are we to bring together these two facts—those basic ideals for which Gurudev stood and for which this institution stands as is given in its own charter or founding document, and the needs of the day and the spirit of the age now. That is the problem before us. Is there any conflict in the two—for if there is any conflict then it is sad for us. And in many conflicts, in the ultimate analysis, the spirit of the age thrives. You cannot overcome the age. But, surely, when you think of any possibility of conflict, well, one must be thinking presumably of some externals, not of basic ideals. I see no question of conflict in the ideals laid down by Gurudev and the spirit of this age or any age. In fact, if I may say so, the great conflict in the world today and to some extent in our own country, but the great conflict which troubles the world today is perhaps due to the fact that the world has moved away and forgotten the great ideals which should govern human conduct, national and international.

We live today in what is called the age of cold war. By what ideal—ancient, mediaeval or modern—can that be justified? You can go back either to the

ancient sages of India or of any country or to the ancient Greeks and see what they have laid down, what the human conduct should be. Or you can come to our own modern age. How, I repeat, how can this human approach to each other, this national approach to other nations, that is called cold war, be justified? Because cold war is something based on hatred and violence, and it is an amazing phenomenon that men of learning, who I would imagine are men of wisdom should deliberately call for and continue this cold war, this approach of hatred and violence. All of us often fall from grace: we make mistakes, we commit errors, we become angry, we become violent but we do not approve of that. It is one thing to slip because we are weak, it is quite another thing to lay down, as an ideal to be followed, the ideal of hatred and violence, and that is what is happening in the world today. The ideal of hatred and violence is deliberately laid down and followed, and nations and the leaders of nations criticize other nations and the leaders of other nations in a language which is neither polite nor friendly, and thereby rouse the same reactions in the other country. Of course, I have no doubt that just as an approach of affection and love brings out the affection and love in the other party, so an approach of hatred and violence brings out all the hatred and violence in the other party.

So, it is an extraordinary thing that in this world which has progressed in some directions magnificently, which has brought in the hands of man undreamt of power and which, for the first time since human creation, has sent something made by man into outer space, some physical object. This tremendous power which has come and is coming daily to man, you see that on one side—and we should be proud of that great achievement, for every achievement of man is something to be proud of—and yet, at the same time, one sees this amazing thing that while in some respects man has grown so big, in others he is yet so limited. And the danger in this world is this great power in the hands of little men and little hands. That is the great danger today.

Well, it is not for us to presume to tell others what to do, it is not for us to carry the burden of the world, it is bad enough and difficult enough for us to carry our own burdens. Who are we to criticize others when in our own household we cannot function satisfactorily and adequately? So, it is in no spirit of criticism of others that I said what I have just said to you, but because it came to my mind, what Gurudev had always said in founding this institution here and on other occasions also, and because I felt how absolutely relevant is what he had said then, even today here and now. And, in fact, not following the basic principles which Gurudev repeated has led to most of the troubles today in the world, and I have no doubt that trouble will not be got over by patch-work, compromises and agreements if the hearts on both sides are full of hatred and violence. It will never be got over. And so we stand today faced with this prospect of the

possibility of some disaster which might absolutely overwhelm the world and the alternative appears to be not continuing as we are doing, in a state of alarm and fear and apprehension and hatred, but turning away from these, looking in other directions and adopting the path of friendly cooperation, which is sometimes called peaceful coexistence, even though countries or individuals differ.

One finds today far too much a tendency for great nations to expect others to develop in their own images, to adopt their way of life. We, in India have had innumerable failings which brought us servitude and poverty and misery but we have had some virtues also which have kept us going in spite of those failings and difficulties; and among these virtues have been a tolerance of other opinions, of other ways of life, a sense of peaceful existence even though people differ and nations differ. And so, perhaps, it is a little easier for us, who, broadly speaking, have not been a proselytizing race, to accept the ideal of peaceful existence than for others who are convinced that there is only one aspect of the truth and they possess it. However that may be, the time has come when nations as individuals who may have different forms of government, different forms of economic systems should accept this ideal of peaceful coexistence, because if they do not do so the only alternative is violent destruction of all. So, I come back to the ideals that were laid down here in Visva-Bharati by Gurudev. I believe they are ideals not for this institution alone, but for the world, and in the measure all these ideals are understood and accepted by others will there be peace in the world and cooperation. Otherwise, we shall live on the brink of a deep abyss and always near some terrible disaster that might overwhelm us.

In Dr Sidhanata's address there was some discussion of the type of teaching that should take place. Santiniketan started with a stress on the humanities, on cultural, so-called cultural subjects, on art and music and dance and so on, which most universities, at least in those days, had little to do with. Humanities, of course, universities dealt with, but I am talking about dance and songs. Perhaps Santiniketan developed a certain special outlook which was influenced by this particular environment and the type of teaching it gave. It was a very good thing that this was done to lay emphasis, so that emphasis may be laid on certain very important aspects which had been neglected by our other universities; it is important. I think that dance and song and music and art are of the utmost importance in life's business. But obviously and unfortunately, one cannot always be dancing and singing. One has to find a certain balance in other ways, and in the modern world specially, which is a world changing very fast, the pace of change is terrific, and the change is brought about basically by changes of progress in science and technology, because science and technology change the conditions of life in which we live; and if conditions of life are changed, obviously the problems of life, the problems of human society change

in the way things are produced and distributed, and the way we live.

We live now surrounded by the products of the industrial or electrical revolution. Tomorrow we shall have the products of the atomic revolution which change our life completely. And, therefore, social problems change and we must understand them in that context. So, it becomes necessary to live in tune with the age. It becomes necessary to have this basic scientific approach to life. I do not think it is possible for every institution, much less Visva-Bharati, to specialize in the sciences, that is specialize in them in the sense of the very advanced sciences. I am not talking of the future but I do think that it is obviously necessary for every individual now to have some knowledge of science, what the basic structure of science is, because that governs the thinking of the age today. In the highly industrialized countries like the United States of America or the Soviet Union, however much they might differ today in their political and ideological and other approaches, there is a greater similarity today between the United States of America and the Soviet Union than between any two countries, and the similarity is based ultimately on the faith, the power, the belief in the machine, in technology. They both bow down to the machine in a more basic way than other countries. All countries do, to some extent, but these two do most, they have become technical-minded. Every individual going through the process of education in these countries is technical-minded. It is not technical-minded in the sense that you can do a technical job. No, it is something deeper than that. Having grown up almost from babyhood up, surrounded by this industrial, technical, machine civilization, they have absorbed it, you might say, in their blood, they react to it. They have other things too. So, I am not criticizing it. I think it is inevitable. I think we will also become gradually more and more technical-minded. I hope we will. More and more, our people have to study techniques and technology and science. In fact, most of our efforts are being directed today in starting any number of institutes for the training of engineers of all grades and degrees. We had a census taken the other day very carefully and we discovered that we had—I forget the exact number, but I think, 72,000 engineers in the country. I was rather surprised that we have so many engineers, of course, all grades of engineers. And now we find that unless we hurry up we shall be terribly short of engineers in the next few years. There may be unemployment in the country, but barring some odd individual you will find very little unemployment in technically-trained people. They are absorbed like anything because there is need for them. Therefore, in order to understand the spirit of the age we need not become great scientists—all of us cannot—or become highly trained technicians. But we must know, we must understand this temper of science, the way it works. Those of us who are most interested will go further forward. One cannot now ignore science and technology. One

may give greater stress to it in some institutions, less in others. At the same time I would say that there is an element of danger in technological institutions confining themselves to technology and science and not paying enough attention to humanities. There is an element of danger, you get lopsided development. We have to balance the two. I think it is essential that there should be that training in humanities, in literature and in other allied subjects so that the student, or whoever he is, grows up in a more balanced way.

So here in Santiniketan the problems that face us in Visva-Bharati are, firstly and importantly, that we adhere and remember always and keep that remembrance vital, of the message of the founder of this institution. Because it does not matter how many buildings you may have, it does not matter how you can show so many activities. If your faith in that message, in those ideals wavers, if that spirit which animated this place goes, then you will become progressively lifeless. You may appear to be big, but there will not be that vital spark which really has meaning and which has made this institution worthwhile. It is, therefore, of the utmost importance that you should keep that in view always, those basic ideals and the basic message of the founder. Having said that, you have also to keep in line with the *yuga dharma*; what India is today, what the world is, to understand it, to keep in step with it, in tune with it and to prepare your people who can play their part in the demands of the time. Both have to be kept in view and, I hope, both will be kept in view. And also that is a part really of what I have said, always to remember the great importance of that intimate contact with village India—great importance, not merely because it is our duty to help to raise them, but, if I may give you a very opportunist reason, the opportunist reason is this—I am using a bad word just to stress how important it is—‘opportunism’ not in a bad sense because as it is, in a democratic society like ours, with elections and franchise, with education spreading as it must—not very high class education. Anyhow, primary education will be spreading fast and will shake up all this village mass; you draw it out of the quagmire, morass, in which they have been stagnant, unchanging for hundreds of years, maybe thousands, you draw them out, all these forces that work today pull them out. If they are pulled out without proper ideals, without proper context, without a proper integration with others, then there is harm to them and harm to others. Each tends to suppress the other, each tends to come into conflict, and all kinds of new social problems will arise. They are arising and they will arise very rapidly. Do not think in terms of stagnant India, unchanging India. These problems are sometimes considered by our wise men. They give thought to them and they give the right direction to them. But perhaps even they do not realize how rapidly the face of India is changing and will change and the problems may become overwhelming if we do not develop these intimate contacts with these

people, break down the barrier between town and village and help them in their advancement and progress and help ourselves in that way too. Therefore, I attach the greatest importance to this community development movement, village movement and rural reconstruction which here in Visva-Bharati is represented by Sriniketan and allied activities. That is the thing which keeps before you the reality of India. In the past we may have forgotten reality in India, living in our own grooves, whether it was the caste groove, whether it was the professional groove, whether it was the service groove. We could live in these grooves in the past. These grooves will become more and more difficult to stay in the future, because all kinds of things are happening, the vast masses, hundreds of millions of human beings in India, and we have to understand what is happening, and try to direct it and control it in right channels. No person and no institution which lives cut off from these main currents of the historic processes that are taking place in India, is likely to survive.

I have ventured to speak to you on some matters, being encouraged to do so really by Dr Sidhanta's address to you. It is always a very deep satisfaction to me to come here to Santiniketan. In the course of a fairly long life I have been influenced by many things, by many great men, and it so happened that my generation and the one that preceded my generation, produced quite a number of great men all over India. But there can be no doubt that the greatest of them all were Gandhiji and Gurudev and it was my great good fortune that I could sit at the feet of both of them and perhaps learn something from them. Anyhow, if I possess any virtue at all, it is something that I learnt from them. When I saw Gurudev for the last time here—unfortunately, when he was very ill I was in prison at Dehradun and the news of his death¹¹ also came to me in the Dehradun prison—but when I saw him for the last time, some months, about a year before his death, he, as was his wont, he was very affectionate to me and he blessed me, but I saw he was very anxious about Santiniketan and Visva-Bharati. They were his dear children, children of his thought and mind, and he was very anxious about them and he mentioned, he referred his anxiety to me and asked me not to forget them, to help them. It would not have been necessary for him to say so, because anything that came from him was a dear and honourable duty to discharge and a burden to carry; but as he put it to me then, it became doubly a charge on my mind and heart and I have been awfully sorry that I have not been able to discharge that burden as adequately as I should have done. You have done me honour in making me Acharya, Chancellor, of this great institution and I can tell you truly that because of this institution and its intimate connection with Gurudev this honour is greater for me than anything else that I possess. I

11. Tagore passed away in Kolkata on 7 August 1941.

wish I could be of greater help to it. I shall endeavour to be of help to it in future.

In three years' time we shall have the centenary of Gurudev's birth and it is right and fitting that this should be properly celebrated all over India, and where else can you celebrate it more than here, his home where his spirit took some shape in this institution. Government will, of course, do something in this matter. But I do feel that this is not entirely a matter for Governments to do or celebrate—that is rather a formal thing for the Government of India to give some money for some constructions and buildings. They should do so, of course, but it is necessary that we should celebrate this in a popular way too, apart from the Governments. Celebrate it, I mean, apart from what Government functions there might be, in popular subscriptions, in a fund raised by the people of India, because this is an all-India matter and, if necessary raised by the people outside India too. They are welcome, but essentially it is an Indian, all-India business, and the first use of that fund should be, as *Upacharya* mentioned, to put on a firm basis this Rabindra Bhavan, a kind of museum. It is not good for this Uttarayana¹² to be used as an office amidst many other things. It should become dedicated as Gurudev's home and all this area round about Uttarayana. We can build a hall there too in keeping with that architecture. All this, I think most of us would agree, should be constituted into a separate trust. Naturally, it will be closely associated with the University, but it is better to have this memorial as a separate trust, and I am sure that the people of India will gladly subscribe to this so that we may be able to do this properly and adequately. Certainly, I shall be very glad to help in starting and building up this fund and subsequently in seeing that it takes proper shape here.

I congratulate the graduates, the *snataks* and others, on their success in their examinations or in their other tests. Now they will go out from here into the wider world which in India, as elsewhere, is full of turmoil. Let them not be afraid of this turmoil. It is out of turmoil that great things happen, it is out of chaos that perhaps our world took shape. I do not want chaos in India, but one should not be afraid of difficulties. One should rather think that it has been our good fortune to live at a time when great things are happening in India, when

12. Uttarayan is the collective name for a group of buildings, everyone of which Tagore used as his residence at some period or other of his life at Santiniketan. A portion of the main buildings in this group has been marked off under the name Rabindra-Bhavan for housing the collection of the poet's published works in their different editions in almost all the languages of the world, his paintings, manuscripts of his writings, and other material concerning his life and work consisting mainly of cuttings from magazines and newspapers of almost every country of the world.

greater things will happen, when we are building up this country of ours and there can be perhaps no greater opportunity given to any individual than to participate in this. Do not think all the time of going into service, Government service or other service. Government service is not bad, of course it is good, I have no objection to it. But this constant thought of going into service is not good; people should have more enterprise in them to adapt themselves to all kinds, all types of work. We have been too limited in our approaches to our life's problems, specially the problem of earning our livelihood. Anyhow, approach life with faith, with confidence and with a spirit of adventure. But whatever you do remember the ideals which you have repeated frequently while you were here, the ideals for which Gurudev founded Visva-Bharati.

Jai Hind!

13. The Language Problem¹

I am not sure if I can contribute anything very substantially to your discussions. But first of all let me congratulate you or those of you who have sponsored and organized this conference of writers on having done this. I think it is so important that writers from various parts of the country should meet from time to time to discuss their problems. Yet it is surprising that this had not been done before. However, I hope that this kind of conference will become a regular feature and annually the writers will get together to discuss their problems and points of view.

I remember we had an international session or some kind of a conference of writers in New Delhi on the copy of the Bandung Conference and other conferences. But that was not like this conference. I confess that in most of such conferences, the object has been entirely different from that of the writers and writing even though there were talks on writing. The result is that the discussions are somewhat coloured and the object becomes something else than it should really be. It is, therefore, most welcome that people should meet on the purely literary plane throughout India and discuss their problems. I use the words "purely literary" plane. There is no such thing, of course. But I use this for convenience and I say that the main object should be to discuss the problems. Obviously, such meetings will be affected by innumerable other

1. Speech at a symposium on "State and Literature", held during the All India Writers' Conference, Kolkata, 24 December 1957. From *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, 25 December 1957.

problems. But that should not matter.

You are discussing the State and literature, and yesterday you discussed writers and the language problem in India. If you permit me to say something about them—although I think I can speak nothing very substantial—it is definitely a subject to be discussed this year, next year and even after that. I think it is a subject of vital importance.

The language problem in India consists of the literary side, educational side and the State side, that is, the Services side. I think that this conference will be concerned with the literary and educational side more than the State side, which is concerned with the knowledge of language which is required for entering into Services. So far as our Constitution provides, I do not myself see any difficulty in the way of any language. In fact, we can see that all the principal languages of India which are mentioned in the Constitution are at present encouraged in a way not only by the respective States but by other inter-State and national organizations like the Sahitya Akademi and the like.

Hindi has been chosen as the official language of India, not because it is superior or more advanced, but because Hindi has a close affinity with the other Indian languages. South Indian languages have all taken words liberally from the common source of Sanskrit. I dismiss as utter nonsense the cry on the part of North India to force on the South anything against their wishes. I feel that there must be some restraint in talking about matters of such vital importance to the country.

After all you have to admit that the measure of progress of a particular language naturally depends on the people and the writers of that language. But so far as we are concerned, we have to see that conditions are created for its growth and that there are no obstructions for it to flourish. I think definite attempts are being made more or less successfully to create such conditions. Now it is for the people themselves to make them succeed and encourage the growth of these languages.

Coming to the educational side, here too, the only question that is bound to come is not the role of a mother tongue. The question is whether a second language or a third language is to be learnt or not. I am not going into the question but I will only analyse one or two points.

Some people presume that the burden of learning a second or third language will be too much. I entirely repudiate this idea. I want that every one should learn three or four languages. It is not an extraordinary thing to know more than one language. It is also not a very difficult proposition. Of course, nobody naturally expects the millions of our people to learn three or four languages. In fact, if anyone starts learning two or three languages early enough, it is not going to be a difficult proposition. The later you start the more difficult it will

be.

So far as the question of Services is concerned, sometime ago the Congress Working Committee laid down that nothing should be done, and no rule should be framed, which in the slightest degree made it for the people of any particular part of the country more difficult than another to pass the examination to entitle them to all India Services.²

To put it in a different way, this was a fear roused up when Hindi was being adopted in the Constitution as the official language for the whole of India. So, it is evident that Hindi should not invade any other language. The only question is how the official communication on an all-India basis should be carried out in place of English? Then there was the fear that in future, the examination may be such that the Hindi-knowing people will get some more favour than others. It was a legitimate fear and that was to be guarded against. Therefore, the Working Committee of the Congress made it clear that it should not be so. It made it clear that people should not be made to pass a test in Hindi in the examinations for getting into all-India Services. They can pass it if they so like or not at all before they get into the Service. But after they are in Service they have to pass a test in Hindi.

In any case, lack of knowledge of Hindi should not be a bar to entering all-India Services. So there can be no question of any arrangement giving an advantage, so far as the Government services are concerned, to the Hindi-knowing people and thereby becoming unfair to the people of other linguistic areas. That such a thing should not be encouraged has been clearly laid down by the Working Committee of the Congress. I admit and accept the fact that Hindi should be gradually taken for all-India examination purposes. But there is no question that Hindi is superior or more advanced or more perfect than other languages. It was only for a number of practical reasons that Hindi was suggested to be a language for official communication in place of English. This question does not, however, in any way apply to the literary field as to cause this conflict. It might apply to the administrative field. It does not lie in the educational field too. It is only a question which really resolves into some kind of a controversy

2. In view of the stipulation in the Constitution of India to effect the transition to Hindi for official all-India purposes in 15 years, the Congress Working Committee, in a resolution on 5 April 1954, expressed the desirability of taking progressive steps to make Hindi the language of examinations for the all-India Services. It, however, stated: "These steps should be so phased as not to cast any undue burden on the candidates from any part of the country where the regional language is other than Hindi. While Hindi as well as the regional languages must be given every encouragement to develop, it must be remembered that a knowledge of foreign language, and more especially English, will continue to be essential for persons in the higher Services."

between English and Hindi. I am not analyzing the position in its entirety. As this question was considered by various Parliamentary Committees it is not for me to speak more on the subject. But on looking at the question of language, I think the worst possible approach is to consider one language as enemy of the other, or to imagine that you can make progress in any language by suppressing the others. As a matter of fact, the growth of one language helps the growth of the other.

I remember that in my younger days, I used to hear a great deal of heat and controversy between Hindi and Urdu which were both spoken languages and used as a literary medium in Uttar Pradesh, although their scripts were different. I used to be surprised what this heat and passion was about because neither of them were an enemy of the other and in fact were helpful to one another.

I beg of you to consider this proposition that a language does not flourish by crying down or denouncing other languages. A language flourishes by its own way and in its capacity to welcome other languages and gain strength from other languages.

I would also appeal that it is not only from Indian languages that we have to derive our strength but also from other foreign languages like English, German, Russian and other leading languages. Yet in regard to Indian Languages, I have to make a special appeal. It is that all the Indian languages are closely linked with one another. Even the South Indian languages, despite their different basis, have all freely taken words from a common source, Sanskrit, with the result that a close association has developed between them. It is, therefore, proper for them to feel this affinity of the Indian languages and cooperate so that they might all profit by the knowledge of one another and have friendly, brotherly or sisterly approach towards one another. The writers in different languages of India would in fact be doing their duty to their respective languages by encouraging other sister languages.

A mental attitude of encouragement and not rivalry towards other sister languages should be abundantly forthcoming from the writers.

I am rather concerned that the approach is becoming rather more and more heated or angry. Writers, of course, are perfectly justified in speaking up for their own languages in which they write. But we find this question is drifting to the political arena and becoming something which can hardly be called a literary problem. Whenever it becomes anything less than a literary problem it assumes the character of a question of political vested interest and the like.

It should be clear to everybody that languages cannot be artificially grown nor can they be artificially suppressed. There are ample instances in which all the efforts of various States to suppress a language have failed in the past and the languages sought to be suppressed have survived. Take the case of the

Polish language which the Tzar of Russia had tried for a century to suppress. It is still surviving and today Polish is a powerful language.

You should also accept the fact that you cannot make a language grow by artificial methods. You can only create some conditions, give manures and fertilizers, but a language has to grow on its own strength. You cannot produce great poets or great writers. They come by themselves. But a State can, of course, create conditions in which, largest number of individuals can breathe that vital air within which good writing may come. Whether it comes or not is a different thing. So, I am sorry that the question is to become a political issue. I do not mind people expressing themselves with force about their own views, maybe about the language question. We have got to discuss every aspect so that we may come to an agreement. Whatever decision is to be taken must be arrived at through discussions, nothing should be imposed by sheer weights of numbers.

Broadly speaking, the decision on such an issue will have to be carried out only by a large-scale agreement. We cannot afford to have a long controversy over it. So, it is better that there may be discussions quietly and objectively without any heat and passion.

It is, therefore, surprising that many eminent people whose opinions and views I greatly value—eminent sons of India—are getting excited over the matter. No problem can be solved by excitement or hysteria. It astonishes me to see that the problem is being treated in this way. A tremendous attack is being made by some people. I do not know what all this is for? All this only creates an opposite atmosphere to the development of literature or language.

I know very well that Hindi enthusiasts are claiming to represent the mass of people. I can very well understand people from other parts of the country getting irritated on seeing these enthusiasts go about with flags in hand to other people. They irritate me too. But I cannot understand how in South India a notion is created that something is sought to be forced on them against their wishes. It is utter nonsense. There are Councils of action to defend this language or that language. I can understand that young men talk in terms of Council of action. But what am I to do when eminent men, wise men and elderly men, also talk in terms of Council of action.

So, there must be some restraint about matters of vital importance to the country. I feel that one of the vital problems is that, literature or no literature, we should maintain the unity of India. We should not encourage fissiparous tendencies. The diversity which India cherishes is of a different nature. We must always keep that in our view.

Most discussions on State and literature are often out of date. I feel we cannot catch up with the situation and often we discuss a problem in terms of

slogans that sound excellent but are by their very nature a negation of objective thought. Slogans are often expressed in an impressive way. I do not say that they have no place. They may have a place in life but I admit they have no place whatsoever in discussing urgent and intricate problems.

To illustrate this point, there is the instance of the cold war which is going on today between great, powerful countries, groups of countries, some of which are respectable too. But cold war is not a thing to be respected at all. This is because cold war is the very negation of the calm approach to the problems which they want to solve.

I confess I have a dullness in my mind in not being able to recognize these slogans in their proper context. But there is a time and place for such slogans. I am tired of everything being talked in terms of slogans—this smacks of communism, so it has to be condemned, and that smells of something else, so it should be condemned!

This cold war attitude does not lead to a thinking of mental faculties being encouraged. I know we are getting into a state of affairs when there are talks in terms of advertising and putting thoughts into the mind of a person, so that it can have a subconscious impression which conscious mind cannot reject.

An individual or a writer should not be told what he has to write. But certain limitations should, of course, be there. Normally speaking, I do value freedom of writers—even to write rubbish. I was listening a short while ago to a certain writer talking of State as the symbol of weakness and literature as a symbol of strength. It led me to think how many people in the name of literature talk absolute bosh. Is that perfection? I do not understand that kind of talk. There are good writers and there are bad writers. It is presumed that they are the leaders of the generation. But every person who takes a pen to paper and calls himself a writer is not certainly a superior being. He may be very inferior. So the mere fact that some enthusiast takes to the profession of writing does not necessarily make him a philosopher or a thinker of eminence, just as every politician who can win an election by gift of speaking continuously or by other means does not make himself to be a very wise man and a great statesman. It is true that out of such politicians may sometimes emerge some statesman. So it is evident that everyone who writes does not necessarily become a great writer. But from among such writers a great poet or a philosopher emerges.

There is also a talk about objective realism. I do not know Shakespeare wrote with objective realism or Plato did. I would rather have Plato, although Shakespeare did write with objective realism to some extent. So you cannot put these limitations on the writers. That would be putting them into a kind of mental prison.

Let us not elude reality. But on reality there is the question—what exactly

reality means? I think realism is some element of truth. What then is truth? Has truth only one facet or more than one? I think nobody can define truth into a single framework of thought. But one thing might be certain: the object of your thought must lead you somewhere—whatever it may be. I think it is not a writer's business to be afraid of being led to heaven or hell. So I do not know what the State can do about it. I believe writers should be as free as possible in their thought. The State should create conditions for the writers to function. A State can function in a hundred ways and can encourage writers in different ways, directly or indirectly. Writers and lovers of language and literature should express their views on the language problem. Any decision on the subject must be done by agreement. Let us not waste our energy in this long controversy over language when there are other works to be done.

14. A Historical Survey of Bihar¹

Shri R.R. Diwakar, when he was functioning as Governor of Bihar, told me of his intention to bring out a book on Bihar to be called *Bihar Through the Ages*. I liked the idea and encouraged him to do so. It is gratifying to see that he has been able to edit and bring out the book with the help and cooperation of eminent scholars. Such a book, giving a broad survey of the State of Bihar from various points of view, can be of very considerable help. Indeed, I think that it would be a good thing if other States also had such surveys made.

In the old days we had various gazetteers which, in spite of deficiencies, were helpful. These gazetteers have become quite out of date, and a district is too small an area for any such survey. The whole problem had to be approached afresh from the proper point of view as well as for a much larger area, which now can only be a State.

This is what Shri R. R. Diwakar has done; and not only the people of Bihar, but many others in the rest of India should feel grateful to him for this labour of love. I have not had the advantage of reading through his manuscript, but I have

1. Foreword to *Bihar Through the Ages*, Darjeeling, 25 December 1957. File No. F-9/2/58-PMS. Also available in JN Collection. The General Editor of the book was R.R. Diwakar. The book was published in 1959 by Orient Longmans for the Government of Bihar.

seen some parts of it in proof sheets. This has indicated how comprehensive the book is.

I hope that many people will profit by reading this book.

15. An Appeal for the Tagore Jayanti Fund¹

In another three years' time, in May 1961, a hundred years will be completed since the birth of Gurudev Rabindranath Tagore. It is fitting that this occasion of a centenary should be suitably celebrated all over India. Such a celebration of one of the greatest of the sons of India, whose bright star shone and illumined the dark places in our minds for two generations, would in any event have taken place in India. But in the deep crisis that the world is facing today, when all values and standards have often been repudiated or ignored, it is all the more necessary that we should remember afresh the message of this great searcher after truth and upholder of the essential values of civilization.

Three months before his death, on the occasion of his 80th birthday, Gurudev gave a message to his country and the world. That message was called "Crisis in Civilization"² and it came out of the deep distress which Gurudev suffered when he saw the wreck, in the course of the Second World War, of all that he had laboured for. "From one end of the world to the other", he wrote, "the poisonous fumes of hatred darken the atmosphere. The spirit of violence... desecrates the spirit of Man". He spoke about "the crumbling ruins of a proud civilization strewn like a vast heap of futility". And yet he reminded himself of not committing the grievous sin of losing faith in Man.

There is no major war today, but we live on the brink of war and in the midst of what is called "cold war" which feeds on hatred and violence. The crisis today is an even deeper one than it was when Gurudev wrote. It is a crisis of

1. Kolkata, 25 December 1957. The appeal was published in newspapers on 26 December 1957.
2. This was Tagore's last public address which he delivered on 14 April 1941 when his 80th birthday was celebrated at Santiniketan on the Bengali New Year's Day. Titled *Sabhyatar Samkat* in Bangla, its draft English translation, prepared by Kshitish Roy and Krishna Kripalani, was revised by Tagore himself, and was published in *Visva-Bharati News* (Vol. IX, No. ii) and in *The Modern Review* (May 1941.)

civilization. The magnificent triumphs of science, which we have recently witnessed and which we rightly applaud, do not lessen this crisis. Indeed these very triumphs heighten the danger to humanity and lay bare the contrast between the triumphs of science and technology and the failure of Man.

In this context all sensitive minds search for a solution and try to find some anchorage in the great principles and the underlying truths which humanity has nourished and which have distinguished it from the brute creation. In our own country two mighty men of spirit and vision pointed out the path to us—Gandhi and Tagore. They spoke sometimes in different languages, but their message was essentially the same.

Gurudev was the fine outcome of ages of Indian thought and culture. At the same time, his outlook was international and the whole world was for him the family of Man. Thus his message is peculiarly appropriate at this moment of world crisis when we have lost our moorings and hover on the brink of disaster.

It is thus necessary for us to go back to these ancient truths and refresh our minds with Gurudev's message for humanity and try to fashion our lives, insofar as we can, to bring them in tune with that message of human freedom, of Man's equality, of breaking of all bonds that confine the human body and spirit, of peace and tolerance and the growth of the creative spirit in man. We have to recover the larger vision which is threatened by the violence and barbarism which raise their heads today. An occasion comes to us in the celebration of this centenary to recover this lost faith.

Gurudev's centenary will no doubt be celebrated all over India in many ways. Above all, the children of his mind, which he nourished with loving care, Santiniketan and Visva-Bharati, have to be helped by us to grow and become true vehicles of his ideas and his message. That will be the best monument and memorial to this magnificent son of India. In that work, both Government and the people have to join together.

My present appeal is for a more limited, but nonetheless important, objective. This is for a Rabindra Sadan, which will include Uttarayana, hallowed by the long residence of the poet, and the building up of a museum, a library and a picture gallery. All these together will form the Rabindra Sadan, a memorial of the poet's life and work.

It is proposed that this Rabindra Sadan, though intimately associated with Visva-Bharati University and working in cooperation with it, should nevertheless be under a separate Trust. It would be desirable to have Rabindra Sadan completed by the time of the celebration of the centenary.

The Sansad (Court) of the Visva-Bharati University has approved of this idea and charged me, as Chancellor, to issue an appeal for this purpose. I am, therefore, making this earnest appeal for contributions, both big and small, for Rabindra

Sadan. This fund will be called "The Chancellor's Rabindranath Tagore Jayanti Fund". Contributions can be sent to me direct to the Prime Minister's House, New Delhi, or to the Treasurer, Visva-Bharati, Santiniketan.

I am issuing this appeal on Christmas Day, a day associated in millions of minds with peace and goodwill. And yet, unhappily there is little of peace and less of goodwill in peoples' minds today all over the world. May this season of goodwill turn peoples' minds from war and violence and hatred to peace and tolerance. May the New Year bring relief to the world from the tensions and conflicts which afflict it today.³

3. After a visit to Batanagar on 24 December, Nehru wrote to S.N. Bose: "I have received Rs 5,000 from the Bata Shoe Company for this fund today. I am myself adding a personal contribution of Rs 1,000. I suggest that the Treasurer of Visva-Bharati might open a separate bank account for this fund so that it should not get mixed up with other funds."

16. The Writings and Speeches of Mahatma Gandhi¹

In another month's time ten years will have passed since Gandhiji's life came to an end. He was of a ripe age, but he was still full of vitality and his capacity for work was prodigious. The end came suddenly by the hand of an assassin. India was shocked and the world grieved, and to those of us who were more intimately connected with him the shock and sorrow were hard to bear. And yet, perhaps, it was a fitting close to a magnificent career and in his death, as in his life, he served the cause to which he had devoted himself. None of us would have liked to see him gradually fade in body and mind with increasing years. And so he

1. Foreword to the first volume of *The Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi*, Darjeeling, 27 December 1957. File No. 2(114)/56-66-PMS.

Morarji Desai was the Chairman of the Advisory Board for the *Collected Works* and Bharatan Kumarappa was its Chief Editor. After the latter's death in June 1957, Jairamdas Doulatram became Chief Editor. The *Collected Works* was published by the Publications Division, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Government of India.

died, as he had lived, a bright star of hope and achievement, the Father of the Nation which had been shaped and trained by him for half a century.

To those who had the high privilege of being associated with him in some of his innumerable activities, he will ever remain the embodiment of youthful energy. We shall not think of him as an old man, but rather as one who represented with the vitality of spring the birth of a new India. To a younger generation who did not come in personal contact with him, he is a tradition, and numerous stories are woven round his name and activities. He was great in his life, he is greater since he passed away.

I am glad that the Government of India are bringing out a complete edition of his writings and speeches. It is most necessary that a full and authentic record of what he has written and said should be prepared. Because of his innumerable activities and voluminous writings, the preparation of this record is itself a colossal undertaking and may take many years to complete. But this is a duty that we owe to ourselves and to future generations.

In a collection like this there is bound to be a mixture of what might be called the important and the unimportant or the casual. Yet, sometimes it is the casual word that throws more light on a person's thinking than more studied writing or utterance. In any event, who are we to pick and choose? Let him speak for himself. To him life was an integrated whole, a closely woven garment of many colours. A word to a child, a touch, a healing to a sufferer, was as important as a resolution of challenge to the British empire.

In all reverence of spirit, let us undertake this task, so that succeeding generations may have some glimpses of this beloved leader of ours who illumined our generation with his light and not only brought national freedom to us but also gave us an insight into the deeper qualities which have ennobled man. In ages to come people will wonder that such a man once trod on our Indian soil and poured out his love and service to our people, and indeed to humanity.

I write this in Darjeeling with the mighty Kinchinjunga looking down upon us. This morning I had a glimpse of Everest. It seemed to me that there was about Gandhiji something of the calm strength and the timelessness of Everest and Kinchinjunga.

IV. HEALTH, YOGA AND SPORTS

1. The Importance of Games and Athletics¹

I send my good wishes on the occasion of the National Games of India meeting which is being organized by the Orissa Olympic Association at Cuttack². I attached great importance to the development of games and athletics in India. Compared to other countries we are rather behind in this and we should make every effort to improve our standards. This is not merely necessary for winning prizes at games but to improve physical and intellectual standards in India.

1. Message, New Delhi, 3 November 1957. File No. 9/2/57-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.
2. The eighteenth National Games were held in Cuttack in February 1958.

2. Yoga and Food Habits¹

Yoga is very beneficial for health. I have myself been practising a few exercises under this system.² I would like the people by and large to try some of the selected exercises. While some exercises may be difficult, there are others which do not involve any great effort. The other forms of physical exercise cause fatigue and tire out the individual, though they do help in one's physical

1. Speech while inaugurating the annual celebrations of Vishwayatan Yogashram, New Delhi, 17 November 1957. From *The Hindu* and *National Herald*, 18 November 1957.

Vishwayatan Yogashram, a registered society having its headquarters at Vaishnavi Devi in Jammu and Kashmir and four zonal centres at Delhi, Mumbai, Kolkata and Chennai, aimed at promoting and propagating the technique of yoga all over the country. The programme of the annual celebrations at the Delhi centre included yoga demonstrations by some leading members of the Yogashram including Haribhakta Chaitanya and Dharendra Brahmachari.

2. See *post*, pp. 253-254.

development. But yogic exercises, if done properly, do not cause sweating, or panting for breath, or tiredness to the limbs. These exercises give perfect rest to body and mind, and remove ailments. My own experience is that some of the yoga asanas make me feel lighter and relaxed.³

Medical experts of modern days usually do not look upon yoga with favour. I believe that anything should not be blindly accepted because it is an ancient heritage, and anything should also not be rejected off-hand as unscientific, but approached and examined in a scientific manner. Because, to do otherwise would be contrary to the principles of science itself. The effects of yogic asanas on the different parts of the body have not been assessed in a scientific manner. I feel that doctors should try to understand the yoga system in a scientific way.

Now, I would like to tell you something about the food situation in the country. As you know we have some shortage of food in certain States due to floods and drought. There is, however, enough food in the country and there is no cause for worry. All the same we have to bear in mind the future needs of the country. It, therefore, becomes necessary for all of us to tighten our belts and conserve as much food as possible.

It is surprising how some people eat rice in heaps. They do harm not only to themselves but to the country as well. During the last War, there was rationing of everything eatable in England. People ate less as a result of strict and measured rations, and it was found that the health of the English people improved. It is better to eat less and in a regulated manner to lead a healthy life. In fact the less one eats the better. I am not talking of those who do not get enough to eat but those who always eat voraciously.

Recently Dr B.C. Roy, the physician Chief Minister of West Bengal, told me that the cause of ailments among a large number of his patients is over-eating and consequent indigestion. This is another reason why people, particularly those who are better privileged, should acquire proper food habits so that they can both ensure soundness of their own health and help the nation meet its food requirement. They should try to eat what is necessary and sparingly. Waste of any kind, whether in hotels or restaurants or on occasions like marriage

3. During his visit to Pune on 1 December 1957, Nehru addressed the members of a physical culture institution, Maharashtra Mandal, where he witnessed collective and individual demonstrations of physical feats. Giving credit for his fitness and good health to yogic exercises, he said, "I have been doing these exercises a little and it has helped me to remain fit and ward off diseases all these years." On being presented with a sword there, Nehru said, "It is a fine weapon. It is not an ordinary sword, but a rapier which reminds me of my youth when I used to practise fencing."

feasts, should be avoided at all costs. Waste is criminal when so many in the country have so little to eat.

I also call upon you to change your food habits in accordance with the needs of the country. Let me tell you that there is likely to be some shortage of rice in the country. I, therefore, appeal to those who are used to taking wheat to leave as much of rice as possible for their rice-eating brethren in Bengal and the South. At the same time I would also like those in the rice-eating areas to depend less on rice. Those who take only rice should realize that rice alone is not a perfect diet and too much of rice rather does harm to health. They should get used more and more to other foodgrains and vegetables.

3. To Ajit Prasad Jain¹

New Delhi

November 17, 1957

My dear Ajit,²

Thank you for your letter of November 16th about your interview with the vegetarians.³

Even if I agreed with some of these people about the efficacy of a vegetarian diet, I do not think that the method to be adopted is what they suggest. Of course, Government cannot do it. Individuals might, but I do not think that goes very far. What I think is necessary, is for doctors to address themselves to a balanced diet and for your Ministry to give full publicity to what they say. This should be not merely a theoretical dissertation, but practical recipes should be given of diets for (1) pure vegetarians, (2) vegetarians who eat fish also, and (3) people who eat both meat and vegetables. Even in the last named case, the eating of a variety of vegetables should be stressed.

I think you should consult Dr B.C. Roy about this subject as to how to proceed. He is keen on this, and he will help. I do not think a formal Committee

1. A.P. Jain Papers, NMML. Also available in File No. 44(19)/57-58-PMS.

2. Union Minister for Food and Agriculture.

3. About 200 delegates from 22 countries, including a large number of Indian delegates, had assembled at Mumbai in the second week of November for the fifteenth annual session of the World Vegetarian Congress. Madame Clarence Gasque was the President of the Congress and Rukmini Devi Arundale was the chairman of the All-India Reception Committee for the Congress.

need be appointed. We have already some literature on this subject and many recipes. You can also get in touch with our Food Institute in Mysore and ask them for their notes on this subject.

As for monkeys,⁴ if it is admitted that we are not to come in the way of their destruction, then the only point that remains is that monkeys that are transported from here, should be treated humanely. We have laid down certain regulations and I believe there has been considerable improvement in this treatment. Sometimes, it may be that these rules are not followed. Morarjibhai,⁵ as you know, is not at all keen that this export should be continued, but I do not think we should stop it, partly because there are, I think, adequate reasons on medical and research grounds, partly for other reasons also. We might gradually reduce it.⁶

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

4. One of the resolutions passed by the World Vegetarian Congress at Mumbai stated: "It notes the protest from India and other countries against the export of monkeys, and in view of the sufferings involved it strongly urges the Government of India to prohibit this traffic."
5. Morarji Desai, Union Minister of Commerce & Industry.
6. After speaking to Rukmini Devi Arundale, nominated Member of Rajya Sabha, who had given notice of a resolution in the House providing for a ban on the export of monkeys, Nehru wrote to Morarji Desai on 4 December 1957 that he had advised Rukmini Devi to withdraw the resolution in the end after it had been moved and speeches made, "otherwise it would be embarrassing for us and for her." Nehru added: "We are prepared to consider this matter further and to see that every feasible precaution is taken against cruelty. Also we might consider the possibility of reducing the number. But we could not go any further. Perhaps you might see her also." Rukmini Devi moved the resolution in the Rajya Sabha on 6 December. As per an answer given in the Lok Sabha on 19 November 1957, 84,649 monkeys were exported during January-June 1957 for the purpose of medical research and preparation of polio vaccine.

4. To Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit¹

New Delhi

November 21, 1957

Nan dear,

I am sending you separately a book in Hindi called *Sukshma Vyayam*. You know of course about the yogic asanas. Some are simple, some are very intricate and rather difficult. What this book contains is a new approach to this subject. I was introduced to the Brahmachari,² whose picture you will see in this book, and at Indu's suggestion, I gave him some time. I rather liked this and, as a result, for nearly three weeks, I gave him about 45 minutes every morning in the early hours even at the cost of my sleep. I felt definitely better. After that he had to go away to Calcutta, but I tried to continue them, though in a somewhat restricted way. In between he has sometimes come here for a few days.

I am sending this book to you because I think that you might be able to profit by it. The normal yogic asanas are not easy, but the approach of this book is completely different and what one is asked to do is easy and simple and chiefly consists of breathing exercises in certain postures and some simple movements. I think that there is some scientific approach behind it. That is to say that the postures, etc., and the method of breathing affect the nerve centres and thereby invigorate the body and the general nervous system. I should like you, therefore, to try it easily. The thing to remember always is not to do anything which tires at all. You should feel a little better and refreshed after it.

Normally one does all the exercises and then one has a bath. As a matter of fact, even in summer I did these after my bath. That is the best time.

The first thing to do is what is called *jal neti*. It is cleaning the nasal passages. I used to do this with a tumbler, pulling up the water through the nostrils. That, I find now, is not good and sometimes has even produced a sinus. I now do it with a kind of *lota* with a spout, the end of which fits in one nostril. I fill this with warm water, as warm as one can conveniently bear, with, say, half a teaspoonful of salt in it. What one does is to put this into one nostril and bend the head a good deal to the left or right. Gradually the water passes from one nostril to the other and a kind of syphon is created and the water pours out. This is repeated with the other nostril. It is better to do this with a certain quantity of water and not just with a handful.

1. JN Collection.

2. Dharendra Brahmachari (1924-1994); exponent of yoga; learnt techniques of yoga from Maharishi Kartikeya and Hadiya Baba; founder, Aparna Ashram, New Delhi and Mantalai, Jammu and Kashmir; wrote *Yogasana Vijnana* and *Yogic Sukshma Vyayam* (1956); both his books have been published in Hindi, English and German.

Having done this, the next stage is to get this water into the nostrils or in the head by simple but rather forceful breathing in and out. This is done in various poses so as to make it easy to push out this water. The breathing then is regular but fairly fast and slightly bellow-like, especially when breathing out. The result is absolutely to clear not only the nasal passages but, I think, a little beyond too. I am almost sure that this prevents colds and clears up the head completely. Probably it will be good for headaches. It must be remembered that this is done quietly and without any strain. The main thing is the angle of the head so that the water might come out easily, sitting or standing.

You have not got a *lota*-like thing with you, but I imagine that you can get what are called nasal douches from chemists. They are small usually, but you can fill them up two or three times.

After this follow a number of breathing exercises mostly standing. I think it is quite extraordinary how these simple breathing exercises invigorate a person. Then there are other exercises. You can read about them. I realize that it is never quite easy to get to know how to do an exercise through a book. But the directions given in the book are fairly full. It is not necessary that you should do all the exercises given there. They are in fact more than forty. Begin with the first eight or ten and do those that you like and that appear to suit you. You can extend them a little afterwards.

The book is going to come out in English too. If so, I shall send it to you later.

There is another thing which for the present I would not advise you to do because it requires some practice and perhaps some special instructions. This is simply sitting down and swallowing a large quantity of plain warm water. I began doing this with four or five tumbler-fulls of water. Immediately after drinking this, I stood over a basin, bend down and tickle my throat with my fingers. This ought to bring out the water which you have swallowed. But I suppose it requires a little practice. It does not really matter if some water is left behind, because it can do no harm and comes out in some other way. This again is a very good way of cleaning the upper passages inside.

However, my suggestion to you is to try to do a few of these simply and without any effort. Read the directions well and do not do anything which seems to tire or distress you.³

Love,
Jawahar

3. Mrs Pandit replied on 2 December: "I have been studying the book and am going to begin from tomorrow.

5. To Abul Kalam Azad¹

New Delhi
November 24, 1957

My dear Maulana,²

Yesterday, at the informal meeting of Cabinet Ministers there was some talk about the development of sport and the arrangements that should be made for it. It was suggested that the Education Ministry might put up a paper for the Cabinet.

I suggest that this might be done. This would refer to:

- (1) The present arrangement, that the Health Ministry is in charge of what is called the Rajkumari Coaching Scheme,³ should be varied, and the Education Ministry should deal with this matter also, receiving the money therefor from the Finance Ministry. For the present, no change need be made actually in the Coaching Scheme. The main thing is that it should come under the Education Ministry.⁴
- (2) The Education Ministry might draw up a programme for the development of sports, keeping in view three aspects:
 - (i) In educational institutions;
 - (ii) High class standards to be encouraged and facilities given to some people to attain them. This would include the Rajkumari Coaching Scheme. It would also have some reference to the Olympic Games, etc.
 - (iii) General encouragement of sports among the masses of our people.
- (3) A small Committee of the Cabinet might be formed to consider these proposals which would come from the Education Ministry.

Perhaps, you will be good enough to have such a paper prepared.

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. File No. 40(136) 57-58-PMS.
2. Union Education Minister.
3. It was introduced in 1953.
4. On receiving a note on sports development from Finance Minister T.T. Krishnamachari, Nehru had written to him on 21 November: "The present arrangement is unsatisfactory. I have asked Karmarkar (Health Minister) to see Naval Tata who is, I believe, the Chairman of the All India Sports Council, which the Education Ministry started a year or two ago." Nehru added: "Unfortunately the Education Ministry has itself dealt with this question in a rather unhappy way. I hope that there will be an improvement. Perhaps we shall find a way out in the relatively near future."

6. Milk Drinking¹

...No country in the world attaches more value to milk and things proceeding from milk as India, although, of course, we are one of the few countries which have the least milk. We have many cows and cattle but the least milk.

I do not feel inclined to drink milk in India very much. I take a little coffee. But, when I go to foreign countries I drink milk, such good milk. In Switzerland or England and even in America I drink milk. It is very good milk. I do not get that here... Well, I cannot tell you the price. How can I tell you? I have no idea of the price. I do not go about buying every glassful of milk....

It is really not very much the price. But my point was this, that in the whole of Eastern Asia, east of India, Burma, Indonesia, Malaya, China, Japan and Indo-China, not only there is, apart from some modern trends, no drinking of milk, but there is an actual aversion to milk. In everything connected with milk, there is an actual aversion. Just like a vegetarian might feel an aversion to meat, they feel an aversion to milk. Nobody, not even a child, takes milk. It is the Europeans there, in the last twenty, thirty, forty years, who introduced milk for their children first and then the practice spread to drink milk with tea and maybe somebody might take milk. But still the aversion is there. A Chinese person of note said that one of the reasons why China is relatively healthy is that they do not take milk. They would say, they have been free from flu or whatever it was. Now, you see how opinions differ about this. There are doctors telling you to take milk, but the Chinese say it is not only not good for you but definitely bad for you. Yes, you may be compensated also by taking vitamin pills, proteins....

1. Remarks at a meeting of the Congress Parliamentary Party, New Delhi, 27 November, 1957. Tape No. M-29/C, Part I, AIR tapes, NMML.

7. The Himalayan Mountaineering Institute¹

I am happy to have the opportunity of coming to Darjeeling after three years² and to inaugurate this building of the Himalayan Mountaineering Institute.

1. Speech at the opening ceremony of the new building of the Himalayan Mountaineering Institute, Birch Hill, Darjeeling, 25 December 1957. From the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* and the *Hindusthan Standard*, 26 December 1957. The Himalayan Mountaineering Institute started functioning from 4 November 1954
2. Nehru was in Darjeeling on 3 and 4 November 1954.

The first incentive to mountaineering was given to the Indian youth by Tenzing Norgay when he conquered the Everest.³ The foundation of the Institute is the second step in developing a mountaineering spirit in our youth. The efforts of both Major Jayal⁴ and Tenzing Norgay in building up the Institute, the first of its kind in India, are commendable. I regret the absence of Dr B.C. Roy at the function today due to indisposition. It was mainly due to his imagination and untiring efforts that this institute was established and has found a solid footing. I wish him a speedy recovery.

India is nourished by mountains and seas. India became weak when she was oblivious of this fact. A weak nation is more a liability than an asset. I want the youth of India to be friendly with the seas and mountains and to be stronger than ever before.

If we approach nature in a spirit of friendship, nature will reveal all her secrets. This joy of a peep into the secrets of nature will be lost if we think in terms of conquest. The spirit of conquest is always associated with some kind of war.

It is very important that we approach the mountains in a friendly way. I am myself a child of the mountains and had occasions to be friendly with them. We should not be afraid of the hills and foster a better understanding with them. That will also help us to know the hills better.

There is need for the development of a close link of amity and friendship between the dwellers of the plains and the people of the hills. We should approach the hill people with an affectionate heart. People from the plains come to hill stations like Darjeeling and Mussoorie only to escape from the summer in the plains. But they are very much afraid of the hills whenever rain or winter set in. This is not a correct approach. They should visit the hill people more often in order to understand each other's problems.

3. On 3 June 1953. Later became Director of Field Training at the Himalayan Mountaineering Institute, Darjeeling.
4. N.D. Jayal (1926-58); noted Indian mountaineer and one of the pioneers to introduce mountaineering in the country; commissioned into the Indian Army, 1946; joined the Corps of Engineers; ascended Kamet, Sakeng and Nanda Devi peaks; first Principal, Himalayan Mountaineering Institute, 1954-58; died of pneumonia during an expedition to Cho-Oyo peak.

V. CHILDREN

1. Rahat Ara's Children¹

You will remember the case of the children of Rahat Ara.² After much correspondence we have decided that the children should be returned to their parents. Swaraj Bhawan was informed of this and they have agreed to do so. They have suggested that some women should accompany them, preferably the mother. The mother apparently is not in a fit condition to come, as she is pregnant. I am therefore suggesting, if you agree, that someone from the Children's National Institute at Swaraj Bhawan should accompany these children together with the father who will come to fetch them. If you agree to these arrangements, arrangements will be made accordingly. You may also suggest a suitable date.

In any event the children will have to pass through Delhi. I think it would be advisable for them to spend a day in Delhi now. If you agree, the children could be kept in our house for a day on their way to Lahore.³

1. Note to Indira Gandhi, 8 November 1957. File No. 6-AP/57, MEA. Also available in JN Collection.
2. Rahat Ara and Khalid Mahmood (alias Jagdish Chander) from Pakistan had requested that their three children, who were being looked after in the Children's Home in Allahabad, be restored to them in Lahore. Rahat Ara, the daughter of Ghulam Abbas, one of the leaders of Pakistan-occupied Kashmir, was abducted in 1947 by Jagdish Chander, who was then in the Indian Army. Rahat Ara's whereabouts were not known until December 1954, when she appeared before the Bombay Police along with Jagdish Chander, and thereafter left for Pakistan, leaving Jagdish Chander and their three children in India. While the children were admitted to the Children's Home, Jagdish Chander himself went over to Pakistan, converted to Islam, and was reunited with Rahat Ara. For details, see *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 39, pp. 843-847.
3. The children's departure was delayed because their parents were not traceable initially. They were eventually handed over to their parents in Lahore on 19 December 1957. The children were accompanied by one officer and two lady social workers.

2. A Chat with Children¹

... Moderator: Jawaharlalji is here among us. Say *Jai Hind!*

Children: *Jai Hind!*

Jawaharlal Nehru: How do we proceed?

Moderator: *Panditji*, these children represent the hundreds and thousands of children all over India who listen to the children's programme in various languages on All India Radio. Today for the first time they have in their midst their *Chacha* Nehru participating in their radio programme. They have already sung folk songs in their own languages. All right, children, what's next in your programme?

A child: Now we shall sing a group song containing a message from the children of India. Bachchanji² has written this song especially for us. The first line goes like this: *Bharat ke kone kone se ham sab bachche aye hain.*³

Moderator: *Panditji*, the tradition here is that those who participate in the children's programme have to speak. The children are keen to ask you some questions. (To children) Go ahead.

Another child: *Chachaji*, many of us have read your books, especially *Letters from a Father to His Daughter*. The world has changed a great deal since you wrote the book. Please tell us a few things, which we must specially remember.

JN: First of all, you sang a song just now which said that you have come from different corners of India. But I have been sitting right here.

I wrote the book that you talked about many, many years ago. None of you were even born then. Let me see, it was nearly thirty years ago.⁴ I think I have grown a little wiser since then. And if I were to rewrite those books perhaps I would do it differently. It is obvious that a great deal has happened in the world in these thirty years. Something happens practically every day. I cannot give you

1. A talk with children for a radio programme, New Delhi, 11 November 1957. AIR tapes, NMML. Original in Hindi. Extracts. The AIR broadcast the recording of this talk on 14 November 1957 as a special feature entitled "Children at the Prime Minister's House".
2. Harivansh Rai Bachchan, well-known Hindi poet.
3. All of us children have come from different parts of India.
4. Written in 1928, *Letters from a Father to His Daughter* was first published in 1929.

a list. That would be difficult. You will learn a great deal in school by studying books and at play, or by talking to one another. Big developments have taken place in these thirty years. The biggest of them is the fact that there are so many aeroplanes now and flying has become commonplace.

Children: Yes.

JN: There were planes earlier but not many people travelled by plane all the time. This is a big development. Then for the people of India, the greatest event has been our getting Independence. Was not that a great thing?

Children: Yes.

JN: Now you are the children of independent India. I was not born in free India. I was pretty old by the time India became free. See, what a great difference it makes. You have known only an independent India whereas I have lived in a free India only for the last ten years. These are two big events.

So many things have happened during the last few years that I cannot possibly talk to you about all of them. If I had the time, I would write a book about it.

Children: Please do.

JN: It is difficult now. I do not get the time. Have you heard about the latest development? A dog has gone into space.⁵ It is a historic event, something which has happened for the first time in thousands of years of world history. What does it all mean? It means that there are many things hidden in nature, many sources of energy and power. We are on a quest to understand them. For instance, electricity is a very old phenomenon. People had observed lightning in the sky for thousands of years. But they were afraid of it and worshipped it in fear.

Then gradually people began to understand what it was all about. Do you know how electricity was first discovered?

Children: How?

JN: There was an American⁶ who discovered it by chance when he was flying a kite. He saw that electric current was transmitted through the thread. Then gradually, over the years, people thought of ways and means of producing

5. On 3 November 1957, the USSR sent into space a man-made earth satellite with a dog in it, following the successful launch of its first man-made satellite into space a month earlier.

6. Benjamin Franklin.

electricity. There is no need to go to the sky for it. Even you can produce it. Yes, it can be done with a small machine through friction. Then it began to be used for illumination and to run machines. There are many such forces in nature which are being gradually discovered by great scientists. Once a mystery is solved, it becomes common knowledge and the space is one such step in understanding nature. I have seen many, many things in my long life. You will see much more during your lifetime. In fact, you should discover them yourselves. Well, this is a very long reply. Now someone else should ask a question.

A child: I want to ask you about your letters to Indiraji in which you taught her many good things. Did someone write letters to you when you were young telling you about any wonderful things?

JN: I cannot remember even thinking of such a thing when I was young. I used to be given books, which I would read. But I did not get any letters. It would have been nice if I had got letters.

A child: Did you not wish for it?

JN: How can you want something when you have not even thought of it? I may have wanted it if I had thought about it.

A child: *Chachaji*, you have just returned from a tour of Japan. Did you see something special there which we should also learn?

JN: I saw many, many children there, in schools, on the streets. They came to see me in large numbers. The children were beautiful. I was told that they worked very hard in schools and colleges, did physical exercises and looked after their health and prepared themselves to serve their country. You must remember that children and adults in Japan have a great love for their country. They are willing to sacrifice everything for their country. The children learn to love their country from an early stage. I was very happy to meet the Japanese children. The fact is that children everywhere are the same in the sense that when they grow up, they begin to fight with one another, and when they are small, they play and laugh together. All right, do you have any other questions?

A child: *Chachaji*, you send elephants, cheetah, peacocks, etc., as presents to the children of other countries. Why don't you send a delegation of children?

JN: Can children be kept in a zoo like elephants and peacocks? Well, we could send children's delegations. But let me tell you something. Three or four years ago, when we were in the Soviet Union, we met a large number of children in their homes. By children's homes I mean something like clubs for children. They

are called the Pioneers.⁷ The children come there to play and learn many things. They are not schools but more like our Bal Bhavans, but only much bigger. Those children asked us to send some Indian children to the Soviet Union for a few days. I said it would be an excellent idea.

Moderator: All right, children, you have many questions to ask. But *Panditji* has very little time. You must remember what he has told you. Now, before we go, what would you like to give as a birthday gift to *Panditji*?

A child: We want to give these roses as a gift.

Moderator: All right, but before that, say *Jai Hind* once more.

Children: *Jai Hind!*

JN: Roses are beautiful. I have roses in my garden.

Children: These are from us.

JN: I want something much more valuable than roses from you.

A child: You have given us your valuable time.

JN: So what?

Children: We have come very close to you.

JN: That is it, I want your love.

A child: That is always available.

JN: Very good.

A child: *Chachaji*, I want to ask you one thing. Are you more fond of boys or girls?

JN: Now, I must see if there are more girls here or boys.... Eh? All right, in that case, I like girls more.

7. Nehru visited the Soviet Union in June 1955. For Nehru's description of the Pioneers in the Soviet Union, see *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 29. pp. 274-275.

3. The Best Way to Celebrate Children's Day¹

Please send a copy of this letter immediately to the Delhi Administration and separately to the persons in charge of the Delhi Education Department. Tell them that I am much distressed to read this letter. I want no such demonstrations if they cause so much unhappiness and inconvenience to the children. I quite agree with what is said in the letter that the best way to celebrate Children's Day² would be to improve their conditions in schools and not by mere show.

1. Note to K. Ram, Principal Private Secretary, New Delhi, 11 November 1957. JN Collection.
2. 14 November.

4. Observance of Children's Day¹

Please reply to this letter from Shri Chandra Dutta Tewari and say that I entirely agree with him that the personal element of this celebration should not be mixed up with any other celebration. Therefore, it is not proper for the Prime Minister's birthday to be celebrated as such. As a matter of fact, however, this day has been declared the Children's Day by international organizations and it is as such that it is celebrated. It so happens that that day is the Prime Minister's birthday. The Prime Minister regrets this confusion and he is unhappy that the two separate events should be tied up in this way. The day should be treated solely as an International Children's Day and not the Prime Minister's birthday.²

1. Note to Private Secretary, 13 November 1957. JN Collection.
2. Replying to the letter of S. Prasanna Kumara Gupta, a resident of Chennai, Nehru wrote to him on 23 December 1957 that "I do not like this celebration of my birthday in the manner it is done". He added, "Children's Day has been fixed for November 14 not only in our own country but by an international organization. It may be that this was done at the instance of some Indian Committee of that organization." Nehru further said, "Even apart from Children's Day, long before this was fixed, all kinds of celebrations by children took place on my birthday. I suggested to them not to do so but to celebrate Children's Day. I do not quite know how to separate the two now. Anyhow, I do not like it." In her note of 27 November 1957 addressed to Nehru, Amrit Kaur, Chairperson, Indian Council for Child Welfare, had written: "Children's Day is quite rightly the PM's birthday for his devotion to children is well known and it was I who asked on behalf of the ICCW that we might be permitted to have November 14th for ourselves rather than the date in October which is World's Children's Day."

5. Advice to Children¹

Children are like flowers and by your good qualities you should make the country fragrant. You should read, write, play, dance and sing and give yourselves to joy and spread sweetness and light and happiness.

The children of today will become the useful citizens of this country and the spirit of gaiety and joy may remain with you throughout your life. The boys and girls will mould the future destiny of the country. India is a big country and all of you will have to do great and big things to prove your worth. Each one of you is a part of Mother India. You should keep your heads high as citizens of this great country and give no quarter to cowardice or fear because a good deal is yet to be done and it needs courage.

Let me make one thing clear. This day should be celebrated as "Children's Day" and it is only by coincidence that it is my birthday too. While celebrating the Children's Day, children should forget things like *Chacha Nehru Zindabad* and so on.

My dear children, lots of love and blessings to you.

1. Address at a Children's Day rally, National Stadium, New Delhi, 14 November 1957. From the *National Herald*, *The Hindustan Times* and *The Tribune*, 15 November 1957. Over one lakh children gathered in the rally.

6. Mismanagement of the Children's Day Celebrations¹

With reference to the attached letter from Rajkumari Amrit Kaur,² I suppose it is true that the arrangements were not good and the people did not behave as they should. At the same time, my own impression is that the arrangements this year

1. Note to M. O. Mathai, Private Secretary, 21 November 1957. JN Collection.
2. Amrit Kaur had forwarded to Nehru the copy of a letter from the National Sports Club of India addressed to the Delhi Administration listing the damages caused to the fittings, flower beds, etc., of the National Stadium which had been hired for the Children's Day celebrations. She noted, "I have a feeling that the Prime Minister's birthday celebrations next year should not be carried out in the way that they are being carried out. There is no discipline in our schools, the teachers are very much worse than the children—they occupy seats and I know many children were not able to get inside the stadium..... I wonder if any country in the world goes in for this type of celebration."

were far better than in previous years. Wherever very large crowds gather, it is not easy to prevent some petty damage. According to the account given, the damage was rather petty.

2. It is pointed out that the Stadium accommodation is only for 35,000 persons, but more than a lakh were admitted. That may be true. But, most of them were very small children and a large number were not in the seats at all but on the open ground in the centre.

3. Whatever damage has been done to the Stadium should certainly be paid for.³ I shall gladly pay them.

4. Although the day happens to be my birthday, the celebration is supposed to be for the Children's Day. As most of the children coming are very small, it is necessary for teachers to accompany them.

5. I do not quite understand what she means by saying that in no other country in the world there is this type of celebration. She is right, I think, in regard to a birthday, and I myself regret it. But, there are very big celebrations in other countries, and very often some damage is done. I know this from personal experience in some other countries.⁴

3. It was stated that the cost of repairs would be about Rs 292. This did not include the damage caused to the wire nettings and to an advertisement board of Hind Cycles.
4. On 13 December 1957, Nehru wrote to A.D. Pandit, Chief Commissioner of Delhi, "to tell you how much I appreciated the children's show at the Stadium on the 14th November. I thought it was a very good show, and the people concerned should be congratulated." Referring to the damage done to the Stadium that day, Nehru stated, "I am very sorry to learn this, and I cannot imagine this happening without somebody deliberately trying to do so. I hope you have enquired into this matter." He added, "I feel more and more embarrassed at these demonstrations personally meant for me. Also, I do not like the Stadium, which is meant for athletic purposes, to be spoiled in any way. I suggest to you that no such demonstration be held in the Stadium in future."

7. To Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit¹

New Delhi

November 24, 1957

Nan Dear,

I enclose a photograph, which might interest you. This was taken at the Stadium here on the 14th November when we were celebrating Children's Day. One of the pigeons, which had been released, came back and sat on my shoulder. Then, it moved itself to my head and remained sitting there for about fifteen minutes.²

On this Children's Day, we have issued three new postage stamps. Indu had some hand in choosing the designs. I have asked for these to be sent to you separately. One of these is a little boy eating a banana, representing nutrition, the other, a little girl with a slate, representing education, and the third is the clay horse which you might have seen here at my house, which was made in a Bengal village.

Love,
Jawahar

1. JN Collection.

2. The same day Nehru wrote to Edwina Mountbatten, enclosing a picture of the occasion: "We released, as usual, some pigeons. One of them came back and sat on my shoulder. Subsequently, it promoted itself and sat on my head. It continued there for about fifteen or twenty minutes."

8. Children's Display at the National Stadium¹

As I told you before, I am prepared to pay for the damage done to the Stadium.

Many of the criticisms² of Rajkumari Amrit Kaur are no doubt justified and the suggestions³ she has made are worthy of consideration. I do not know how far they are all feasible.

I must say, however, that in my experience with children's displays in Delhi and elsewhere in India, I have seldom seen a better organized display than on this occasion at the Delhi Stadium, and a number of people have also told me that they were surprised at the good organization.

Rajkumari was, I believe, not present there on that day. Otherwise she could have formed her own opinion.

1. Note to M.O. Mathai, New Delhi, 27 November 1957. JN Collection.
2. Referring to the mismanagement at the National Stadium on Children's Day, Amrit Kaur stated in her note of 27 November that she was convinced no damage would have occurred if the teachers accompanying the children were a disciplined lot. She also questioned the need to have rehearsals for four days, and criticized the high expenditures incurred on the celebrations. She added that only the children of well-to-do parents joined such celebrations and the poor children who could not afford to attend schools were left out. Amrit Kaur also mentioned about "the molestation of school girls that took place after [Nehru] had left the Stadium", and children being crushed by the large number of adults at the Stadium on 14 November.
3. Amrit Kaur wrote that while celebrating Children's Day it was desirable to reach out to every child as far as possible, including the sick children in hospitals, the handicapped and the delinquent. Her suggestions for celebrating the Day in Delhi were: (i) all cinemas to devote two hours in the morning for two free shows of children's films; (ii) cultural programmes, competition games and picnics to be arranged by schools; (iii) the Delhi citizens to donate money to give a mid-day meal to the city's poor children; (iv) Nehru to ride round in an open car through the streets to enable the people to greet him; (v) money to be collected for the Indian Council for Child Welfare by selling flags.

9. Child Marriages¹

There was a private bill today about an amendment to the Child Marriage Act.² As framed, it could not be accepted and it has, therefore, been rejected. But the fact remains that child marriages are taking place in large numbers and nothing is done.³ The Law Minister said that he would make this a cognizable offence.⁴ That is alright, but the procedure will be long and nothing will be done till then.

2. I think much can be done if our local authorities, Deputy Commissioners and the like, wake up to the matter and warn anyone offending the law in this respect. May I suggest that State Governments should be addressed on this subject and asked to require the Deputy Commissioners or District Magistrates to report every such case and, at the same time, to inform the people concerned that they are offending against the law and they will have to suffer the consequences.

3. I am told that these marriages are taking place in Delhi. Surely, much can be done if the local authorities are wide awake and make the position clear to the people concerned.

1. Note to G.B. Pant, Home Minister, 6 December 1957. File No. 57/156/57-Poll, MHA. Also available in JN Collection.
2. The amendment to the Child Marriage Restraint Act, 1929, proposed by Congress Member D.C. Sharma in the Lok Sabha, sought to do away with the existing provision whereby, before issuing an injunction against a marriage, the court had to give "show cause" notice to the parties concerned. This provision, Sharma argued, practically rendered nugatory the court's power to issue injunctions. By the time the "show cause" notice was issued, the marriage would have taken place.
3. Renu Chakravarty of the CPI said during the debate that thousands of child marriages took place on a mass scale and these were also reported in the press but no one took action against such offences. She pleaded that the offence be made cognizable.
4. Pointing out that the proposed bill would not be effective in preventing child marriages as the real problem was the apathy of the people to approach the courts for the purpose of getting an order of injunction, Law Minister A.K. Sen said it might be necessary to make the offence cognizable. He thought a full survey of the magnitude and the causes of the evil was essential before legislating on the subject.

10. Activities for Children in Bal Bhavans¹

My dear children and friends,

I must congratulate the Madras Government and all those who are responsible for this very good idea of using this hall for a much better purpose than it was originally intended.²

I just asked Subramaniam³ as to how often this children's theatre will be showing films. He said, "Probably twice or three times a week." I said, "What is going to happen to this hall and this building at other times?" He said, "We will use it somehow".

Well, I have suggested to him, it is not a question of using it somehow for a conference or a meeting, but this place might well be fitted out in various ways for children. I mean to say, not only for the theatre, but for all kinds of other things.

Nowadays, we are trying to have in many places what we call Bal Bhavans, where there is a multitude of activities for children—play, learning through play, all kinds of things, in fact so much so that in some of the big places they have become bigger and bigger. Therefore, I would suggest to the Committee in charge of this that they might use it fully as a Bal Bhavan. Apart from showing films they might use it for purposes connected with children, and not allow the atmosphere of this place to be vitiated by holding of conferences.

Now, whatever opinion one may have about things in Russia, everybody agrees about one thing—that they have taken very good care of their children. It is astonishing how well they look after their children, how much attention they pay to them, and they give them first place.

I was just speaking a little while ago at a labour meeting and I said to them that our municipalities, corporations, legislative assemblies and other places too should

1. Speech while inaugurating a children's theatre, Chennai, 7 December 1957. AIR tapes, NMML.
2. The Madras Government had decided to convert the Assembly Hall in Government Estate, Mount Road, into a theatre and make it available for children's activities. The building was put up for the Legislative Assembly of the composite Madras State in 1952, when there were 375 members. After the separation of Andhra in 1953 and of Malabar and South Kanara in 1956, there remained only 205 members. It was then decided to move the Assembly to Fort St George and the Assembly Hall became vacant.
3. C. Subramaniam, Minister for Finance, Education and Law, Madras State, was also Chairman of the Madras State Children's Film Committee.

inscribe on their walls a kind of—call it what you like—an inscription, a motto, that children must be given first place in our thinking in the various things that the State does or the family does or the group does.⁴ I think it is important. I do not mean to say that the family and others do not look after children; of course they do. But what I meant was that the State or the corporation should give more attention, in an organized way, to children than perhaps they do today.

Now, coming to films, I entirely agree to what you have just heard about the necessity and the desirability of having good films for children, documentaries or other films. There are, I believe, a multitude of such films now in Europe, and no doubt in America too; but in Europe there are a multitude of them, very good films, documentaries as well as stories, and children's stories also. They can certainly be used.

But it is important, I think, that we should make our own children's films also which, in regard to our background, etc., might be of special interest to our children in India. I believe that is beginning.

Now, if we have a large number of children's theatres in India—Bal Bhavans, if I may use the word—immediately we create a market for these films. At present, private film producers, looking at it from a financial point of view, complain that they would not have much of a market if they take all this trouble. And, in fact, it is a strange formula normally speaking, the better the films, the less the market; the worse the films, the more the market. I am not talking about children's films but in general. When I say worse, I mean worse artistically; the more artistic the film is and, broadly speaking, critics speak well of it, but the public do not go to see it, but the less artistic it is, it may attract large numbers of people.

However, I entirely agree that films should be produced in India for children specially. I hope that when these children's films are produced, grown ups will go and see them too.

And now, I am going to lift the baby.⁵

4. The reference is to his speech at a workers' rally at Kilpauk, Chennai, on 7 December 1957. See *ante*, pp. 122-130.

5. As Nehru lifted a baby doll, the curtain over the silver screen parted.

VI. YOUTH

1. Challenges before the Youth¹

The people of India are on the threshold of a "Third India". This new India is emerging from the "Second India" of casteism, orthodoxy, narrow-mindedness, superstition and closed minds. But, some people even today live in the "Second India", which has no relation with the present-day world. These two are in complete contrast to the earlier times when the spirit of adventure prevailed in India and thousands of people went to distant lands, faced every danger, crossed the Himalayas and the seas to spread the message of India, the message of peace and fellowship. The work of these pioneers is still enshrined in the monuments, languages, dances, and songs of several countries of Asia. Some rare Indian manuscripts and books, which have become extinct in India, are preserved in those countries.

In earlier times, we had so much confidence in our strength, mental or other, that we allowed outside ideas to influence us. But a time came when we became afraid of new ideas, when we began to shrink and close our minds, and looked with fear at foreign ideas. This fear was a sign of our growing weakness and we began to close the doors and windows of our minds. When you do this, you not only close your minds to new ideas but also prevent others from knowing your own ideas. In this way our society became a closed society which was a dangerous thing. It began to shrink and people were divided by walls into thousands of groups of castes and creeds. This casteism overwhelmed the minds of the people and the old spirit of adventure, which took our people to China, Japan, Indonesia, Iran and other countries, was smothered. It spread its tentacles so dangerously that people from one part began to treat people from another as foreigners. Even going abroad was considered a sin and something opposed to one's religion. An iron curtain gripped India and people began to live in narrow mental compartments. The most important thing in society was whom to touch, whom to marry and whom to eat with. Rigid rules and regulations were made which governed these narrow ideas. People even started using all

1. Speech at the inauguration of the fourth Inter-University Youth Festival, Talkatora Garden, New Delhi, 1 November 1957. From *The Hindu* and *The Hindustan Times*, 2 November 1957. Nearly 1,600 students from 37 universities took part in the ten-day festival which was inaugurated by President Rajendra Prasad.

kinds of caste marks on their foreheads to distinguish themselves from others. Other symbols on the head and face also came into being. So this "Second India" was born which was so much different from the "First".

Naturally in these circumstances India lost her freedom. When the freedom of the heart and mind is lost, the outer physical freedom of the country also slips away. This "Second India", weakened and laid prostrate by casteism and narrow-mindedness, fell easily into the hands of imperialist powers from Europe. They plundered India, committed loot and dacoity. But the basic fact was that these invaders from across the seas were superior in their mental and physical strength, unity of purpose and the spirit of working together. It is now for the young people to understand that they have to rebuild India themselves. Nobody else will fall from the sky to do it for them. Nobody else will come from anywhere. Even if anybody comes, it would be dangerous, as dependence on others makes one useless. Young people have to bear responsibilities themselves and bring about revolutions in many spheres. We have to fight poverty and enable the people to enjoy the fruits of the industrial civilization. The countries of Europe and America have had a better start than us. Only through training and hard work can India bring about industrialization in a short period of time.

The younger generation understands the machine age better than the older generation. Even the toys of today represent the machine mind. A Japanese toy, a motorcar run by remote control, can be made to run in any direction by pressing a button in a separate small box. There is no wire or anything else attached to the motor car. I talked about this toy to a distinguished guest, an old man. He became interested and wanted to see it. So I brought out the toy, but I could not use the remote control. The motor car did not move. I felt very embarrassed. Then my ten-year old grandson walked in. He took the remote-control box and set the motor car running in all directions. I understand, in a mental way, the advances made by science in inventing the remote control and the like. For example, a pilotless plane can be flown by remote control in times of war. My grandson, however, does not understand it in a mental way. He is born in this atmosphere of machines, like other children of today.

You should guard against indulging in petty things like satyagraha, hartals and other similar strange acts. You should be above them and try to understand this new world that is taking shape before our eyes. A broad outlook and a spirit of adventure are the basic qualities necessary for building up the nation and facing the challenges of the new age of science. Science has put tremendous power in the hands of man and even trips to the Moon may become possible in the future. This new world is taking the gamble of either committing suicide in the whirl of its own swift advance in technology, or conquering the space and the skies.

In these changing times, you have to keep yourselves abreast of events and realize that a new India has to be built free from the iron curtain of caste prejudices, narrow-mindedness and conservatism that had struck the minds of our people and developed in them the mentality of 'frogs in the well'.²

2. On 8 November, Nehru asked his Private Secretary to write to the organizers of the Inter-University Youth Festival conveying his inability to visit the Festival as he was going to Punjab the next day. Nehru noted: "You might add that from what I have heard about it, I have been convinced of the utility of this Festival. It has improved year by year and this year particularly appears to have been good. Apart from the higher standards of music, dancing and drama, what I think is particularly useful is the opportunity for these youngmen and young women from our universities from various parts of India to meet together and get to know each other."

2. To Syed Asif Ali¹

New Delhi
December 4, 1957

Dear Asif Ali,²

I have your letter of the 2nd December. I am afraid it is not possible for me to go to Aligarh on the dates you mention. I shall be in Calcutta and other parts of India then.

I send you my good wishes, however, on the 75th Anniversary of the Students' Union. Students' Unions should play a very important part in the university life of the students. Unfortunately, in the past, in some universities the Students' Union had become an arena for political or other conflicts which has taken away much from their utility.

I hope that the Aligarh Students' Union will help the students in developing their personality and making them fitter for the responsibilities which students will have to discharge in later life.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.

2. General Secretary, Reception Committee for the anniversary meeting of the Students' Union, Aligarh Muslim University.

3. Foreign Students in India¹

India welcomes students from all countries. It is very important for all foreign students studying here to meet each other. By meeting people you can lose any feeling of insularity.

I would also like you to exploit your presence here by meeting the people of India so that they may know you and widen the horizon of their knowledge. A big country has advantages and disadvantages. By virtue of being big it becomes self-contained and tends to forget all about the world which a small country cannot afford to do. India in the past had suffered from that feeling of insularity and even today it suffers to some extent.

It is quite likely that you may have experienced some difficulties here. The major difficulty is that you do not have enough opportunity of meeting Indian families. It is due to the fact that India's social system—and it is a silly system—is to some extent closed. It does not permit a foreigner to mix with the native people in the same manner as in Europe. You might have felt that. But I have a feeling that I can help you to know Indian families.

I hope that during your stay in India, you will see all the faces of India, the attractive as well as the unattractive side. India is a poor country. The mansion² where you have assembled is the symbol of British rule in India.

The real problem of India is the people in growing numbers wanting to have food, shelter, work and employment. Calcutta has most evidence of these teeming millions. We are used to one thing—a good deal of self-criticism and mutual blaming. Some people coming from other countries may get a wrong impression on account of this criticism. This may create a wrong impression abroad.

1. Speech at a gathering of members of the International Students Association, Raj Bhawan, Kolkata, 14 December 1957. From *Amrita Bazar Patrika* and *Hindusthan Standard*, 15 December 1957, and *The Hindu*, 16 December 1957.

Nearly 200 students from foreign countries studying in Calcutta University attended the meeting.

2. The Raj Bhavan, Kolkata, the residence of the Governor of West Bengal after Independence, used to be the residence of the Governor General of India during the British Raj when it was known as the Government House. It was abandoned as the residence of the Governor General and Viceroy in 1912 with the shifting of the Capital to Delhi. The three-storeyed structure of the Raj Bhavan was built as a palatial house in 1799-1803 during the tenure of Lord Wellesley.

However, India is passing through a transition. It might not be dramatic, still it is significant. The biggest changes are taking place in millions of villages, gradually transforming the lives of eighty per cent of the population. Changes are seen in all the countries in Asia and Africa. This is an effort to pull out of the position where these countries got stuck for centuries. Though it is a difficult task, it is exciting.

The world today is full of fears and hatred. Nobody says hatred is a good thing, but nevertheless it is tolerated. Much of the tension of the cold war results from hatred, which people are deliberately cultivating. This imponderable human nature requires to be closely studied. Deliberate efforts have to be made to avoid violence, hatred and passion which tend to sweep all the fine qualities. You students should try to dispel the feeling of hatred by developing proper traits of character which are the essence of leadership—the human qualities of leadership. Today the world is becoming less and less human. Less and less charity and grace are found in the world. These are the fine qualities that need to be deliberately cultivated.

I urge you to prepare for the leadership and to accept your work with a sense of function. In the absence of this function individuals as well as nations tend to become static, and lose the content of their lives. We Indians are reaping the results of the “mental earthquake” caused by Mahatma Gandhi, who was inspired with a sense of function. It was this sense of function which took away all the bitter memories of imprisonments and police beatings and led him on to his mission.

I believe that when you return home great responsibilities will be cast upon you. I hope that your stay in India will help you to prepare yourselves for the discharge of those responsibilities.

VII. WOMEN

1. Women's Savings Campaign¹

I am sorry I am unable to attend the annual conference of the Women's Savings Campaign. I should like, however, to express my appreciation of the good work done through this Campaign. At any time, the Savings Campaign was important. In the circumstances prevailing today, it is doubly so, and every effort should be made to push it forward.

There is another aspect of it, which I think is important. This type of activity organized and taken up by women in India does good to them and gives them a certain training for public work and approaching people.

I wish this Campaign every success.

1. Message, New Delhi, 21 November 1957. JN Collection.

2. Food Problem and the Role of Women¹

It has been my privilege to send a message of greeting on the occasion of the annual sessions of the All India Women's Conference. I am exercising this privilege again.

I understand that the major topic of discussion will be the question of 'Food and Taxation as it affects the common man'. The subject is an interesting one, but a discussion, just as a fertile thought, should lead to action. In the present situation in India much has to be done by men and women both. It would be worthwhile for the All India Women's Conference to lay down specifically what their Members or other women in India should do as individuals and as groups. Perhaps this approach would be more helpful to them and to the country than academic discussions.

1. Message, New Delhi, 25 November 1957. File No. 9/2/57-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

3. The Status of Women in India¹

I send my good wishes to the National Council of Women of India on the occasion of their next conference.² I have often stated that a country's progress can be judged best by the status of its women. In spite of many difficulties and obstructions, there can be no doubt that the women of India are advancing and playing their part in the building up of a new India. In many foreign countries there have been conflicts and much agitation for the rights of women. Fortunately in India this has hardly been necessary and at any rate their political rights have been obtained without difficulty. Much social progress has been made, but much also remains.

Women will justify themselves, not so much by making demands but by the part they play in the building up of new India.

1. Message to the National Council of Women in India, New Delhi, 6 December 1957. File No.9/2/57-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.
2. The National Council of Women in India was founded in 1925 and was affiliated to the International Council of Women.

VIII. DALITS

1. Drive against Untouchability¹

I understand that the Government of Bombay is having an all-out drive against untouchability. I commend this decision. It is a little surprising and somewhat depressing that even now we should have to say something about this evil which has done so much harm to our country and to our people. There can be no compromise with any aspect of untouchability. It has to be pulled out root and branch.

While this is so, it must be remembered that untouchability is an extreme form of a social evil which caste represents. Caste has been a dividing factor in India, and its very basis is inequality. It is opposed to any democratic conception of society.

But it is desirable, to begin with, to concentrate on eradicating untouchability. I trust that the Campaign of the Government of Bombay will be successful.

1. Message, New Delhi, 22 November 1957. File No. 9/2/57-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

2. To N. Sanjiva Reddi¹

New Delhi
November 22, 1957

My dear Sanjiva Reddi,²

I gave an interview today to A. Joseph, President, Andhra Provincial Harijans and Christians Association. What he told me about the Harijan Christians in Andhra surprised and rather shocked me. Subsequently, Jagjivan Ramji spoke to me about this and he said that he had visited the living quarters of these Harijan Christians in Andhra and found them very bad indeed.

I do hope that some special attention will be paid to them and, in so far as possible, they will be helped to improve their condition.

1. JN Collection.
2. Chief Minister of Andhra Pradesh.

Joseph gave me a copy of a memorandum he had given to the Congress President.³ I enclose this copy.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

3. U.N. Dhebar

3. Misuse of Harijans' Facilities¹

You may remember that, some time ago, I visited the Community Hall near the Bhangi Colony in Delhi. This Community Hall was built by the Ford Foundation, presumably for the Harijans there.² But, in effect, it was monopolized by middle-class folk roundabout and converted into a club for their own use. This seemed to me very odd indeed, and I spoke to the Chief Commissioner³ and the Deputy Commissioner⁴ and others who informed me that they would change the rules, etc. Will you please enquire what has been done about this matter and are the Harijans and others having full access to it?

I enclose a paper which was given to me by some people from this area. They are different from the Municipal employees about whose case we corresponded with the Health Ministry. You might enquire (1) from the Delhi Administration if they propose to do anything to this area which is in a bad way, and (2) from Shri Mukharji,⁵ the President of the Improvement Trust, to the same effect.

1. Note to Principal Private Secretary, New Delhi, 26 November 1957. JN Collection.
2. The Ford Foundation's New Delhi office, which was the Foundation's first overseas programme, began its operations in 1951 with a grant for the construction of a community centre in Bhangi Colony in Delhi as a memorial to Mahatma Gandhi.
3. A.D. Pandit.
4. C.B. Dubey.
5. G. Mukharji.

4. To Sankar Saran¹

Udayana
Santiniketan
December 22, 1957

My dear Sankar Saran,²
Your letter of December 21.

I am indeed sorry I cannot be present at the Silver Jubilee of the Allahabad Harijan Sevak Sangh.

It is difficult for me to record a message for the occasion. I am over-burdened with work and every little thing counts. I am now on my way to Darjeeling. I shall return on the last day of the year, and very soon after the Prime Minister of Czechoslovakia is coming and then the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom.

I send you, however, all my good wishes on this occasion, I need not tell you how very important I consider the work that is being done for the Harijans. I hope the time will come before long when there is no distinction left between the so-called Harijans and others and the vestiges of the caste system will disappear. Our approach has to be on many planes—the political, the economic, the social, the educational and the cultural. Politically, it might be said that the position is good, even though the full impact of the political changes has not yet been felt. Socially much has been done, but very much remains. This is a slow process. I think that, in the final analysis, it is the educational advance, followed by the economic advance, that counts. In the new era of industrial advance that is coming, Harijans should particularly profit. I feel, therefore, that Harijan education should be particularly technical, with of course the addition of cultural subjects.

Harijans have arrived at State Services, but I do not fancy their constantly asking for reservations for State Services. This means an attempt at lowering standards. It will not be good for the Harijans or for others for standards to be lowered, which are none too high even now. It is of great importance that we maintain our standards, or else we shall remain a second-rate nation.

All good wishes to the Harijan Ashram.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.

2. Former Judge of the Allahabad High Court and President, Harijan Ashram, Allahabad.

1. To B.V. Keskar¹

New Delhi
November 2, 1957

My dear Balkrishna,²

I enclose a letter I have received from Frank Moraes. I have not sent any answer to it partly because I do not know where he is now.³

2. I understand that he or somebody is taking this matter to Court.

3. Broadly speaking, I think that the proprietors of *The Times of India*, that is, the Dalmias, have not behaved correctly. I have always held that an Editor should be given a large amount of discretion, subject of course to the broad policy to be pursued.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. File No. 43(109)/57-PMS.
2. Union Minister of Information and Broadcasting.
3. Frank Moraes's contract as Editor of *The Times of India* (TOI) was not renewed after it expired on 31 October 1957. According to J.C. Jain, General Manager of the TOI group, Moraes had failed to conform to the requirements of the contract by taking to writing books and articles without the management's permission, and also his attitude towards organizational responsibility was not in keeping with the traditions of the newspaper.

2. To B.V. Keskar¹

New Delhi
November 5, 1957

My dear Balkrishna,

A deputation of the Federation of Working Journalists came to see me this afternoon and talked to me for some time.² They gave me the enclosed memorandum.

I hope that this matter will not be kept pending too long. Something will have to be done fairly soon.

One thing I do not understand. This relates to the alleged cases of victimization, more especially that of G.N. Acharya who was a member of the Wage Board

1. File No. 43(103)/57-62-PMS.
2. The Matter related to the Working Journalists (Conditions of Service) and Miscellaneous Provisions Act of 1955.

and on whom *The Bombay Chronicle* served a notice of termination of service. Prima facie this seems improper and should have been referred to adjudication or whatever the procedure is.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

3. To B.V. Keskar¹

New Delhi
November 7, 1957

My dear Balkrishna,

I have your two letters of November 7.

I am sorry that people who see me like Kasturi Srinivasan of *The Hindu* exploit this fact.² As a matter of fact, I do not encourage them. But obviously, I cannot refuse to see people who wish to do so. I have met some of these newspaper proprietors and I have met the representatives of the working journalists.

I can certainly talk to Nandaji if you so wish.³ I have already mentioned this matter to him more than once.

I do not like all this canvassing going on with Ministers and others and the sooner a decision is arrived at, the better. By and large, I do not approve of the attitude of the proprietors.

Moraes saw me yesterday and did say that he would like me to say something about the rights of Editors in my address to the AINEC.⁴ I told him that I do not propose to mention any case by name but I might say something of the general principle.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. File No. 43(103)/57-62-PMS.

2. B.V. Keskar wrote that *The Bombay Chronicle* and *The Hindu* were responsible for two glaring cases of victimization of journalists. He added that *The Hindu* was a difficult paper to tackle since Kasturi Srinivasan, its editor, "thinks that he can go in his own way, regardless of any advice tendered, because he has an approach to the Prime Minister..."

3. Keskar suggested that in regard to questions relating to the Working Journalists Act, Nehru might talk to Labour Minister Gulzarilal Nanda as the matter was under the Labour Ministry.

4. See the next item for Nehru's address to the All-India Newspaper Editors' Conference on 8 November 1957.

4. The Role of the Press in a Democratic Society¹

Mr President² and friends,

I am grateful to you for inviting me again to this annual function. I see from your programme that this session of the conference is supposed to last till half past seven. I hope you will not consider it a discourtesy on my part if I cannot stay till the end of this session, because I have to fulfil some other engagements. I should have liked to stay to listen to you. Indeed, if I had the opportunity and the time, I would have liked to listen to some of your debates so as to know more intimately what was in your minds? But, Mr President, even though I might not be able to stay when you are addressing this house with your presidential address, may I say that owing to your courtesy in having sent it previously to me, I have read it.

You are naturally concerned very greatly with some present problems and tensions, to which the Chairman³ of the Reception Committee referred, in the newspaper industry and newspaper world today. Naturally, they are important and we should try to find a suitable way out. I do not propose, and it would not be proper for me to deal with those special problems here today; they are intricate, they are difficult, not in a big sense I mean, but sometimes small problems become irritatingly difficult till they are solved, when they appear to be easy. And, if I speak to you today, you will permit me to speak not as Prime Minister or as a member of Government, but rather as a person greatly interested in the press, and wishing the press of India to grow, to grow in every way, grow in quality and quantity. In the past, many years ago, I was in some ways connected with some newspapers, and I confess that that connection gave me many headaches, but still it is a memory which I cherish, and that gave me then some little insight into some of the problems facing the press. Although, of course, those days were nearly fifteen years ago or so, or rather far off, much has happened since then, and in those days, as the Chairman has just said to you, we were rather single-minded, if I may say so, whether it was in the press or outside. That is to say, we were carrying on our struggle for independence, and everything else was subordinated to it, and the press naturally was part of

1. Speech while inaugurating the thirteenth annual session of the All-India Newspaper Editors' Conference, New Delhi, 8 November 1957. AIR tapes, NMML.

2. J. Natarajan, Editor of *The Tribune*.

3. E.P.W. Da Costa, Editor, *Eastern Economist* (New Delhi), 1948-62.

that upsurge and that wave of passion and emotion and whatever else it was. And many of the difficult problems which have subsequently come up before us were rather in the background, although they were there, of course.

Well, first of all, let us be clear about this, that the press is obviously of very great importance in any democratic society. I would like to say, in any society, but let me confine myself for the moment to a democratic society. And if the press is to be of real importance to it, it has to be what might be called broadly an independent press, because obviously if it is a press limited, constrained, and prevented from functioning more or less freely, then it loses its chief purpose. So, we want an independent press. You have said, Mr Chairman, in the address you gave just a few minutes ago, that there can be, for nobody, including Prime Ministers, an unlimited freedom. They are limited in a hundred ways and the fact that a person is the proprietor of a newspaper or the editor or the sub-editor does not give him some divine attribute of being right always. They can err as others can err. But the fact remains that a free press is in a sense desirable and an essential feature of a democratic society.

Now, you have referred to the growth of the press in other countries, and attributed it to two factors, technological developments and mass literacy. Those two factors have not come to India fully or even largely yet, but there can be no doubt that both are coming and, therefore, the Indian press today is in a transitional stage, on the verge of this, of having to face this vast literate audience wanting to read newspapers. I am not quite sure if most of the editors and newspaper proprietors in this country look upon this vast literate public looming out in the near future and how far they are prepared for it. Of course, that large reading public will necessarily be much more in the Indian languages than in the English. I hope and I should very much like the English language newspapers in this country to continue and to flourish. I am sure they will do so. And may I here say that while it is easy to criticize and, among others, I also criticize newspapers sometimes about what they do or do not do, I think it is perfectly correct to say that, by and large, newspapers in India can compare very favourably with newspapers in other countries, and in some ways, indeed, they might even be a little better than the newspapers in other countries. Comparisons are, of course, odious. I do wish to pay this tribute to our newspapers that in the circumstances that we live in here, they have discharged their duty on the whole well. Of course, there is a tremendous room for improvement. But, anyhow, in the future, there can be little doubt that this vast spread of literacy—while that will undoubtedly help, to some extent, the English newspapers in this country also—but it will affect infinitely more the Indian language newspapers provided those newspapers or their proprietors or editors adapt themselves to this. Of course, they will have ultimately to adapt themselves by the compulsion of events.

I find that at the present moment at least—and I am for the moment speaking rather of Hindi and Urdu newspapers and not of the other great language newspapers, with which I am not so intimately acquainted except that I see cuttings from them occasionally and I know that they exercise a considerable influence. But talking about Hindi newspapers, I have said this before, writers in them, the editors and others, seem to be almost unaware of the vast Hindi-knowing public. They seem to write for the select and the elect and write a language which an average Hindi-knowing person finds it difficult to understand. I am not for the moment speaking about the literary aspect of this, but rather the aspect of reaching a public. If I address an audience in the Ramlila Grounds here or anywhere, what is my object? My object is not to use literary flourishes; I forget the literary aspect of it. I hope I speak intelligently and well; my language is not bad. But my object is to get into the minds of the people I am addressing, I am thinking of a crowd of 50,000 or 100,000 before me. I have to speak so as to be understood, it is no good my delivering a fine speech which may be fine to read for some people but is not really understood. If I speak in Delhi or in my home town of Allahabad, or round about there in Uttar Pradesh, well, I speak the language which might be called the Delhi language, or the Allahabad language. If I speak even in the villages here I speak a somewhat different language, because the whole purpose is to be understood and not to show off what I know, that my vocabulary is big, or to show off my learning. If I speak, let us say, in Patna, again I speak the same language, of course Hindi, but the emphasis and even the vocabulary slightly changes, because I want those people to understand me and so on. The object always is to be understood, to reach the people. Now, surely, the newspapers' object also is to be understood. It can only convey its message when it is understood.

Now, it is true that there are certain inherent dangers in this business. That is to say, when a vast number of people become literate but not, if I may say so, educated, well, then to cater to their tastes only may very well bring down your standards as, indeed, if I may say so with all respect, standards have been brought down in many countries of the West, in these days of mass circulations. They have to cater to various things that interest that vast public, and which may not be of high quality from any point of view. That is a great problem—maybe I am old fashioned; naturally, in a few days I should be sixty-eight years old. But I confess that when I see many newspapers when I go to the West, I find some little difficulty in even reading them except a few selected ones. My mind is troubled not only by most of the space being taken up by huge headlines, which somewhat irritate me, but also by the relative importance given to various events. I am not interested, I regret to say, in crime stories or crime reports; it just does not interest me, maybe it is my failing, and so on. But, there is this

grave danger of the quality of a newspaper coming down to the level of the half-educated or the uneducated, but literate. We cannot help that. All one can hope is that some newspapers will keep above that level to pull them up, and there will be sufficient public in the country to appreciate these newspapers and even the others will try to pull them up. This is one aspect of it which faces you.

Anyhow the point I should like to stress is this: First of all, you are on the verge of vast circulations in this country, in the Indian language newspapers, and probably bigger circulations even in the English language ones. And the editors or the proprietors, who are intelligent enough to understand this position, and who can adapt themselves by writing simple language, will go much further than those who write intricate and literary language. Of course, I should like even the simple language to be good language, and indeed I think simple language is normally better than the intricate language even from a literary point of view.

The second point that arises is, when you come to these vast mass circulations, well, the newspaper becomes more and more, as it has indeed done, an industry on a big scale, making it difficult for organizations or people with small resources to run a newspaper, and small newspapers have a bad time or a difficult time. They may flourish locally here and there, but it is very difficult for them to compete with some of the big newspapers. You see that happening elsewhere, how gradually a very few national newspapers push out others. It is a bad thing, I think. I do not know how you can face this contingency, but I do not like it. I like big newspapers of course. But I should very much like the smaller newspapers, the medium newspapers, to flourish, at least in their local areas, and to give utterance to the first feelings of that area, and to deal with problems from the point of view of that area, and coordinating them with the larger problems.

But there is this problem of the newspapers becoming a vast industry. Where does the old type of editor come in? Today an outstanding man comes in anywhere, whatever happens, but by and large, when you convert a thing into a big industry, the individual editor suffers. All kinds of factors come into consideration. Above all, the financial factor comes in, the advertisement factor comes in, and however much you may try to keep away from these, you are influenced, because the newspaper is influenced by these factors otherwise the newspaper may not be able to carry on. I have no remedy to offer to these difficult problems that face you, but no doubt you have them in mind. All I can say is that personally I rather dislike this intrusion of too much of the financial factor, and yet I know no remedy against it. Of course, it has to come. If you can maintain the level otherwise, the literary level, the editorial level, the news level, well and good, it does not matter; but if that is influenced by the other factors, then it is not a good thing.

Then we have an extension of that: it is called chains of newspapers. Again, I suppose it is a development which cannot be avoided, but it is not a development that I like very much, because that again comes in the way of independent thinking, writing, etc., and you get these chain articles and chain everything coming in, a dead uniformity creeping in.

In a country like India, which is big, that will possibly save it from that kind of dominance of one centre, as might happen, let us say, in London. The London newspapers practically dominate the whole of the United Kingdom. The United States is a much bigger country and because it is so big, there are many more newspapers of importance spread out all over, because no one newspaper can cover the country, and so perhaps in India too, there are bound to be not one centre, but at least several big major centres. Now, in these circumstances, when the newspaper reading public is naturally increasing and, at the same time, the problem facing the newspaper industry is also increasing, what can be our approach?

The Chairman referred a little while ago to this present internal conflict and tension, of which there has been no solution thus far. Well, I am not here to offer a solution. But it is clear that a newspaper, more than almost any other undertaking, requires the cooperation of the various elements that go to build it up. If that cooperation is lacking or if there is discontent and a spirit of frustration, then the newspaper suffers. It is a cooperative effort obviously, however brilliant the Editor might be, or however competent the General Manager, or the Managing Editor, whatever you call it. A newspaper is very much a cooperative effort, more especially, on the editorial side, and I suppose on the managerial side too, but certainly on the editorial side. And unless there is this sense of cooperation and rather intimate sense of partnership in an undertaking, there are bound to be difficulties and pulling in different directions. In the old days, with which I am a little more acquainted, when our main purpose was to help in the struggle for freedom, at least there was an overriding impulse among all the people, from the cub reporter to the big editor, that one common purpose was there. They had little conflicts, they had different pulls naturally, but the common purpose held them together. It is really rather extraordinary when I think of those old days, and how our newspapers struggled from hand to mouth. And yet, they were fired with some purpose, fired with some enthusiasm with what they were doing. Life was rather precarious in those days both for the newspapers as well as for those engaged in newspapers: a newspaper might be suppressed by Government or something may happen, a huge sum demanded from it as some kind of security or it might be just suppressed, or if the newspaper was not suppressed the individual writers might get into trouble. So, they led this precarious existence but it was an exciting experience for them and they carried

on and that diverted attention from many of the more intimate problems that really affected them and it is surprising how they carried on rather cheerfully under very difficult circumstances, financially difficult and politically difficult. Now that conditions in a sense are very much easier, all those other problems come up and disturb this cooperative spirit within the newspaper. We have seen that and we are seeing it today.

Now, we have had a Commission, an able Commission, consisting of some very outstanding persons, the Press Commission⁴. After that you have read all kinds of things, a law passed by Parliament and more or less supposed to be based on that, and Commissions appointed and Price Page Schedule or whatever it is called, I do not know quite, and all kinds of these happenings, and sometimes we find that somewhere the result achieved is somewhat different from what was aimed at. Sometimes, as you perhaps know, we declare in Parliament. "This is our purpose; this is what we are aiming at? But a law court holds that whatever we may have declared, that is not the meaning of the words we have used, and they give a different meaning to it. That, of course, can always happen. Maybe it is our fault or the draftsman's fault, whatever it is. So, all these little difficulties have arisen. Well, these difficulties surely are not so insuperable as cannot be got over. But some facts have to be borne in mind. The whole purpose of the Press Commission and others subsequently was surely to help newspapers, not to hinder them, or not to put a stop to them. They wanted to encourage them, more particularly they wanted to encourage the small and medium newspapers—a purpose with which from my part I entirely agree because I do not want the small and medium newspapers to suffer or to go out of existence.

The second purpose was to give a fair deal to the people who work in the newspapers. In some newspapers, perhaps, they are getting a fair deal, in others certainly they are not, and if there is a sensation of not getting a fair deal and in fact not merely a sensation, but the physical consequences of that, and a good deal of unhappiness and misery because of that, then it is not right. It is not just or

4. The first Press Commission, with A.D. Mani as chairman and C.P. Ramaswami Aiyar, Narendra Deva, Zakir Hussain, V.K.R.V. Rao, P.H. Patwardhan, T.N. Singh, Jaipal Singh, J. Natarajan, A.R. Bhatt and M. Chalapathi Rau as its members, in its report submitted on 14 July 1954, stressed the need for maintenance of professional standards with regard to accuracy, comprehensiveness and objectivity and the objectives towards which journalism should strive. The Commission also dwelt on the role of the press in maintaining communal harmony, and upholding the Constitution and the press laws, etc., and observed that there was an immediate potential for a large increase in readership of newspapers, especially in the rural areas.

right nor is it helpful to newspapers' existence to have that feeling among members of their staff.

Now, how can we ensure these two or three things to encourage the newspaper industry? I do not like to use the words newspaper industry but I cannot help it. I would like to encourage the newspapers rather to flourish and expand and take advantage of these new conditions that are arising in India, owing to larger number of readers in vast numbers gradually coming in. They are not quite used yet perhaps to reading newspapers, but they will get used very soon.

Secondly, to preserve the small and medium newspapers. I do not say that all of them are good. Some of them are not at all good. Some are excessively bad. But there it is. Broadly speaking, one should preserve them.

Thirdly, to give a fair deal to those who work there and, fourthly, to try to improve the quality of the newspapers, not to make them serve purposes which are not good, not to make them narrow-minded bigots in pursuing some purpose which is of no great importance, indeed which may be a wrong purpose, but in so far as they are capable of giving a correct lead to the people, and presenting the news in a fair way and that is more important than anything else. Some of our best newspapers, I feel, do present the news in a fair way, and do give more or less objective reports and expression of views. Now, for the moment, I am not concerned with the actual views they express. The views may differ. If they serve a certain purpose, if the person, who writes them, is intelligent enough to understand things and state them objectively, well, he serves a purpose even though I agree or disagree with him. I would naturally like those newspapers to be something more than just purveyors of news and views.

The Chairman referred to the challenge of democracy, he referred to the permanent revolution.⁵ I think that phrase, "permanent revolution", is a happy phrase, a right phrase, in considering not only the state of affairs in India today but the world. We live in permanent revolution, and the biggest revolution of all is really what might be called technological or scientific revolution, but behind that are economic revolutions, political revolutions and all that. Now, in this age of continuing revolution, we have to have a mind which keeps pace with it to some extent, not a static mind. In this age, when we in India are trying to the best of our ability to build up a new India, to raise living standards of our people, and do so many other things, it is not unfair or improper to expect of our newspapers to help in this process. I do not mean, by any means, by saying

5. Addressing the Prime Minister, E.P.W. Da Costa said : "We hope we may be able to convey to you something of the zest and maybe something of the unsettlement which comes to those who live in a permanent revolution."

ditto to what Government says, but accepting this broad thesis of a continuing revolution in India, and helping in that and in building up this new India, criticizing where they feel criticism is due. Criticism, if it is to carry much weight, if it is to affect the mind of the other party, should be more constructive than merely destructive. I suggest that, but I do not wish to limit criticism. Destructive criticism should be ruled out, though sometimes it may be necessary. But the point is that they should somehow recover that enthusiasm which they had in the days of our struggle for freedom and apply it to this new age of revolution, when we are building up India and when the world itself is changing rapidly, and try to convey that sense of excitement, that spirit of adventure, to their readers, because nothing is more dangerous in such an age as a relapse to complacency, not realizing all these forces that are at work.

We in India, of course, are a strange mixture of many centuries, thousands of years. You will find the middle of the twentieth century here in evidence, you will find the middle ages here, and you will find quite primitive times in some corner of the country. You will find almost every age represented in India. You will find the clearest thinking in India and, at the same time, an adherence to some practices which are remote from any thinking at all; we just as a practice inherit it and we accept it. Therefore, first of all, the people in the newspapers have to have that feeling inside them, the spirit of that excitement and adventure, and to convey it to their readers. I am not talking about any particular viewpoint. That is for the newspaper to give, but it must have that background. I think in doing so it will really interpret and give utterance to the basic feeling of our people today. Now, that should be the approach.

The second approach, as I said, must be one of considering a newspaper a cooperative enterprise, an enterprise in partnership and not merely some big bosses ordering about others. Obviously, the big boss or the big editor has a greater responsibility, greater authority, competence, greater experience. That is why he is supposed to occupy that place. But the smallest cub reporter should be considered a member of the family, and treated as such, and given opportunities and encouragement in his work and made to feel that he is also sharing in this excitement, or what is happening in the newspaper as well as outside. I submit that if these approaches are made—an approach does not solve the problem, but it creates an atmosphere when solutions become easier, and that is a great thing, whether in dealing with the newspaper industry or any national or international problems, that is, creating an atmosphere, when you can talk in more or less a friendly way trying to find a way out of the difficulties that face you. I do not know what present-day relationships are between newspaper proprietors, newspaper editors, managing editors, reporters and all these people, but recent developments have shown that there is a good deal of

tension, and you can solve them naturally by legislation and the like, but ultimately the real solution will come only when it comes from you, yourself, the people concerned. A government can and should help in every way, and I am sure my colleagues are dealing with this matter, whether the Minister of Information and Broadcasting and the Labour Minister, those who are specially dealing and, of course, in a sense we are all responsible in the Government. They would like to help and we would like to help but essentially it would be far more satisfactory if you yourselves came to feel that way, if you have got to work in cooperation and you have got to gain each other's goodwill. In fact, all laws and other things are meant to facilitate that process and to prevent things happening which are unfair or unjust and which bear down heavily on some members of the newspaper profession.

All kinds of arguments take place about the freedom of the editor. As I said, for many years I was Chairman of the Board of Directors of a newspaper,⁶ holding fairly strong views about things, but I do not remember a single instance when I interfered with the freedom of my editor.⁷ Although, there were sometimes some differences of opinion between him and me, we discussed it; he either accepted my viewpoint or he didn't. It was left to him to do what he liked. I say that and I believe in that, but obviously this depends so much on the individuals concerned—you cannot lay down a heavy principle like this which automatically applies to a human being when such like matters are concerned. But I would regret any development which limits the freedom of the editor. Discussion is one thing and all that but if he feels pressures, when he cannot express his rightful opinion, then his opinion has not got much value. This presumes, of course, that he is capable of forming a good opinion. If you put a person who is a third-rate person and call him an editor, well, it does not much matter whether he has freedom or not. It is totally immaterial. What he does does not count any way.

And, secondly, your junior staff, etc., must have what might be called a living wage, must have a certain security. They should not suddenly be fired and dismissed. It creates a bad impression and whatever might have happened in previous days, nowadays it creates conflict. It is better to put up to this small evil rather than develop a spirit of conflict which injures the whole structure of the newspaper. Now, I do not wish to refer to any particular instances but some have come to my notice when I felt rather unhappy at the way services of some people have been disposed of or removed. I have not gone into the matter nor

6. Nehru was Chairman of the Board of Directors of the *National Herald* from 1938 to 1946.

7. K. Rama Rao.

can I express any opinion, but it created an impression of an unfair exercise in cases of some people. Because they had expressed their opinion in regard to these present controversies going on, therefore they are removed.⁸ Now that is not a good thing to do. If they have to be removed, well, there should be proper courses, etc., proper ways and procedures of doing it. The point is not merely of doing the right thing but that you create an impression of doing it in the right way, otherwise you have to face trouble. These days, in politics or almost anywhere, in politics or business or newspapers, the ways of bossdom are not very applicable today. Things are changing. People do not like that type of behaviour. They do not like that insecurity. At the present moment my colleagues, our Ministers, are dealing with some of your problems, but I hope that you will not expect something to happen without your cooperation. Things come in our way. Some people go to the Supreme Court or to a High Court immediately. That is inviting conflict. I am not challenging that right. You may have been right in going there or not, but that way is not the way of cooperation and immediately those people whom you try to deal with by the pressure of the law, react in other ways and might create other difficulties. So you go on.

So, I suggest to you that the only right way is to try to work, to develop the spirit of partnership, and in that spirit, keeping those three or four points in view that I have suggested to you, because obviously it is in the interest of every man connected with a newspaper, apart from the general public, to see that newspapers in India flourish and expand. And, as a consequence of that, we do not want newspapers to die. The newspaper may be very bad, the sooner it is dead the better, that is a different matter, but broadly speaking, we want newspapers to continue and new newspapers to come out. Any scheme of things which is meant to improve newspapers but which results in their sudden or lingering death, well, I am not happy in so far as that goes, and it must be common ground, therefore, among all of you, whether you are proprietors or editors or reporters or anybody, to see that the newspaper continues, because if it does not, all of them suffer. Any rule that is made, which may be applicable to everybody, necessarily may not suit every individual newspaper. It is obvious, one cannot help that. If a rule is made you have to take it as it is. Broadly speaking, the approach has to be to avoid any serious injury being caused to a newspaper which might result in its ending. We want more and more production but if a factory does not come up to a level that is required, it may have to give up production; some other will take it up in a better way, in a more efficient way. That is a different matter, but by and large we should avoid that thing

8. See *ante*, pp. 283-284.

happening, because the whole purpose of our approach has been that the small and the middle newspapers should flourish, and should not be borne down by chains of newspapers and the rest. I suggest for your consideration this approach, because it is obvious that no one, whatever his position in newspaper, can be opposed to this fact or can welcome any step that might lead to the death of a newspaper which is performing some service to the people and to itself and to its own staff.

Thirdly, that you must deal in equity and fairness with your staff and get their willing goodwill and that will help you more than perhaps getting some advantage here and there at the expense of frustration and ill will of the members of the staff. Then again, whatever you may do, it is a changing situation and it may be that any decision that the Government may arrive at, or you may arrive at, may itself require revision. There is no final validity about any such decision in a changing world. We may ourselves discover errors which have crept in unawares and we might want to correct them. Probably if we were considering this recent Act that we passed dealing with these matters, possibly we would have drafted it somewhat differently, here and there. The basic things may have remained but nevertheless there might have been some changes in it, as we have learnt from experience that some misinterpretations have crept in. Well, it is a possibility. Of course, we can change it in future. But we have got baulked and hemmed in by this conflict going on in various sections of the newspaper world and the references to Supreme Court and all kinds of things and it becomes difficult for us, for the Government, to approach it in cooperation with you in a reasonable way. On the one side we are bound to give effect to our laws, we are bound to give effect to the rulings of the Supreme Court or any court; it is our duty as a Government, even though we might think that, well, it might have been somewhat different; we are bound to that. And if these are challenged then you get into wrong place to begin with. You may seek to change them and we will help you if you convince us. But you must give effect to it. One of our difficulties has been that even things which apparently are agreed to, are not given effect to, and which is creating doubts and frustrations in the minds of the people. If you can remove that, then the other process might be easy and we can sit down together and we can enquire as to what the existing difficulties are and how these can be removed. But we can only do that if some active step in a cooperative approach is made and you will appreciate that we cannot go on in this way as at present or merely pulling in different directions in the newspaper world and the Government rather unhappy about it, and trying to please this person and that person and all that.

So it is clear that so far as the Government is concerned, it has to come to some decisions, and it cannot wait for long for these decisions. It is not fair. You

know the views of our Parliament. They are pretty strong on this decision and I have no doubt that when Parliament meets, we shall be asked about it again and again. So we have to come to some decisions and give effect to them. But even if we come to decisions, those decisions themselves are capable of reconsideration in agreement with others, if people agree. We are not bound down to these things; we are interested in encouraging independent newspapers and seeing that they flourish and do not cease to exist. That is our broad attitude and I hope that this conference of yours will approach these questions in this broad spirit of tolerance and of partnership of all of those who work with you and try to infuse that spirit of adventure and crusading in this age of permanent revolution and building up of a new India, and, if I may say so with all humility, a new world. And if you do that, well, the whole background and atmosphere of your working and our working and our people's working all over India gradually changes.

Thank you.

5. To B.C. Roy¹

New Delhi

11th November 1957

My dear Bidhan,

I wrote to you on October 18, 1957 and sent you a copy of the *Calcutta Gazette* of September 20. This contained a notification of the Government of West Bengal in regard to the exhibition of films.² I have had no answer to that letter.

I am rather concerned about this matter because I think that unless straightened out it is going to lead to a good deal of difficulty. If the offices of the Bengal Government are going to reject documentaries prepared by the Government of India and set up a censorship of their own, surely this will be an extraordinary precedent leading to all kinds of consequences in the relation of the Centre with the States.

I have also heard that it is proposed by your Government to certify for compulsory exhibition as documentaries some American or foreign films also.

1. File No. 43(105)/57-58-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.
2. According to this notification, documentaries and newsreels could be screened in cinema houses in West Bengal only after the approval of the State Government. See also *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 39, pp. 191-192. The Cinematograph Act gave the power for licensing cinema houses and regulating the screening of films in them to the State Governments.

This will raise rather another difficult question. As you perhaps know, the matter of compulsory exhibition of our documentaries has itself been challenged in the courts of law.³ To bring in foreign films in the same category will undoubtedly lead to further challenge and criticism.

If the Government of India's films are to be censored in Bengal, then the natural consequences will be that the Government of India's films will not be sent to Bengal at all. If this kind of thing spreads in India, then each State will fend for itself so far as its films are concerned and other States will not even see them. Another powerful separatist tendency will be set in.

Yours affectionately,
Jawahar

3. The compulsory exhibition of documentaries was strongly resisted by the film industry, but they ultimately accepted it on the ground that the production of documentaries had not yet been very much taken up by the film trade itself and, therefore, the Government production of shorts of scientific and educational nature would have to be encouraged.

6. To B.V. Keskar¹

New Delhi
November 13, 1957

My dear Balkrishna,

In last night's news the person who announced Saif Tyabji's death² could not even pronounce his name properly. It is absurd for Indian announcers not to be able to pronounce Indian names and more especially a famous name like Tyabji.

In fact some people who heard the news got rather mixed up as to whether Tyabji had died or Tyagi.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.

2. Saif Tyabji, Member of Parliament, died on 12 November 1957.

7. To B.C. Roy¹

New Delhi
November 15, 1957

My dear Bidhan,

Thank you for your letter of November 13th about the exhibition of documentary and other films. I understand that Keskar has written to you on this subject and might be seeing you also.

I gather that there are two or three points which deserve consideration. I was not writing to you about the normal films sanctioned by the Film Board. I was referring only to documentaries prepared by the Government of India.² These, as you know, are short films, seldom lasting more than ten minutes. We are now especially laying stress on such documentaries helping publicity for our Five Year Plan.

I suggest that these documentaries should not have to go through a second process of permission for exhibition. But, in the event of your wanting to show some additional documentaries prepared in Bengal, there should be no difficulty about it. This is a matter for arrangement of timing, as has been done in Madras.³

I am glad that there is no question of compulsory exhibition as documentaries of foreign films.

Yours affectionately,
Jawahar

1. File No. 43(105)/57-58-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

2. See Nehru's letter of 11 November 1957, *ante*, pp. 296-297

3. B.V. Keskar wrote to Nehru on 14 November that when a controversy had arisen with the Madras Government, it was settled that the Madras Board would automatically accept as approved all documentaries produced by the Government of India. As regards duration of exhibition of documentaries, the arrangement arrived at was that out of the 20 minutes allotted for compulsory exhibition, 10 minutes might be given to the Central Government documentaries and 10 minutes to documentaries produced and approved by the State Government.

GOVERNANCE

I. GENERAL

1. To K.M. Panikkar¹

New Delhi

November 2, 1957

My dear Panikkar,²

Thank you for your letter of the 19th October. I have also received your previous letter in which you made a reference to the grave crisis in France—*crise de regime*. A day after I received your letter about the situation in France, the French Ambassador came to see me. He apologized for the delay in the ratification of the Pondicherry Treaty.³ He pointed out the obvious difficulties in the way because of changing governments, but assured me that there was no real barrier to it.

As for your argument about the suitability of a democratic parliamentary regime to deal with the problems of today, the questions you have raised are obvious enough.⁴ Even apart from the tremendous scientific advances made, the mere fact of adult suffrage has made a great difference to parliamentary regimes. British democracy, as we have known it in the past, was based very much on a limited franchise and the rule of a certain class. Adult suffrage is a

1. JN Collection.

2. India's Ambassador in France.

3. A treaty ceding full sovereignty to India over French territories in India was signed in New Delhi on 28 May 1956. The treaty was ratified by French Parliament in May 1962 and the instruments of ratification were exchanged in New Delhi on 16 August 1962. For Nehru's talks with the French Ambassador, Stanislas Ostrorog, on 30 October 1957, see *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 39, pp. 720-721.

4. Panikkar argued that utilization of new forces created by modern science had rendered the institution of political government less important than before, when parliaments consisting of leadership based on territorial elections could manage the activities of the State and social urges were not a matter of priority for government action. Problems raised by change-over to the atomic age could be properly addressed by a leadership having an understanding of scientific developments and their implications on social and economic reorganization. Asserting that the concept of parliamentary sovereignty was not relevant in the age of planned economy, Panikkar said that, as regards India, there was a need to evolve, within the democratic framework, a constitutional machinery which was not dependent on elections or on the patronage of changing ministries and which could deal effectively with non-political activities, leaving the political direction and leadership to Parliament.

newcomer in almost every country. In England, I believe, it came in the twenties and, ever since then, there has been a progressive change in British politics.

In countries where democratic functioning has not long been established, as in India, the coming of adult suffrage and full political democracy before we have an economic basis for it, creates peculiar difficulties.

Then, again, there is the spread of education on a big scale, which creates an entirely new population. I think that the biggest change in the Soviet Union has been this educational revolution. The people are different, and I do not think that in the long run Communism, as it was, can survive there in its rigid set-up.

Winston Churchill said some little time ago that in his earlier days, usually a session of Parliament had to deal with one major question. Now, he said, every meeting of the Cabinet has to deal with a major question or, indeed, with some kind of a crisis. In a sense, it may be said that all this is due to the vast revolution that is a continuation of the Industrial Revolution and which is now leading us to inter-planetary spaces. What kind of a political organization is suited to this, is more than I can say. But, every country has to advance economically and scientifically. This advance necessarily means widespread education and economic betterment. This spread of education and economic advance bring about political urges which cannot be dealt with except through some form of democracy.

Apart from all this is a major question which is even more difficult to tackle. We control the forces of nature more and more, and we plunge out into the empty space, but we control ourselves less and less not only as individuals but, even more so, as groups. We talk of peace and are overwhelmed by fear and prepare for war. All this raises moral and ethical issues which are beyond the normal domain of politics. If we cannot catch up on the human level with our scientific and technological advance, then disaster seems inevitable.

I do not myself see how a Committee or Council, such as you suggest,⁵ will solve these major problems. In a sense, one might say that our Planning

5. Panikkar suggested the establishment of a Privy Council, a general-purposes body consisting of about 50 members nominated from among India's leading scientists, economists and social thinkers, apart from Cabinet Ministers as ex-officio members. The Council would work through permanent committees and provide organized central direction in matters of science, industry and "social engineering". While the Planning Commission, which Panikkar considered to be an expert body responsible for economic thinking and planning, would be one of the committees of the Privy Council, two more Commissions could be created, one of which would be a Scientific Commission and the other one dealing with social thinking. Different specialized bodies could be set up under the auspices of the Council, Panikkar added.

Commission gradually becomes more and more important. Behind it is the National Development Council, which may also assume greater importance in the future. The Planning Commission has numerous specialized committees which, again, play a progressively important role, as does the Council of Scientific Research. Social thinking is obviously in the province of planning. Planning means not only the giving of priorities, but something infinitely more than that, including perspective planning or thinking of the future.

I do not know if I have given an adequate answer to the problems you have raised. I have, perhaps, merely added to the confusion. Anyhow, we have to think about these matters, remembering always the limitations in which we function. We cannot shatter the world and build it anew according to our own desires, and any change that one may think of, has to grow from existing conditions.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

2. Law in a Changing Society¹

I welcome the formation of the Indian Institute of Law² as necessary and important and I take this opportunity to pay tribute and homage to the law and to the men of law. I do so the more because there is some misapprehension that I am not sufficiently respectful to the law. That, of course, is a complete misunderstanding.

While addressing people connected with law and legislation some months ago, I had ventured to pass some remarks which had nothing to do with any law or respect for the law but was rather an attempt to point out some aspects of coordination of the working of legal institutions with the changing society.³

1. Speech at the inauguration of the Indian Law Institute, New Delhi, 12 December 1957. From *The Hindu*, 14 December 1957, and the *Journal of the Indian Law Institute*, Vol. 1, pp. 10-11.

President Rajendra Prasad inaugurated the Institute at a function in the Central Hall of Parliament House.

2. The Indian Law Institute was established to promote advanced studies and research on all aspects of law.

3. The reference is to his speech at the conference of the Asian Legal Consultative Committee in New Delhi on 18 April 1957. See *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 37, pp. 565-571.

It is obvious that in any kind of constitution or society, law is and must be an essential feature, otherwise it is not an ordered society and tends to be chaotic.

In a changing society, laws also have to change to keep pace with social change. Laws reflect, apart from the attempt to do justice, social conditions as they should. Otherwise, there is a hiatus and difficulties. When social conditions do not change rapidly, naturally laws also do not vary much. Even as they change, they may not change by legislation but by custom.

In India we have known customary laws, which have as much force as any other law. And perhaps one of the reasons why there is a certain force, a certain strength in our social organism, is because customary laws have been adapted to changing conditions from time to time. When they were made rigid, difficulties arose which we are trying to rectify by legislation.

The world has changed from the era of Industrial Revolution and is on the threshold of the atomic age and the age of space travel. Obviously, none of the laws, ancient or of more recent times, deal with these. It is a new field entirely for the human mind to explore. Laws have to be framed, adapted and changed. Therefore, it is well to remember that laws are not immutable, unless we think human society is immutable, which it is not. To be immutable is to be stagnant. In any progressive society, therefore, law has to be adapted to the changing order.

When the country has to make progress and catch up with events, it becomes necessary for laws to keep pace with those changes and, therefore, I am not surprised at the amount of legislation undertaken during the last few years. Parliaments in all countries today are lagging behind in the legislation they want to pass. Some people think there is too much law-making. To some extent, they may be right and there is also, as a consequence of this, a certain amount of uncertainty. But while the laws are changed and adopted, basic principles of justice remain. Yet even in regard to what exactly is justice. Ideas of justice also keep changing with social changes. There was the existence of human slavery at one time and eminent men of those days like Plato supported the system.

Now, there are a large number of land laws, and the conception of property is itself changing in many ways and eminent men hold different views. In this way, other circumstances which are considered basic will also go on changing.

The society has to face two urges, namely, continuity and change, and if these are evenly balanced, it is well; otherwise, all is not well for the time being till some kind of adjustment is made.

I have no doubt that the Institute will perform an essential task in the development of a welfare state.

3. To Mahmood Hazan Khan¹

Udayana
Santiniketan
December 23, 1957

My dear Bhai,²

Your letter of December 4th came some time ago. I have been heavily occupied and could not answer it earlier.

I have read the papers you have sent me. It is difficult for me, without much more careful thought, to express any opinion about the proposals of the UP Government for the reorganization of the Secretariat. But I have dealt with this matter in the Central Secretariat and we have had numerous enquiries made by experts from India and abroad about reorganization. It is common ground among all these experts that the old system of doing work, which may have been suitable in British times, is no longer adequate or suitable now when most of our activities are out of the ordinary run and are based on social and economic problems. Also, it is an accepted fact that the Secretariat is too heavily staffed in the lower ranks. No decision can be taken by them and long notes are written which are seldom of value. Therefore, gradually a system is being evolved at the Centre to simplify these procedures. We have all agreed that the staff should be less, but we are naturally anxious not to create unemployment and hence progress in this direction has been slow.

Some three or four years ago, we had one of the greatest experts in administration, Dr Appleby of the Ford Foundation. He came here on three separate occasions and spent several months here. His reports were published and are of great interest. He lays great stress on the urgency and necessity of changing our whole Secretariat practice, to some extent on the lines suggested above, and also to devolve powers to all.

While I am unable to express any opinion on the UP proposals, I have given you some idea of the amount of thought that we have given to it at the Centre. We have been communicating our general views on this subject and the reports of our experts to the State Governments. It must be realized that the present work done at the Centre or in the States is not only much more than ever before, but is of a different nature.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.

2. Maharajkumar Mahmood Hazan Khan of Mahmudabad, half brother of Mahammad Amir Ahmad Khan, the Raja of Mahmudabad.

II. SERVICES

1. To M.K. Vellodi¹

New Delhi
November 1, 1957

My dear Vellodi,²

Mahalanobis³ came to see me this afternoon and spoke to me about the case of S.P. Sinha who was till recently Chief Director of the National Sample Survey. I suppose you know something about this case. Anyhow I am attaching some papers which Mahalanobis gave me. I am greatly surprised not only at the decision of the Union Public Service Commission but at the manner this was done.

You know that Cabinet decided some time ago that in the case of any specialized work, extension may be given without any difficulty, subject to fitness. This National Sample Survey work is very specialized and it is difficult to have competent enough men to do it. Indeed, we have to train our people and nearly all our workers are home trained. Six months back, Mahalanobis wrote to Sukthankar⁴ about S.P. Sinha and said that his work was excellent and, in any event, it would be very difficult to replace him. So he suggested that an extension should be given to him. The Cabinet Secretariat took up the matter with the UPSC who refused to agree to this extension. Nobody heard about it till the last moment, that is, I think the 29th September when Mahalanobis was told on the telephone that S.P. Sinha had to hand over charge the next day, September 30.

In such cases, normally the Minister-in-charge takes up the matter and if he thinks there should be an extension he takes action accordingly or deals with the UPSC. Who is supposed to be the Minister-in-charge of this NSS? I had a vague idea that I was in charge. If so, I ought to have been informed and I might have taken some steps about it. The least that could have been done was not certainly to create a vacuum till the matter had been thoroughly considered and some arrangements thought of for the future. The position now is that

1. File No. 31(5)/56-68-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

2. Cabinet Secretary.

3. Prasanta Chandra Mahalanobis was Statistical Adviser to the Union Cabinet and founder-director, Indian Statistical Institute, Kolkata. He was also a Member of the Planning Commission.

4. Y.N. Sukthankar, former Cabinet Secretary.

there is a vacuum. Of course some deputy is in charge, but according to Mahalanobis he has no adequate experience of work and he cannot possibly leave him in charge of this. There is nobody else in view. Are we, therefore, to wind up the NSS? Here is this highly important work which has already achieved a measure of success and now we strike a mortal blow at it. I am astonished at the irresponsible way in which this has been done. I am sure the UPSC had no particular realization of the consequences of what they were doing. They must have thought this is an ordinary appointment which anyone could take up. Anyhow, we have to face the consequences of their decision and Mahalanobis tells me quite clearly that they cannot run the National Sample Survey unless he has a really competent man in charge and that he cannot find another competent man apart from S.P. Sinha at the moment.

What exactly are we to do now? I want your advice in this matter. I have asked Mahalanobis to see you and discuss this matter with you.⁵

This leads me to another aspect of this question. I think that Mahalanobis should be kept more in touch with developments. He was only informed twenty-four hours before the final step was taken. As a matter of fact, I ought to have been informed as Minister-in-charge. I think that in future all matters relating to statistical work would be referred to Mahalanobis for his opinion. He is our Statistical Adviser and any action should be taken after we have taken his advice. Whether we agree with it or not is another matter. Thus I suggest that all files and papers relating to statistical work should automatically go to Mahalanobis.

What has happened to the proposal for a Statistical Service? Many months ago, this came up before the Planning Commission. Some temporary decision was arrived at. Later, I wrote to the Planning Commission on the subject.⁶ Is this matter resting with the Cabinet Secretariat or the Planning Commission now?

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

5. Vellodi informed Nehru on 14 November that he had suggested to Mahalanobis that another suitable person might be taken instead of Sinha, whom he [Vellodi] considered to be mediocre, but Mahalanobis insisted that if Sinha was not appointed he would not be responsible for the work of the NSS organization.
6. For Nehru's earlier letters on this subject, including his letter of 28 July 1957 to V.T. Krishnamachari, Deputy Chairman, Planning Commission, see *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 38, pp. 311-312, 316-317 and 343-344.

2. To Ajit Prasad Jain¹

New Delhi
November 8, 1957

My dear Ajit,²

You will remember my speaking to you and writing to you about Santokh Singh of Shahkot,³ and suggesting that his services might be utilized.⁴ It is always difficult to say how a certain person may prove useful and effective. But, Santokh Singh is certainly both a theoretical and a practical farmer, that is, he has taken his degree at Cambridge and he has had a farm of his own which he ran with some success in what is Pakistan now. He seems to me an earnest man with ideas. I have long felt that it is not quite adequate for us to deal with these problems simply through the normal Civil Service officials who may be quite good, but who lack personal knowledge of agriculture. In view of the extreme importance of our Grow-More-Food campaign and generally to increase agricultural production, I think this aspect deserves attention.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.
2. Union Minister of Food and Agriculture.
3. Santokh Singh, who had a degree from Cambridge and who himself looked after his large estate in Pakistan before Partition, was consulted by the Planning Commission in 1956 on agricultural matters. Later the Planning Commission stopped utilizing his services.
4. Nehru wrote to Ajit Prasad Jain on 9 May 1956 and also sent a note to Cabinet Secretary on 20 October 1957 in this connection. See *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 33, pp. 112-113 and Vol. 39, p. 162.

3. Service Matters of Government Employees¹

Special Secretary² wrote to me about the case of Shri B.R. Sharma,³ who had asked for an interview with me as he was not satisfied with the arrangements that were being made for him. He claimed this interview because I had said or

1. Note to Private Secretary, New Delhi, 16 November 1957. JN Collection.
2. B.N. Chakravarty, Special Secretary, MEA.
3. An Assistant in the Ministry of External Affairs.

written somewhere that it was open to anyone to come and see me, whatever his grade or position.

What I had said previously, of course, did not apply to my functioning as a court of appeal in normal service matters, for which there are rules and regulations. It is manifestly impossible for me to do so, even if I so wished, and, apart from this, it would not be proper for me to do so. What I meant, did not relate to Government employees coming to see me about their service matters, promotions, transfers, etc. It was meant to refer to the average citizen of India and, more especially, to those who might be poorly placed. Naturally, I cannot meet an indefinite number of persons, but subject to time, I was prepared to meet any person who came to me. Indeed, I meet large numbers of such persons.

For this reason, there was no point in my having an interview with Shri B.R. Sharma to consider his complaint about his service matters. However, since apparently he had misunderstood what I had previously said, I decided to see him. He saw me two or three days ago and told me of his grievances. He also gave me a number of papers containing various letters and other papers and a summary prepared by him of his case and his grievances. I have read this summary and have also seen some other papers in this file.

I have gone out of my way in this matter, although, as I have stated above, it is not my function or desire to take up such matters, and I do not propose to do so in future. I do not propose to interfere in this.

Apart from the fact that I would not interfere in such cases, I am far from satisfied with the general attitude taken up by Shri B.R. Sharma. I do not wish him in any way to suffer because of this impression that I have got about this general attitude of his and his idea that there is some kind of a conspiracy against him. My own advice to him would be not to function in this way, for this can be of no advantage either to him or to the office where he serves. No one has a right to a particular post or a particular transfer. This is especially so in the case of Foreign Service personnel. If we are not satisfied with a person's general behaviour that is quite adequate for us not to send him to a certain place where we think such behaviour might create difficulties. Nor is it a question of seniority as to where a person is sent.

These papers should be returned to Shri B.R. Sharma by PS himself personally. I do not want them to be sent by a peon lest Shri B.R. Sharma might miss some paper. In particular, the paper at the top, which is a letter from Shri Humayun Mirza to Shri B.R. Sharma, should be handed to him, as he attached importance to this.

A copy of this note should be sent to Special Secretary.

4. To H.V. Kamath¹

New Delhi

November 16, 1957

My dear Kamath,²

Your letter³ of November 14 about Dr V.V. Gore. I have looked through the papers you have sent. I do not find anything in them to the effect that he had to suffer because he was a vegetarian. I have no personal knowledge of him, but from the papers you have sent it appears that he served in Australia when Dr R.P. Paranjpye⁴ was our High Commissioner there. This was before Independence and a little after. We had no Foreign Service then. Our Foreign Service was subsequently organized and people were chosen by various Committees and the UPSC, etc. Possibly he was not chosen then. But that could not have any relation to his being a vegetarian.

The question does not arise now. The Foreign Service is now recruited by examination and the initial period of choosing some people is long over.

I might inform you that we have many vegetarians in our Foreign Service.⁵

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.
2. A member of the Praja Socialist Party and a former Member of the Lok Sabha from Hoshangabad, Madhya Pradesh.
3. This was in reply to Nehru's letter of 7 November wherein he had evinced interest in a case, brought to his notice by Kamath, of an officer who presumably had had to suffer because of his vegetarianism.
4. Indian High Commissioner in Australia, 1944-47, and Vice-Chancellor, Poona University, 1956-59.
5. Nehru had written to Kamath on 7 November: "I should imagine that there are certainly some officers in the Foreign Service who are vegetarians. Our first Secretary-General G.S. Bajpai himself was a vegetarian."

5. Faith and Official Duties¹

In view of the facts stated in the notes above, it is clear that the Foreign Service cannot employ a person who says that because of his faith he cannot do any political work.² That is an absurd position to take up. Indeed, even consular and like work is to some extent political. Therefore it is clear that he cannot continue in the Foreign Service.

I am rather doubtful if he can continue in any Government Service if he wants exceptions to be made for him as to the nature of work. Whatever particular department he might work in, it is always possible that the political aspect will come up. However, we need not go into this question and he may remain in Government Service but not in the Foreign Service. It should further be made clear to him that we do not approve of any persons in our Service refusing to do the normal work required from them.

A letter should be sent to Mrs Munsiff making this clear and telling her that the charge she has made is completely baseless and highly objectionable.³ We do not distinguish between Bahais or the followers of any religion. But no person in our Service can say that he will only work according to his pleasure and not do something he does not like.

1. Note to Foreign Secretary and Secretary General, MEA, New Delhi, 18 November 1957. JN Collection
2. E.M. Munsiff, a permanent officer with the High Commission of India in London, who was selected for the Indian Foreign Service (B) in March 1957, was subsequently disqualified from the Service when it came to notice that he, as an officer in the Service, would not perform any political work on account of "a self imposed restriction" since the tenets of his Bahai faith required him not to associate with politics of any shade. The MEA had called upon him to explain his position after he approached the UNO seeking a job there on the ground that the fact that he belonged to the Bahai religion might stand in the way of his advancement in the IFS. Munsiff, who was serving as a Second Secretary in the Indian Embassy in Washington, was reverted to the High Commission in London.
3. Mrs Munsiff had written to Nehru alleging discrimination against her husband on grounds of religion. She had also represented to the National Assembly of the Bahais of the United States and the National Assembly of the Bahais of India on this matter.

6. Training of Civilians in the Imperial Defence College¹

Perhaps you know that I have written at least two notes in recent weeks about the practice of sending civil officers to the Imperial Defence College. I am entirely opposed to it.² Indeed I was not even convinced of our desirability of our Military Officers going there. However, that was a doubtful matter and I have agreed to their going.

If we go through all the trouble in sending a civil officer to the Imperial Defence College, it seems to be a complete waste not to utilize his service in Defence. It is also true that Defence have given up two of their Joint Secretaries with experience. I do not know all the facts about Shri S. Jaganathan and how far his presence is urgently needed in the Ministry of Commerce. But, normally speaking, I think that this should be avoided and he should serve in the Defence Ministry after the experience he has gained. Further, the Defence Minister is anxious to keep him in the Ministry of Defence.

I think you should draw the attention of the Commerce and Industry Ministry and the Finance Ministry to this.

1. Note to M.K. Vellodi, Cabinet Secretary, 24 November 1957. JN Collection.

2. In his note of 17 October 1957 to Defence Secretary O. Pulla Reddi, Nehru had expressed the same opinion as in this note. See *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 39, p. 439.

7. To Rajendra Prasad¹

New Delhi
November 28, 1957

My dear Rajendra Babu,

Thank you for your letter of the 28th November, with which you have sent a note on the revival of the old system of All-India Services.² I entirely agree with you. Indeed, I would like to add the Forestry Services too to this list.

You may remember that the States Reorganization Committee suggested the revival of some of these All-India Services. When, however, we discussed this matter with the Chief Ministers at a meeting of the National Development Council, there was almost unanimous disapproval of this recommendation. We had no course except to drop it.

I think, however, that we should take this matter up again. You have already had copies sent to some Ministers. I shall have it circulated to other Cabinet Ministers also.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. File No. 2/2/58-SR(R), MHA. Also available in JN Collection.
2. President Rajendra Prasad suggested the revival of all-India Services of medical men, engineers and educationists of the pre-Independence times. He pointed out that the advantage of the Medical and Engineering Services of the Indian Army, entry into which used to be on the basis of "a rather stiff test", was that the Defence Forces always had a reserve of medical men and engineers who were ordinarily serving on the civil side but could be mobilized in times of emergency for Defence purposes. He said the earlier objections to these Services, that Indians lacked the opportunity as examinations were held in England and many of the higher posts were reserved for Britishers, were no longer valid. Rajendra Prasad added that it was important to create an all-India atmosphere and ideology amongst the highest ranks of educationists too.

III. CORRUPTION AND ACCOUNTABILITY

1. To Hareswar Goswami¹

New Delhi
November 3, 1957

Dear Shri Goswami,²

I thank you for your letter of the 23rd October.³ I am sorry for the slight delay in answering it. Part of this time I was out of Delhi.

2. With the general principle that you have laid down in your letter, that is, that the Government as such should not use governmental agencies with the functioning of a party, I entirely agree. As you know, the Communist approach to such questions is quite different. For them the Government and Party is one. In fact it is the Party that controls and directs Government. Our approach in our democratic set-up is different.

3. While I agree with these general principles, we have to adapt them to circumstances. Thus, a Government is naturally interested in large gatherings from various points of view. If we have, to give you an instance, a big fair such as the Kumbh Mela at Allahabad or Hardwar, Government have to take many steps involving heavy expenditure so that this very large gathering of human beings should be organized in a proper way and not lead to disasters. You may remember of a tragedy that occurred in Allahabad some two or three years ago at the time of the Kumbh Mela when owing to the vast crowds and to rain having fallen, many people were crushed to death.⁴ Government was strongly criticized for this.

4. Then there is the question of epidemics and all kinds of health measures have to be taken. In all these great crowds communications are of great importance to keep the people moving and to avoid unfortunate incidents from

1. JN Collection. Also available in AICC Papers, NMML.

2. Leader of the Opposition, Assam Legislative Assembly.

3. Hareswar Goswami raised a number of points to show that the Assam Government was using governmental machinery for the next session of the Indian National Congress which was scheduled to be held at Guwahati in January 1958.

4. The reference is to a stampede in Allahabad at the time of the Kumbh Mela on 3 February 1954 when about 400 pilgrims were killed and 2,000 injured. For Nehru's statement in Parliament on the tragedy, see *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 25, pp. 573-574.

occurring. Sanitation is important and there are so many other things that have to be looked into. Usually a big fair or any place where there is a big crowd offers an opportunity to many anti-social elements, pickpockets and the like to function. Therefore, the Police have to make special arrangements. Thus, Government comes into the picture whenever large crowds are expected. This need not have anything to do with a Party. It will have a great deal to do with the expected gathering at the Party whether it is big or small.

5. I have been much distressed and embarrassed often by the steps taken in my tours in various parts of India for the organization of meetings. I did not want and do not want Government to come into the picture much, but it is a fact that sometimes vast crowds gather and unless very efficient steps are taken on the governmental side to control these crowds, there might be serious accidents.

6. I also agree with you that we should not spend much money or energy over the showy part of a session of the Congress. Indeed we have impressed this on the Assam Pradesh Congress Committee and we have kept the Assam Government also informed. You may have seen that we want this session of the Congress as well as indeed others, to be much more business sessions and therefore we have strongly recommended that the *pandal* should be a relatively small one. But the fact remains that large crowds gather and very large numbers of delegates or visitors come from other places. These have to be provided for.

7. I might inform you that in some matters our attention was drawn to the fact that the Assam Government was spending some money in connection with this Congress session. We did not think this was right and we drew the attention of the Assam Government to those particular matters. But where communications are concerned, something has to be done and we cannot judge from here. We have always felt that any money spent in this way should be such as bears result in the future also. Thus, if roads have to be built, they will fulfil a need of the public not only for the session but later. So also for a bridge. You refer to an overbridge over the railway crossing at Pandu. I know nothing about this. But you yourself say that this has been a long-felt need.

8. You refer to an officer of the Assam Government having been appointed as a liaison officer between the Congress and Government. What exactly the officer does, I do not know. But it is obviously desirable that there should be this liaison between Government and the big session of the Congress.

9. You refer to growing vegetables. Surely, this is a good thing. So also the issue of additional permits for new taxis. All these are normal things which should be looked upon from the point of view of the necessities of a big gathering.

10. Then you refer to officers of the Gauhati University being associated with the Reception Committee. I do not myself see any objection to this provided

of course this is entirely voluntary and no pressure is used.

11. As for the collection of money, I need not tell you that any pressure tactic is to be deplored. Ministers of Government have naturally sometimes to function in a dual capacity. They are leading Congressmen and as such naturally they function in the Congress and for the Congress. They function as members of the Government. In so far as possible this functioning should be kept in separate compartments, but it may not always be easy to do so.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

2. Personal Use of IAF Planes by VIPs¹

This subject has become a much more complicated one than I imagined. All that I suggested was that in case of some emergency arising and the Governor of Bombay not being able to make other arrangements for his journey to Banaras, the Air Force should help him by providing a plane if they could do so.² I did not want the Air Force to make any special arrangements from now for this, nor is this anything normal. I doubt if such an emergency will arise. If it arises, the Governor will probably be able to make other arrangements to travel and not ask the Air Force to supply him with a plane. Also, as no Air Force plane is likely to be available in Bombay or Poona, it will probably be much swifter for the Governor to go by the normal commercial service. Thus the possibility of the Air Force being required to supply a plane and having a plane handy for the purpose is remote. My purpose in writing to you was that when even this remote contingency arises no further time should be wasted in getting permission from Headquarters.

2. As for the cost of the journey and the recovery of charges, the question of other dignitaries making similar requests hardly arises. Nobody that I know of has a father about ninety years of age.³ If a serious emergency arises in the case of any other person we shall certainly try to give him an airlift. It will depend then on the nature of circumstances whether we consider it right to charge him

1. Note to O. Pulla Reddi, Defence Secretary, New Delhi, 7 November 1957. JN Collection.

2. The matter related to the use of an IAF plane by Bombay Governor Sri Prakasa to fly to Varanasi to see his ailing father, Dr Bhagawan Das, eminent scholar and philosopher.

3. Dr Bhagawan Das, aged 90 years, passed away on 18 September 1958.

or not. There can be no rigid rule about it, nor indeed are we announcing to the wide world what might have to be done in the event of a remote contingency arising.

3. I think that all that is necessary is to inform the Governor of Bombay that in case of emergency and the Governor requiring an aircraft to take him to Banaras at short notice, instructions have been issued that every effort should be made to meet the Governor's wishes. But normally suitable IAF planes for VIP flights are not stationed at Poona or Bombay and it would be unproductive to station an aircraft indefinitely there and thus immobilize it from its normal role of training. Thus it may not be easily possible to supply an aircraft at short notice. However, if possible, this will be done. The normal charges for such special flights will have to be made. I think that something to this effect might be sent to the Governor or to his Secretary and the other matter should rest. It is not necessary to carry this discussion on indefinitely.

3. To Jagjivan Ram¹

New Delhi

November 18, 1957

My dear Jagjivan Ram,²

Your letter without date regarding the Brahmaputra Bridge.³

From what you write to me it seems that there is not much choice in this matter and that we should choose the Hindustan Construction Company to do this work. But, as you have said, this kind of thing always is liable to criticism. Therefore, you should mention this in Cabinet and inform the Finance Minister especially.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.

2. Minister of Railways.

3. Referring to the proposed negotiations with the Hindustan Construction Company, involving a contract worth Rs 3 crores, for the construction of a rail-cum-road bridge over the Brahmaputra, Jagjivan Ram stated that this firm was the only Indian firm which possessed the requisite equipment and experience, as foreign firms had to be ruled out primarily due to the question of foreign exchange. Jagjivan Ram added that "in a negotiated deal of this magnitude... there is apt to be some back-chat, but we should be reconciled to this eventually if such works are to be done expeditiously."

4. To P. Kodanda Rao¹

New Delhi

November 20, 1957

Dear Shri Kodanda Rao,²

Your letter of November 16.

I agree that there is corruption in the administration in India. But my own impression formed after a good deal of experience is that it is not quite so much as people imagine or say. Most of it is in the lower circles of the administration, especially in the Railways. We have paid a great deal of attention to this matter and tightened up our procedures with some satisfactory results.

You may remember that Dr Appleby, an eminent American expert of administration, came here three times in the course of the last five or six years and spent some months here. He examined our system of administration very closely both at the Centre and in a number of States. He was a very experienced observer. His definite opinion was that India is one of the few countries where corruption is relatively little. He put us in the twelve top countries in the world in the matter of a good administration. Of course, he was not talking about the petty people in the lower ranks of the administration.

So far as the Ministers are concerned, whenever any such case has come to us, we have enquired into the matter fairly carefully. You refer to Shri T. Prakasam making some serious allegations. We went very closely into these and repeatedly, and we found that these allegations had little basis.³ Mr Prakasam was not very responsible in the statements he made.

Indeed, one of our great difficulties is that charges are flung about without any enquiry. Every single letter of complaint that I get is dealt with by me. If there is anything to grip in it, I tried to make an informal enquiry, including often a reference to the person concerned. If something more solid emerges, then there is a bigger enquiry. I do not mean to say that all this is quite satisfactory. But I have found that in quite a number of charges there was not an atom of

1. JN Collection.

2. Member of the Servants of India Society, 1921-58, and Vice-President, Indian Council of World Affairs, New Delhi, 1954-57.

3. In April 1948, twenty-four Members of the Madras Legislature wrote to the then Congress President, Rajendra Prasad, complaining against the Congress Government of O.P. Ramaswami Reddiar (1947-49) in the composite Madras State. In July 1949, T. Prakasam, former Chief Minister of Madras (1946-47), gave a new list of charges against the Ministers of the Reddiar Government. The Congress Working Committee appointed Shankarrao Deo to enquire into the charges.

evidence when I pursued the matter. Individual or group rivalries in the local sphere were chiefly responsible. I do not mean to say that all Ministers in India have been ideal or admirable, and we have given a great deal of thought, as the Congress President has said, in this matter. I agree with you that even if there is no legal proof but there is a moral satisfaction, then a Minister should be excluded from the Council of Ministers.

Your second suggestion, however, about the publication of annual balance-sheets of Ministers does not seem to me feasible or desirable. Why Ministers only, why not of everybody in the Public Service? Ministers live in the public eyes much more than civil servants. Every little misdemeanour gets a glare of publicity.

You accuse Ministers at the Centre and the Provincial Governments for being responsible for corruption. That is a general statement. It would be much more to the point if you gave some instances, which could be enquired into. As I have said above, there is far too much loose and irresponsible talk on this subject.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

5. To Morarji Desai¹

New Delhi
21st November, 1957

My dear Morarji,

In reading through the reports of the Special Police Establishment² I find reference made to two cases which were kept pending for a very long time. One of these relates to Messrs Palriwala Brothers Limited. This is pending with the Collector of Customs since 7th August 1956. In spite of many reminders no

1. JN Collection.

2. The Delhi Special Police Establishment (DSPE), a special police force in Delhi constituted by the Central Government in 1946 to investigate cases of bribery and corruption by Central Government employees, evolved from the Special Police Establishment which was set up in 1941 for the investigation of cases of bribery and corruption in transactions with the Department of War and Supply. After Independence, the DSPE developed as a specialized investigating agency under the Central Government and it also became available for assisting the State governments in the investigation of specific crimes. In its expanded form, the DSPE was in 1963 named the Central Bureau of Investigation, India's premier agency concerned with the investigation of a wide variety of criminal and national security matters.

complaint was filed in court. Apparently, the matter is still pending or, at any rate, was on the date of the report.

The second case relates to Glaxo Laboratories (India) Limited. This case began on 14th April, 1956. There were innumerable reminders. We are now told after nearly a year and a half that it has been decided to drop this case and not to proceed with it in the court.

I do not understand why in two important cases this tremendous delay took place and why finally one of them should be dropped. I do not know which Ministry deals with this matter—yours or the Finance. I should be grateful if you could have an inquiry made into this and a note sent to me.

I am sending a copy of this to the Finance Minister also.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

6. Investigations into Corruption Cases by the Special Police Establishment¹

I do not know if any publicity is given to the cases investigated and proceeded with by the Special Police Establishment. I think it is important that the public should know what is being done to suppress corruption. Most people know nothing about it and imagine that practically nothing is done.

I suggest that you suggest to the Home Ministry, on my behalf, that some kind of publicity should be given. It is not necessary for names to be mentioned, but statistical figures should be given of the cases investigated and taken to courts, how many acquittals, how many convictions, how many still in the courts. Further, how many cases are still under investigation. In how many cases, departmental action was taken.

Some of the major punishments awarded might be mentioned.

It is to be considered whether information is to be given about the particular Ministries whose cases have been investigated.

1. Note to K. Ram, Principal Private Secretary, New Delhi, 26 November 1957. JN Collection.

7. Investments of LIC Funds¹

On an enquiry by the Minister of Steel, Mines & Fuel² the Minister of Finance informed the Cabinet that the facts now available indicated that the Life Insurance Corporation had not taken the elementary precaution expected of it in its purchase of certain shares belonging to the Mundhra group of companies.³ Some of these shares had been purchased at Rs 4/- by negotiation, while the market quotation was round about Rs 2.50. The Corporation had also been negligent in not examining the balance sheet of a firm whose shares had been purchased. He thought, however, that until receivers were appointed for some of these firms and until all the shares paid for had been registered in the name of the Corporation, it would not be advisable to institute an enquiry into these transactions.

2. The Prime Minister observed that the proposed enquiry should be made without any avoidable delay and the impression should not go round that Government was shirking an enquiry. The Finance Minister said that he proposed to take action some time after 2nd January, 1958.⁴

1. Minutes of the Cabinet meeting, 20 December 1957. JN Collection.

2. Swaran Singh.

3. The matter related to certain transactions of the Life Insurance Corporation of India (LIC) involving the purchase of shares in the British India Corporation Limited of Kanpur and five other companies controlled by Haridas Mundhra. When Ram Subhag Singh and Feroze Gandhi asked in the Lok Sabha on 29 November 1957 whether the shares had been purchased at a higher price than the prevailing market price of those very shares, Finance Minister T.T. Krishnamachari denied that such a thing had happened. He also denied that the LIC had any predilection for a particular individual or group. Again raising the issue in the House on 16 December 1957, Feroze Gandhi revealed that on nineteen different occasions within six months in 1957, the LIC had purchased the shares for a sum of Rs 15,600,000 at a higher price. This was done without consulting the Investment Board of the LIC. He claimed that the LIC had become "a willing party to this questionable transaction with the mystery man of India's business underworld." Feroze Gandhi also stated that public expenditure ought to be subjected to the severest public debate.

4. The Government appointed the M.C. Chagla Commission of Enquiry on 17 January 1958.

8. To Jagjivan Ram¹

New Delhi
December 20, 1957

My dear Jagjivan Ram,

The Congress President² saw me this evening and, in the course of conversation, mentioned that there was again some talk going on about engines being purchased from Telco at a higher price than foreign engines.³ In view of the past history and complaints, it is obviously necessary to be careful about such transactions. I hope you will look into this matter.⁴

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. File No. 17(260)/57-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

2. U.N. Dhebar.

3. See also *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 39, p. 89.

4. Jagjivan Ram replied that the prices of Telco's YG locomotives, purchased or to be purchased between 1 April 1956 and 31 March 1958, ranged from Rs 5,11,562 to Rs 4,44,873 per unit. He added that these prices were based upon the recommendations of the Tariff Commission which were considered by the Cabinet in November 1956. As regards purchases after 31 March 1958, Jagjivan Ram stated that in a preliminary discussion with the representatives of the Railway Board, the Telco had offered to reduce their quotation from Rs 4.19 lakhs to Rs 3.95 lakhs per unit, and had also offered to reduce it further after a re-examination.

9. To Kailas Nath Katju¹

Udayana
Santiniketan

December 23, 1957

My dear Kailas Nath,²

I have only just read the letter you sent me on the 8th December about the forest land in the possession of Rani Padmavati,³ one of your Ministers. I confess that I do not at all understand why the old Madhya Pradesh Government or the then Ministry of States agreed to lease for a nominal sum 5128 acres of land to the Rani. I see absolutely no justification for it. On the face of it this is improper. Over and above this, the Rani had the temerity to get exempted from income-tax for this, but fortunately her plea was not accepted.

The income from this may vary as is stated, nevertheless it is considerable. Probably it might increase very much under proper control and management.

I am unhappy about this matter, but I do not know what I can do about it.⁴

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal

1. JN Collection.

2. Chief Minister of Madhya Pradesh.

3. Nehru had received a complaint in September 1957 that Rani Padmavati of Khairagarh had been granted occupancy rights of a large forest area in Madhya Pradesh and that the Rani, who was at this time a Minister in the Government of Madhya Pradesh, was deriving enormous profit from it. For previous references of this case, see *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 39, p. 378 and p. 380.

4. Forwarding Katju's letter to Home Minister G.B. Pant, Nehru wrote to him, "It is surprising and distressing that such a large area should be handed over in this way to a private owner."

IV. INTERNAL SECURITY

1. To Abul Kalam Azad¹

New Delhi

November 10, 1957

My dear Maulana,²

Your Secretary sent me a few days ago a petition which Mrs D.S. Grewal had apparently handed to me.

I knew something about this case³ previously because both the Governor and the Chief Minister had spoken to me about it. I have now enquired further into this matter during my visit to Chandigarh yesterday.

I need not give you all the facts, as various enquiries are being conducted. According to official accounts, Grewal has behaved very badly and the present action against him is only a prelude to such other action as might be taken as a result of the enquiry.

The charge against Grewal is of shooting some people in cold blood. Whether those people were criminals or not, does not affect this charge. The Punjab Police in the past has been guilty on some occasions of this shooting offenders in cold blood and we have taken strong exception to this. In the present case actually a warning was sent to us that this was likely to happen. Grewal was himself warned that this must not happen. In spite of this and on that very day of the warning the shooting incident took place, killing the persons concerned. Grewal's defence is that this was done in an encounter, but from such evidence as we have, there was no such encounter and in fact the shooting was decided upon previously. Apart from the direct evidence, of which there is a good deal, all the circumstantial evidence is against encounter that day.

We must therefore allow this matter to proceed in the normal way through enquiries and the procedures that follow them.

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.

2. Union Minister of Education.

3. The case related to the action taken against Daljit Singh Grewal, Superintendent of Police, Karnal. See also *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 39, p. 394.

2. To Sri Krishna Sinha¹

New Delhi

November 27, 1957

My dear Sri Babu,²

Thank you for your letter of the 25th November about the case of Dr J.C. Jain.³

I have little to say about the procedure that your Government adopts in such cases.⁴ I have, however, often found that decisions are based on Police reports or Intelligence reports. When I have pursued the Police or the Intelligence report, I have found that it is of a very junior person, sometimes probably a head constable who is totally incompetent to judge of a man's worth or even of his opinions. Yet, this report comes to us with all the authority of an important Department of Government, and we naturally are influenced by it. I try not to be influenced by such reports, and enquire further into the matter, wherever possible.

I do not quite know what is meant by a person having communist leanings. It is difficult to define that precisely. A person may have communist leanings in regard to some matters and not in regard to others. I think it would be definitely improper for us to act on some Police or Intelligence report to the effect that a person has communist leanings. Indeed, merely communist leanings should not be considered a bar at all, except in regard to particular types of offices. Many people have had some communist leanings and have often changed their opinions.

1. JN Collection.

2. Chief Minister of Bihar.

3. Jagdish Chandra Jain, a scholar of Prakrit and Jain learning, and Head of the Hindi Department in Ramnarain Ruia College, Mumbai, was selected by the Bihar Public Service Commission for appointment as Professor in the Vaishali Institute, and the Bihar Council of Ministers had approved the appointment. However, the Council of Ministers later reversed this decision when its attention was drawn to some CID reports about Jain's "pronounced leanings towards communism", and the risk involved in appointing such a person to an important post in the State Education Service.

4. Sri Krishna Sinha wrote that on receiving the recommendations of the Public Service Commission, the concerned department of Government formulated definite proposals for appointment of the nominee of the Commission. After approval of the proposals by the Minister-in-charge, the matter was discussed in the Council of Ministers with the permission of the Chief Minister. The Council of Minister made provisional selection of the nominee and the appointment was subject to his being found medically fit, and clearance by the CID as regards his antecedents.

What I suggest is that judgement should be based on a variety of factors, and not on the basis of some general and vague reports. The ultimate test is whether, having regard to all the factors, a person is considered suitable or not.

You refer to Government policy in regard to this matter.⁵ Certainly, the question of national security should always be kept in view, and a member of the Communist Party may well be considered unsuitable for most types of appointments, more especially for anything that involves secrecy or security. The question however, is about so-called tendencies and vague associations. That, as I have said above, is a very vague matter, and I would not be prepared to condemn a worthwhile person or a scholar on such a vague charge.

As I have previously written to you, to say that a person being Vice-President of the Indo-China Friendship Association is keeping bad company and, therefore, should be looked upon with disfavour, is to say something that is not right.⁶ I have myself advised some of my colleagues to join this Association.

Apparently, one of the charges against Dr Jain was that he had written an article supporting communism in the *Bombay Chronicle* twelve years ago. He denies it categorically.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

5. Sinha wrote that the decision to debar candidates with definite communist attachments from appointment in Government service was a logical implementation of the Central Government's policy in this regard. He said that the Bihar Government had been earlier advised by the Union Home Ministry that membership of, or association with, the CPI and certain other organizations would be a valid ground for terminating the service of a Government servant, as his retention in service would be prejudicial to national security. Sinha pointed out that the Central Civil Services (Safeguarding of National Security) Rules, 1953, and the Bihar Civil Services (Safeguarding of National Security) Rules, 1949, were framed to deal with such cases.
6. For Nehru's letter of 18 September 1957 to Sri Krishna Sinha, see *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 39, pp. 359-360. The reference is actually to the India-China Friendship Association.

3. The Responsibility of the Police¹

I should like again to send my good wishes to the next meeting of the All India Police Athletics and Sports Meet. This occasion should be utilized not only for sports and athletics and meeting each other, but also to lay stress on those essential qualities which are so necessary in a Police force. It is by the integrity, efficiency and tact that they are to be judged. A heavy responsibility rests on the Police force and they represent, in the most obvious form, the power of the State. Those who have power have to be very careful of using that power. A policeman should always endeavour to get the goodwill of the people he serves. Their goodwill is a test of his work. Indeed, without this goodwill and cooperation, his work will not bear fruit much.

1. Message, New Delhi, 6 December, 1957. JN Collection.

V. VISA POLICY

1. Foreigners of Quality Welcome¹

I entirely agree with SG.² I cannot understand the attitude that India should be kept as a closed land lest someone might perhaps prevent the purity of our lives. Nor do I agree with the doctrine that such a person might deprive one Indian of his livelihood. A man of quality is always an acquisition to a country. In the present case the fact that Mr Ruiz has shown independence and has left the Society of Jesus because he is attracted to Indian philosophy is in his favour.

I agree that his visa should be extended as suggested by SG.

1. Note to N.R. Pillai, Secretary General, MEA, New Delhi, 5 November 1957. JN Collection.
2. Edward Pascaul Ruiz, a Spanish missionary who came to India in 1948 to work with the Society of Jesus in Bombay province, informed the Bombay Government in June 1957 that he had broken away from the Society owing to differences of opinion, and requested for extension of his visa as he had accepted a teaching assignment in a school in Gwalior and he also wanted to pursue his studies in Indian art and philosophy. The Home Ministry objected to Ruiz's request on the grounds that he had dissociated himself from the mission work and he would deprive an Indian of his livelihood by teaching in a school. N.R. Pillai, however, favoured extension of the visa for two years.

2. The Need to Simplify Visa Procedures¹

I had an interview this afternoon with Dr David Rodnick.² He belongs to the Institute for International Social Research at Princeton, USA. As he was going away, he said that everything in India had pleased him greatly, but there was only one thing which had caused him and others a great deal of trouble and annoyance. This was the obtaining of a visa for India. This had proved very difficult. It had cost him much money and time and labour. He had to make trip after trip for it, apparently to the Indian Consulate, and he had to wait for hours when he went there. He asked me if something could not be done to make these procedures easier and simpler.

2. That is a question which I have often asked. I do not understand why we adopt these cumbrous procedures and why, in particular, this poor man found it difficult to come here.

3. I have written so often about the visas that it seems rather unnecessary to write again. But I do feel this is an important matter and we must not allow things to happen which discredit us abroad, without doing us the slightest good.

1. Note to S. Dutt, Foreign Secretary, and A. V. Pai, Home Secretary, New Delhi, 26 November 1957. JN Collection.

2. (1908-1980); polyglot, sociologist and cultural historian from the US; Consultant, Economic Cooperation Administration and Mutual Security Agency, 1951-52; Sociologist, Human Resources Research Institute, US Air Force, France, 1952-54; Sociologist, Institute of International Social Research, Princeton, 1955-59; taught at several American and European universities; wrote, among others, *Personal Odyssey: Field Notes on a Changing Europe*, 1944-1958, *Postwar Germans: An Anthropologist's Account*, *The Politics of Powerlessness: A Study of French Communism*, 1955-56, *Man's Quest for Autonomy: A Background for Modernization*.

3. Foreign Invitees to the AITUC Session¹

The Home Ministry has referred to what they call guiding principles laid down by the Ministry of External Affairs in considering the issue of visas for foreigners attending conferences in India. I do not think these principles have any relevance in regard to the present case.² I want to make this quite clear so that there should be no misunderstanding or mis-application of these rules in future.

2. It is the normal practice for National Trade Union Congresses to invite fraternal delegates from the Trade Union Congresses of other Nations. National TUCs are also sometimes affiliated to international Trade Union organizations. Therefore there is nothing unusual about the AITUC inviting fraternal delegates from Trade Union organizations abroad.

3. A Trade Union organization deals principally with trade union matters, but no such matter can be isolated wholly from politics, and we cannot make that a reason for preventing them from coming.

4. Therefore, I do not think that the rules we have laid down apply to this case at all. The only other test is the individual test. We are not applying that, nor can we in the circumstances.

5. The real reason is that, whatever the theory, in practice we do not like the idea of representatives of the Soviet Trade Unions going to a Congress in Kerala and thus in a sense increasing the prestige of the communist movement there. I do not attach much importance to the remark made in the minute here that secret instructions may be passed on.³ This can easily be done and delegates to a conference are not necessary for that purpose.

1. Note to Foreign Secretary, New Delhi, 27 November 1957. File No. 8(178)-P.V. 1/57, MEA. Also available in File No. 15/68/57-F. I, MHA, and JN Collection.
2. The AITUC had invited delegates from trade union organizations of many socialist and capitalist countries to attend its silver jubilee session to be held in Ernakulam in the last week of December 1957. The Ministry of Home Affairs referred to the guiding principles laid down by the MEA whereby foreigners should not be allowed to come to India to attend conferences, etc., which were: (i) purely political or sem-political; (ii) purely of national or local character; and (iii) not open to representatives from all countries.
3. As the venue of the AITUC session was in Kerala, where a Communist government was in power, the Intelligence Bureau did not consider it advisable to allow the Soviets to come, suspecting that they might, in the garb of fraternal delegates, freely contact the State Government Ministers and convey them secret directions.

6. Delegates from Trade Union organizations in India have been invited and have attended celebrations in China and Russia. It makes it a little difficult for us not to reciprocate in this matter. It is always possible for some mischief to be done by people coming from abroad. It is equally possible that preventing them from coming also does some mischief.

7. The Indian National Trade Union Congress also invites foreign delegates and they come to it. Can we say that the INTUC can do so, but not the AITUC?

8. I am pointing out these difficulties because there is no particular logic in any position that we may adopt. I have begun to think less and less in terms of visas being used to prevent entry into India. A wrong kind of person can always manage to come in. It is usually only the right kind of persons that are prevented by visa regulations.

9. However, in the present case I do not wish to go against the recommendation of the Home Ministry, although I have some doubts about it. They should see this note and should they still wish to refuse visas in this case, their wishes will be carried out.⁴

4. In the meantime the Soviet Government had requested for visas for four Soviet scientists who wished to attend the third Indian Congress of Theoretical and Applied Sciences at the invitation of the famous Indian scientist K.S. Krishnan. Nehru noted on 12 December: "I presume visas have been issued to these Russian delegates. Normally, delegates to scientific congresses should have visas issued to them without special enquiry."

4. To Sampurnanand¹

New Delhi
December 6, 1957

My dear Sampurnanand,²

Anis Ahmad Abbasi³ came to see me today about a certain matter. In the course of his talk, he again referred to the great hardships caused to people from Pakistan who had exceeded their visa period.

You will remember my writing to you on this subject previously, and you were good enough to reply. At that time I had referred to the influenza epidemic

1. File No. 20/82/57-F III, MHA. Also available in JN Collection.

2. Chief Minister of Uttar Pradesh.

3. Nationalist Muslim leader and editor of *Haqiqat* (Lucknow).

and to orders being passed to people to go away while they were actually lying ill.

I am not writing now about the merits of these questions, but rather to the way they are carried out. I have been told that women have been arrested and put in the lock-up. Normally speaking, I would say that on no account should a woman be arrested and put in the lock-up for this purpose. This creates a very bad effect on people.

Then there is the case of Jamal Mian⁴ of Firangi Mahal. Again I am not going into the merits of his being asked to leave, but to the manner of doing so. I understand that his mother was dying and he had come to see her. He was asked to leave within twenty-four hours leaving his dying mother. So far as Jamal Mian is concerned, he may be good or bad, but he still is a kind of a *peer* to whom large numbers of Muslims in Lucknow and elsewhere look up. Why offend all these people by this kind of rush behaviour? The story goes round that his mother was dying and he was not even allowed to stay a few days to see her and to be present when she died. This must create a bad effect.

I have also been told that the police or the CID who deal with these matters use exceedingly abusive language regardless of the person whom they are addressing.

May I request your issuing orders to your police and CID officers that in sending people back because their visa period has expired, we are not taking vengeance, nor are we having reprisals. Each such person should be treated with courtesy and consideration and, where there is any illness, etc., an adequate period may be given.⁵

Anis Ahmed Abbasi also spoke to me about Khwaja Mohammad Ilyas of Lucknow. I forget, however, what exactly he told me about this. Perhaps you know already.⁶

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

4. Son of the famous Muslim divine Mohammad Abdul Bari, and a leader of the Muslim League; he shifted to Pakistan around 1950. For details of his case, see *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 39, p. 645.

5. The same day Nehru suggested to G.B. Pant that the Home Ministry might issue definite directions that in all cases of expiry of the visa period every courtesy should be shown and some relaxation might also be permitted in the case of illness or on other adequate reason.

6. See also the next item.

5. To Sampurnanand¹

New Delhi
December 6, 1957

My dear Sampurnanand,

In a letter I wrote to you today I mentioned the case of one Mohammad Ilyas. I had then forgotten what the case was about. I have now received some papers about him from Anis Ahmad Abbasi. I enclose them. I know nothing about this case except what these papers say. The case is an odd one. Apart from the legal aspects of it, it appears that he filed an affidavit and returned the Pakistani passport which had been given to him.

The position now appears to be that he has no papers and he cannot return to Pakistan even if he wants to, as the Pakistan people will not take him. At the same time he is being charged in India for exceeding his length of stay. What is the poor fellow to do?

Apparently, he is an old man and all his family are certainly Indian nationals living in Lucknow. I suggest that pending further enquiry into this case, any prosecution against him should be withdrawn. If it is a fact that all his family, including his wife and children, have continuously lived in Lucknow, he might be allowed to stay there, whatever his legal status might be.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.

6. Allowing Fraternal Delegates to Attend the AITUC Session¹

A day or two ago, I sent you a letter from Shri Dange, MP in which he sent me a list of persons who had been invited to attend the All India Trade Union Congress session and for whom he wanted visas. I wrote a brief note also.²

This evening, I happened to meet the Home Minister, and I mentioned this matter of visas for the AITUC to him. He said that he vaguely remembered this case, but he would like to see it again.³ He added that, generally speaking, he saw no particular point in stopping people from coming here, even if they came from Communist countries. If any communications had to be sent from Communist countries, there were many ways of doing so. He gave me to understand that he had no particular objection to these people coming here, and he would see the papers.

The question, of course, remains as to how many should come. You might send the file, if you have got it, to the Home Minister or, perhaps, someone could go to him with it and get his directions.

I shall be seeing Shri Dange on the 18th, and I want to know before that, what has been done.

1. Note to Foreign Secretary, New Delhi, 13 December 1957. File No. 15/68/57-F.I., MHA.
2. Nehru wrote to Foreign Secretary on 12 December 1957 that he found "some difficulty in refusing these fraternal delegates coming from abroad" but he left the final decision to the Home Ministry.
3. G.B. Pant noted on 30 November that already there were a number of Russians in India and there was continuous traffic between the USSR and India. The "iron curtain" also seemed to be steadily melting away. He thought that in these circumstances nothing would be gained by refusing visas. Pant's observations were in response to Nehru's note of 27 November 1957. See *ante*, pp. 330-331.

VI. MIGRANTS FROM EAST PAKISTAN

1. To Mehr Chand Khanna¹

New Delhi
November 7, 1957

My dear Mehr Chand,²

Your letter of the 3rd November.³ Personally I entirely agree with you that we should clearly state that in future no rehabilitation facilities or financial help will be available to new migrants from East Pakistan. I am glad that the Ministers you collected agreed with this. I understand, however, that some people in Bengal are agitating against it.

You will of course put this proposal before the Cabinet Committee.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.

2. Union Minister of Rehabilitation and Minority Affairs.

3. Khanna wrote that the Rehabilitation Ministers of States, who met in a conference in Darjeeling on 30-31 October to consider the problem of rehabilitation of the displaced persons (DPs) from East Pakistan, had explained the difficulties in regard to rehabilitation of these people who were already in their respective States. According to them, only half of the 42 lakh DPs who had arrived in India had been rehabilitated and the existing resources of the country would have to be stretched to the utmost to effectively rehabilitate the rest. The Ministers were unanimously of the opinion that the policy regarding the treatment to be given to fresh migrants should be reconsidered and they should be treated in the same manner as migrants from other countries, like Myanmar, Sri Lanka and South Africa, who were not afforded rehabilitation facilities. The conference, Khanna wrote, also endorsed the views of the Congress MPs of West Bengal (WB) and the West Bengal Pradesh Congress Committee that the policy of extending rehabilitation assistance to future migrants should be reviewed in view of acute economic condition in WB and paucity of land in other States.

2. Policy Regarding Future Migrants¹

Speaker:² There is an adjournment motion tabled by Shri Bimal Ghose³ and Shrimati Renu Chakravartty⁴ regarding the statement made by the Minister of Rehabilitation at the Rehabilitation Ministers' Conference in Darjeeling in connection with the rehabilitation of future migrants from East Pakistan. I have put it down for this day, the honourable Prime Minister.

Jawaharlal Nehru: I have not been able to understand how this question has become one for adjournment.

Speaker: I only wanted to hear him, whether he would like to make a statement on this matter.

JN: The Minister for Rehabilitation in the course of a Conference in Darjeeling made certain suggestions for the consideration of that Conference and later. The first point is that no decisions were arrived at at all. It is an idea thrown out for consideration and it will no doubt be considered not only there, but by the Central Government and by this Parliament too, possibly.

Secondly, I am not aware of the fact, as stated in these motions for adjournment and I believe in a question too, that this Government or in fact any national leaders have undertaken to support all the minorities that live in Pakistan for future ages indefinitely. It is an impossible position. In fact, it just cannot be done. Even passing of a resolution or Act of Parliament does not produce results; it cannot be done.

May I say, there is no question, of course, of people being stopped from coming and going. They are welcome, they are welcome to migrate even to India. But the question was whether we should give a continuing guarantee that whoever comes from East Pakistan for whatever period in future will be the responsibility of the Government of Bengal or the Government of India. We have never done that. I do not see how any Government can do that. We have, as is well known, received in East Bengal, that is, in the eastern section only,

1. Statement in the Lok Sabha, 13 November 1957. *Lok Sabha Debates* (Second Series), Vol. VIII, cols 351-357. Extracts.

2. M. Ananthasayanam Ayyangar.

3. PSP Member from Barrackpore, West Bengal.

4. CPI Member from Basirhat, West Bengal.

4,200,000 refugees and it has been a tremendous task to settle them. Some have been settled and some, as honourable Members know, are very far from being settled or rehabilitated. In Bengal itself or in Tripura or in Assam, there is practically no room left. You have to go to other places. Therefore, for us to give vague promises for the future that we shall take everybody of the 9 million remaining people of the minorities in East Bengal seems to be rather a large order to make, a large assumption. As I said, this was an idea thrown out for consideration. If this House wishes to discuss it, we shall discuss it in this House....

Bimal Ghose: May I add a few words, because I was rather surprised and a little pained by the statement made by the Prime Minister? I was surprised because he said that no final decision has been taken. We know that. But a responsible Central Minister has thrown out a suggestion and it is at that time that we must consider this, because if decisions are taken, then the matter becomes closed more or less. The responsible Central Minister has said that rehabilitation facilities would be withdrawn and since this has been published, this is the time....

JN: Withdrawn from whom?

BG: Withdrawn from future migrants.

JN: How can anything be withdrawn in the future when it is not given?... I am not merely surprised to listen to the eloquence of the honourable Member opposite. If I may use a stronger word, I am astounded at the irrelevance of what the honourable Member has said.⁵ Here is a Member of the Government suggesting for the consideration of the Conference of Rehabilitation Ministers that we have to think in terms of the future, there is no good being vague about it and asking us to think about it. And I am told, "Oh! He has no business to do it" and an adjournment motion is brought because he has ventured to ask the people to think about a problem in a particular way.

I do submit this is beyond any logic or reason or rules or anything else that I can think of. Not only was he right, but I propose to refer to this matter again and again for people to think about it. It is an important matter and I do not see

5. Bimal Ghose said that the responsibility for the conditions which forced the minorities in East Bengal to come away from there was that of the Indian leaders who had agreed to Partition. He also said that by virtue of the statements of "responsible leaders" in India, that "we would regard ourselves as trustees of the members of the minority community who were in Pakistan", India had "contracted a debt of honour". Ghose wanted to know whether it was proper to go back on the declarations made.

why we should feel shy about it. Whatever we may decide or Parliament may decide, here is a question and we must not whisper about it, we must not talk about it! It is a most vital question which should not only be talked about but shouted about as to what the future is going to be.

Therefore, to say that there should be an adjournment motion, I submit, is out of question. It is all beyond reasonable provocation to put forward this thing.

The second question is which the honourable Member, Shri Bimal Ghose, has raised about people starving, in eloquent and defamatory language.⁶ I really cannot understand this. An honourable Member, Shrimati Renu Chakravartty read something I said in 1950—that it is the Centre's responsibility.⁷ What? Of course, all those people who have come over here; not all the minorities of Pakistan are to be settled by us in future days for ever. It is impossible for any country to undertake that. And it is unfair to those minorities and it is unfair to India for they will never settle down anywhere.

The 1950 Agreement⁸ took place, if the House will remember, in order to facilitate the return of the refugees because, early in 1950, owing to a scare, large numbers of people had come from Eastern Pakistan to India and large numbers of people had gone to Pakistan from India, both sides. Owing to scare, large numbers of people had gone to Western Pakistan even from UP, Rajasthan, etc.; some from West Bengal too. Now, because of this scare we met and the major thing we decided was that these people should go back, the migrants should return. In fact, several hundred thousand migrants returned because of the assurance given about fair treatment, etc., etc. That was the main thing decided.

At that time I stated that for the people who remained here—it was an assurance to the Bengal Government—we are prepared to take the responsibility

6. Ghose asked whether the Prime Minister felt that future migrants should be vagrants in India, that they should "die on the streets", the Government just looking upon the situation without giving them any assistance.
7. Renu Chakravartty claimed that while tabling the Nehru-Liaquat Ali Pact in the House in 1950, Nehru had said very clearly that the Government of India had undertaken unlimited responsibility for the welfare of refugees.
8. On 8 April 1950, Nehru and Liaquat Ali Khan, Prime Ministers of India and Pakistan, had signed an agreement in New Delhi on the measures to be adopted to deal with the minorities problem in the two countries with special reference to the situation created by the communal disorders in East Bengal, West Bengal, Assam and Tripura. A part of the agreement sought to ensure free movement and protection to migrants from the affected areas in the two countries.

because the burden is too heavy. We had taken it up and in fact we have spent vast sums of money.

But the point to be considered is—and I say so—from the point of view of those minorities themselves, we are interested in them; nobody denies that. But, are we to say—because what the honourable Member said may ultimately come to that—that we take an indefinite, ultimate responsibility, not in terms of years, for the people who had gone that we shall look after them? Anyhow, I do not wish to enter into this argument. But I do protest against the context in which Mr Bimal Ghose raised this matter and the speech he has made, for really they may tend to make matters worse.⁹

9. The Speaker disallowed the adjournment motion on the ground that it was ill-conceived.

3. To Mehr Chand Khanna¹

New Delhi
December 13, 1957

My dear Mehr Chand,

Your letter of December 11. I entirely agree with you that the Liaquat Ali Agreement of 1950 is quite out of date and it is absurd to try to carry on with it or indeed to have the so-called Minority Affairs Department in that connection. We should consider this matter fully in Cabinet.

My only difficulty is that the Pakistan Government and press will raise a big shout that we are backing out of an agreement. Therefore, I feel that we should prepare the ground for this change, possibly by some correspondence with the Pakistan Government gradually leading up to it. Anyhow, the matter should be considered by the Cabinet.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.

4. Rehabilitation of Migrants¹

...The Government cannot undertake responsibility for rehabilitation of future migrants from East Pakistan. We are not, however, stopping migration if the people fulfil certain conditions. They can come. But, we do not wish to undertake responsibility for their rehabilitation. In special cases of course we can do something on humanitarian grounds.

Anyhow there is no meaning in taking responsibility for the future migrants before we fulfil our responsibility to those already here. We are proceeding as rapidly as possible with schemes for rehabilitation of those who have already come from East Pakistan. But in the nature of things this is a difficult task. Land is not always available. One of the major schemes we have decided upon is the Dandakaranya scheme.² It will take some time.

We do want to gradually wind up some activities of the Union Rehabilitation Ministry. We may, in course of time, say next year, wind up the activities of the Ministry dealing with West Pakistan migrants.³ As regards the migrants from East Pakistan, work is still very heavy and the activities cannot be wound up....

1. A talk with pressmen, Darjeeling, 27 December 1957. From *The Hindu*, 28 December 1957. Extracts.
2. The Dandakaranya Development Authority was set up in 1958. See also *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 39, p. 282.
3. The Governments of India and Pakistan had reached an understanding in August 1957 to close down the refugee camps at Jalandhar and Lahore. See also *post*, p. 608.

VII. OTHER MATTERS

1. To Y.B. Chavan¹

New Delhi
November 6, 1957

My dear Chavan,²

I am writing to you about the case of Mubarak Ali who was first arrested in Bombay on the 20th December 1948. He remained in custody, I think, as an under-trial prisoner till the 24 April 1950 when he was released on bail. He ran away to the United Kingdom via Pakistan and there was some difficulty in getting him back. However, he was sent back as an absconder and came to India on the 19th April 1952.³ Later he was convicted on two charges. On one charge he received a sentence of 3 years and 6 months, plus six months in default of payment of fine. On other charge he was sentenced to two years plus one year in default of fine. Thus, he was sentenced to five and a half years and a further one and a half year in default of payment of fines. In all, that is, if he did not pay the fines, his sentence amounted to seven years.

From the time he was first arrested, that is on the 20th December 1948, he has now spent, I believe, six years and eleven months in prison, either as an under-trial or as a convict. That is, he has spent nearly seven years in prison.

I am giving this brief history of this case which I have gathered from the papers with us. There can be little doubt that Mubarak Ali is a bad man and has misbehaved. From reports received from your Government, it appears that he has continued his misbehaviour in prison and apparently once tried to escape.

I have received from time to time numerous representations on his behalf from his wife as well as from others in Pakistan.⁴ I think I have been referring

1. JN Collection.

2. Chief Minister of Bombay.

3. Mubarak Ali Ahmed was facing charges of forgery in India, when he escaped to the United Kingdom. When India approached the UK for his extradition under the provisions of the Extradition Act of 1870 and the Fugitive Offences Act of 1881 of the UK, his counsel argued that he would be prosecuted in India if he was extradited, since he was considered a spy for Pakistan. However, he was sent to India in 1952.

4. On 2 November, Nehru wrote to M.J. Desai, Commonwealth Secretary, MEA, "I enclose a letter from Inayat Ullah Khan, Allama Mashriqi, who threatens us from time to time with invasion and who, I believe, is in prison now in Pakistan. The letter begs for clemency for Mubarak Ali Ahmed."

this matter to your Government repeatedly for the last four years or so. Your Government's response on every occasion has been that the offence was a very serious one and his behaviour even in prison has been bad and therefore they saw no reason to show any clemency to him. Indeed the normal period of remissions which he could have got, had not been allowed to him or had been struck out because of his misbehaviour. As a matter of fact, if that period of remission had been allowed, probably the date for his release would have been very near if it has not already been passed.

All these facts are common ground. The question is what we should do about him now. I must say that several recent answers which we have received from your Government about Mubarak Ali's case have appeared to me very rigid, paying no regard at all to various rather important factors. The only consideration was a strict legal one of a sentence as well as his misbehaviour in jail. The fact that I had repeatedly referred this matter to your Government might have attracted a little more attention. I would not have done so if I had not felt that a certain course of action was desirable. It was not a question of just showing clemency. We have also to show that we are not revengeful and are not out merely to crush a person. As a matter of fact, apart from the sentence he has served, his family has suffered a great deal and has been practically broken up. His son who was studying at Cambridge has had to give this up. But these are natural consequences which, however unfortunate, one has to put up with. I have been thinking more of certain other consequences, political and the like. There is a feeling among many people in Pakistan that we are out to take vengeance and to crush a person. That is not a good feeling to create and in effect it reacts on our own people there. Personally, having gone through this matter fairly carefully, I think that this man has been adequately punished and there is no reason why we should insist to keep him to the bitter end of his long sentence. There are many reasons to the contrary.

It is clear that if and when he is released, he will not remain in India. So we will not have to put up with any possible antics by him here. He will go to Pakistan and he can do what he likes there.

Only recently my PPS⁵ wrote a letter to your Government again on this subject. The reply was curt in the extreme. I was disappointed and I would not probably have written to you on this subject again. But some communications from Pakistan, from people for whom I have respect, have moved me to write. Before doing so, I have had a talk with Pantji and Morarji Bhai⁶ about this case.

5. K. Ram.

6. Morarji Desai was Chief Minister of Bombay, 1952-56.

Morarji Bhai, of course, knows all about it. Both of them felt that in the circumstances that exist today, it would be desirable to release Mubarak Ali and let him go to Pakistan. Indeed, Morarji Bhai said that he would speak to you about it when he goes to Bombay in the next few days.

I hope, therefore, that you will revise your decision in this matter and have Mubarak Ali discharged at an early date within the next few weeks.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

2. Slum Clearance¹

The question of slum clearance has been before me for a considerable time. I have a feeling that difficulties occur in dealing with it because of a variety of authorities. I have chiefly dealt, of course, with the Delhi problem. In Delhi, there are many authorities. Some improvement has, perhaps, been made recently. But still, I am not sure that that is adequate.

2. So far as the Central Government is concerned, I suppose both the Home Ministry and the Health Ministry deal with it in regard to Delhi. In regard to other States, I suppose the Home Ministry deals with it through the State Government. Finance Ministry comes into the picture, of course, at every step where any Central expenditure is concerned.

3. I should like you to send me a note on this subject. Which Ministries in the Central Government deal with slum clearance and in what way? This would include both Delhi and other States. As regards Delhi, what other authorities deal with it?²

1. Note to K. Ram, Principal Private Secretary, New Delhi, 10 November 1957. JN Collection.

2. See also *post*, pp. 375-376.

3. Honours and Awards for Scientists¹

You can certainly make this recommendation. I have no doubt that we should honour Dr D.N. Wadia² for his long and eminent services to India and to the cause of Geology. It is always difficult, however, to say which particular award should be given. One has to balance this with a large number of factors and with awards given to people in other activities. There is a Committee to consider this, and that Committee no doubt will give every consideration to this recommendation.

These awards, of course, cannot be compared to the old honours given by the British Government. But, broadly speaking, the Padma Vibhushan might be said to correspond with the GCSI or GCIE, the Padma Bhushan to the KCIE or a Knighthood, and the Padma Shri to CIE.

1. Note to Homi Bhabha, New Delhi, 15 November 1957. JN Collection.

2. Darashaw Noshervan Wadia (1883-1969); taught geology at Prince of Wales College, Jammu, 1907-1920; served in the Geological Survey of India, 1921-39, and conducted survey of North-West Punjab, Hazara and Kashmir; President, Indian Science Congress, 1941; President, National Institute of Science in India, 1945-46; Mineral Adviser, Ceylon Government, till 1944; Geological Adviser, Government of India, till death; author of *Geology of India: Syntaxis of N. W. Himalayas*, *Structure of the Himalayas*, *Geology of Nanga Parbat and Gilgit District*.

4. Devolution of Financial Authority¹

The Finance Minister has sent me a draft summary for the Cabinet on the subject of separation of audit from accounts. You will receive this also. I had hoped that before this matter is considered by the Cabinet, the matter might be discussed with the Comptroller and Auditor-General.² In any event we should have the views of the Auditor-General on this proposal before it is considered by the Cabinet. It might be desirable to ask the Auditor-General to be present at the Cabinet meeting when this question is considered.

There is a somewhat allied question to this. This is the measure of devolution of authority in financial matters that should take place in regard to Ministries as well as perhaps some of the major industries. This has been discussed by us on many occasions and the general principle has been agreed to. I do not know in what measure this has been implemented. I think this might also be considered at the same time.³

I have also received another letter from the Finance Minister. It is in fact a copy of a letter sent to the Home Minister. This relates to the extension of periods of service to officers reaching the retirement age. The Finance Minister thinks that we should follow a general rule of retiring them and reemploying them when necessary. The matter has been referred to the Home Ministry. I do not know how they will deal with it. Nor is it clear to me which is more advantageous—extension or re-employment. It is clear that in certain cases we have to continue to employ some of our expert personnel. That has been laid down by Cabinet in the case of scientists, technicians and the like. In those cases an extension is good. How far this might be applicable to experts in financial or audit matters, I do not quite know. But I gather that there is a shortage of such experienced officers and they have to be continued in employment. In what form this should be, I do not quite know.

1. Note to M.K. Vellodi, Cabinet Secretary, New Delhi, 24 November 1957. JN Collection.

2. Asok K. Chanda.

3. A meeting of the Cabinet held in the third week of December decided that far greater devolution of authority should be made to the administrative machinery so as to avoid delay and to produce a greater sense of financial responsibility in the administrative machinery. In a note to Cabinet Secretary written at Darjeeling on 25 December, Nehru stated: "The Auditor-General has now written that this devolution requires a simplification of the present accounting system and a revision of the financial rules and regulations. I suppose some such revision will be necessary." Nehru added: "The matter possibly will come up again for consideration in detail, and... you might suggest in this connection that any consequential changes in the financial rules should also be considered."

5. Change-over to the Metric System¹

One of the major reforms which we have undertaken in India is the adoption of the metric system in coins, weights and measures. This has already been done so far as currency is concerned.² The others still remain to be implemented.

It is true that any change-over involves a certain measure of inconvenience to the public. And yet the advantage to the public ultimately is very great indeed. We have been all along anxious to avoid, or at any rate limit greatly, the inconvenience which might be caused. Therefore, the change-over in weights and measures will be phased out and gradual.³

It should be remembered that the principle underlying the present day metric system was the product of Indian genius long ago. It is peculiarly becoming and appropriate, therefore, for us to go back to something that was our own and something of which we in India can legitimately be proud.

The advantages of adopting this system in weights and measures are great indeed. All our work will be simplified and made more speedy. Children in schools will also profit by this change. But, above all, in the development of science, industry and new techniques, the use of the metric system is essential. Indeed it has to be used anyhow. To have two systems in the country, one for our growing industry and science and one for the other purposes of daily life, will not only be confusing and wasteful but a burden to all concerned. For a progressive country like India, every consideration points to this change-over.

1. Message to *Metric Measures*, a bimonthly journal of metrology, New Delhi, 12 December 1957, File No. 37(17)/56-59-PMS. Also available in JN Collection. The journal was published by the Publications Division, Government of India.

2. From 1 April 1957.

3. The metric system in weights and measures was scheduled to be introduced from 1 April 1958. On 8 November 1957, Nehru wrote to T.T. Krishnamachari, that "it has to be recognized that any change-over upsets the habits of the people and, sometimes, disturbs their tempers also. Should we, in the present state of affairs, add to our existing problems and difficulties by introducing this system in the course of the next five or six months?" On 11 November, the Cabinet agreed with Nehru's suggestion that the introduction of the system might be postponed by one year and the intervening period be utilized for publicity and propaganda regarding the contemplated reform. However, on 16 November, Morarji Desai, the Minister responsible for introduction of the metric system in weights and measures, wrote to Nehru that the delay of one year had no special significance as the system was to be introduced very gradually over a period of nine years. He suggested that no announcement should be made about postponement, and Nehru agreed.

We are anxious, however, to make this change in a manner so that it should come step by step and as people get accustomed to this new method. The purpose of issuing a journal to give full information and publicity to this change is to facilitate this understanding by the public and to make them appreciate this change-over which is so obviously for their good and the good of the nation.

6. To K.C. Reddy¹

New Delhi

December 20, 1957

My dear Reddy,²

You spoke to me today about the numerous demands being made upon you for houses. Among these, you mentioned, were some requests for houses for Parliamentary Secretaries.

It is always a difficult matter to allot and distribute houses when there are so many demands for them. But I might mention below what, I think, are the principles to be kept in view.

Rather large houses are given to Cabinet Ministers to enable them to do their work adequately. This applies to other Ministers also. That is, the criterion is to make provision for the work to be done quietly and with some convenience. The old idea of status should not come into play at all. In British times everything went by status. The higher the officer the bigger the house, the more the peons, etc. This is not a principle we should encourage. The real principle should be the needs of work and to some extent other needs, like a family.

In regard to Parliamentary Secretaries, the mere fact of their becoming such need not mean new and bigger houses. Their work is done usually during the sessions of Parliament and largely in Parliament House or in the Ministries to which they might be attached. A larger house is not indicated unless there are special reasons for it, such as a large family.

As a matter of fact, a large house is more expensive to keep up and it is sometimes a burden on the person occupying it. Many of the Parliamentary

1. File No. 45(7)/57-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

2. Union Minister of Works, Housing and Supply.

Secretaries can continue to live where they are, even when they become Parliamentary Secretaries. A Deputy Minister would probably for the sake of work require a larger accommodation. But the test should be work and not the fact of his becoming Deputy Minister.

In fact, we should gradually accustom ourselves, all of us, to smaller houses. I know that I am guilty in respect of this matter because I live in a huge mansion. I hope I shall be able to leave it and go to a smaller house, though even that will not be too small because my work is rather complicated and becomes widespread.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

7. To D.P. Karmarkar¹

New Delhi
21st December 1957

My dear Karmarkar,²

Your letter of December 21 about town planning elsewhere. I shall ask some of our foreign missions to get literature on town planning.

The Delhi Corporation Bill will soon become law.³ Local Self-Government is under the Health Ministry and normally any Corporation will thus be under your Ministry. But this subject has been dealt with by the Home Minister and it raises a number of thorny political problems. I think, therefore, that it would be desirable for the Home Minister to continue to deal with this. Of course everything connected with the health aspect will necessarily go to you and you should anyhow keep in touch with all developments.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. File No. 28(7)/56-65-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

2. Union Health Minister.

3. The Lok Sabha and the Rajya Sabha passed the Delhi Municipal Corporation Bill on 13 November 1957 and 17 December 1957 respectively.

8. Exclusion of Kalimpong from Inner Line Area¹

Some time ago I saw your file concerning the Inner Line. I wrote a note on it in which I said that I did not at all like the idea of Kalimpong being included in the Inner Line area.² I did not examine the other points and wanted to discuss them with you.

I have had a talk with Dr B.C. Roy on this subject of Kalimpong. He referred me to the Chief Secretary, and I have discussed this matter with him. I have pointed out to him that it would be undesirable from various points of view for Kalimpong to be put on the other side of the Inner Line. He has accepted this position. He said that their main concern was to prevent European planters and other odd people from crossing over to Bhutan. He has now agreed to examine this matter again, leaving out Kalimpong but trying to protect the Bhutan border. You might also have the matter considered from this point of view. I should like to see the suggested line with you.

1. Note to S. Dutt, Foreign Secretary, Darjeeling, 25 December 1957. JN Collection.
2. The matter related to demarcation and mapping of the Inner Line area to prohibit the entry of foreigners without specific permission. For Nehru's note of 8 March 1957 on the subject, see *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 37. pp. 449-452.

9. To B.C. Roy¹

Raj Bhavan
Darjeeling
December 27, 1957

My dear Bidhan,²

Thank you for your letter of the 26th December which I received today. I was most eagerly looking forward to being with you for a few days in Darjeeling. I am sorry that our meeting in Calcutta was not long enough for a real talk.³

1. JN Collection.
2. Chief Minister of West Bengal.
3. B.C. Roy was not well when Nehru visited Kolkata.

However, I am glad that you have written to me. You need not have apologized for doing so. Even if our intimacy and friendship had not been there, you should still have written to me, but being such old friends we should be frank with each other.

You refer to Feroze's charges about the Insurance Corporation.⁴ You will be surprised to know that I knew nothing about all this. Once very vaguely Feroze had casually mentioned that there was something unsatisfactory about this purchase of shares from the Mundhra concerns. I did not even know that he was raising this matter in the House. I was not in Delhi when he did so. This was done in a half hour discussion at the end of the normal day's work of the Lok Sabha. Usually during these discussions most Ministers do not attend and the Minister in charge is left to deal with the matter. I rather doubt if most of our Ministers had much knowledge of what was coming up.

It was only after my return to Delhi that I enquired about this. I was naturally much concerned and the obvious thing was to have a proper enquiry. Indeed at the very next meeting of the Cabinet this was discussed and we expressed our opinion strongly that there should be an early enquiry.

It would not be fair on my part to express any definite opinion about these transactions, but my own present impression is that the man in charge in the Insurance Corporation who was specially responsible for these transactions behaved with criminal negligence in regard to some of them.

What you say about the lack of cohesiveness between Members of the Government is partly true and I regret it. I tried my utmost to bring about this cohesiveness. Our work has grown so big and so widespread that inevitably Ministers have to do much by themselves without bringing everything into the Cabinet. In fact, I am a greater believer than ever in devolution of responsibility to avoid delays which are always harmful and expensive. Recently we have decided in the Cabinet to bring about further devolution, especially in regard to financial procedures.⁵ After a sum has been allotted to the administrative Ministry concerned, it will have greater freedom to deal with it.

As regards the new move about a so-called Progressive or Ginger Group in the Congress, I have given some thought to this matter though I have kept quite

4. On 29 November, Feroze Gandhi had drawn the attention of Parliament to rumours of dubious investments made by the nationalized Life Insurance Corporation to assist a businessman whose record was not clean. Feroze Gandhi made a detailed statement in this regard in the Lok Sabha on 16 December 1957. See *ante*, p. 321.

5. See *ante*, p. 345.

out of it.⁶ The person who took the lead in this is Shyam Nandan Misra, our Deputy Minister for Planning. He mentioned this matter to me once rather broadly. In effect what he said was that he was thinking of having some Members of Parliament and the AICC who were interested in planning and developing an ideology on the socialist pattern to fit in with our planning, to meet and discuss matters. I told him that I had no objection. Just before I left Delhi he came to see me again and I pointed out to him the possible dangers in such a course. He said he realized these and it was not their intention to form a group or indeed even to confer with any persons other than Members of Parliament or of the AICC. It was more of a study group to clear their own minds.

Of course, such a study group might well have a tendency to grow in a particular direction. On the whole, in spite of this possibility, I did not wish to prevent this meeting. I thought it might be a good thing for them to discuss problems not in the air but from a strictly practical point of view. There is far too much talk in the air.

We shall naturally have to watch this carefully and prevent it going in any wrong direction. But to suppress it would, I think, have been undesirable.

I have been three days here in Darjeeling and I am leaving early tomorrow morning for Gangtok. I have liked my stay here. It was not exactly as restful as I had imagined as I had brought a good deal of work with me, and I am glad that I have dealt with most of it. Still, it was peaceful and on the whole restful. We went to Tiger Hill this morning. It was a cloudless day and we had a magnificent sunrise. Everest was not very clearly visible, but we had a glimpse of it. How I wish that you could have been here during these days.

I am enclosing a paper which was given to me by Sabitri Devi⁷ today. You know her. I think she deserves encouragement, both because of her long period of work for the Congress, ever since the twenties, and because of her intimate association with the Lepchas.⁸ I am going to speak to Dhebarbhai about her. Meanwhile I have invited her to come to Gauhati for the Congress Session.

Yours affectionately,
Jawahar

6. On 22 December 1957, about 35 Congress workers from various States, at a meeting presided over by K.D. Malaviya, stressed the need to strengthen the socialist ideology. Formation of a group within the Congress was favoured to popularize democratic socialist ideology within the organization and implement such programmes. They felt that during Nehru's lifetime the ideology adopted at Avadi should be put on a firm footing.
7. Savitri Devi Nigam, a social worker and Member of the Rajya Sabha.
8. The Lepchas, a mongoloid group, are the early inhabitants of Sikkim. They are also distributed in West Bengal and Tripura.

10. Usefulness of Tribal Expert Verrier Elwin¹

Shri Verrier Elwin² saw me here today. Last year we gave him an extension of three years, that is to say, he has two further years to function. He asked me what is likely to happen after these two years were over. Was it our intention to continue him here or not?

2. I remember that when I wrote about his extension previously I had said that we should keep him for as long as we can. He is rather a unique type of person for us to have to advise us. He is a man of international reputation and he knows the tribal people thoroughly. Therefore, I am of opinion that we should keep him for a further period even after the ending of his present three years' term. We need not issue any orders about that now, but this should be the understanding. I told Shri Verrier Elwin of this.

3. Shri Verrier Elwin has recently issued a pamphlet called *A Philosophy for NEFA*, to which I have written an introduction.³ As this pamphlet deals with our approach to tribal questions, I think it is desirable that it should be given fairly wide publicity in all our States, most of which have tribal questions to deal with. Also I think that they should be sent to the newspapers in India and even abroad. Because of the Naga troubles much attention abroad has been directed to these problems. Foreign newspapers and periodicals will get some idea of our policy from this pamphlet and will be able to judge of events in the light of that policy. More particularly, this pamphlet should be sent to well-known newspapers and periodicals in England and the United States such as, in England, the *New Statesman*, *The Economist*, *The Observer*, etc. The pamphlet should also be sent to most of our Missions abroad.

4. Although Shri Verrier Elwin is associated especially with NEFA, I think that the new Naga Unit which includes the Tuensang Division should also be considered to be an area with which he deals.

5. I would suggest to the Home Ministry that occasionally Shri Verrier Elwin might be asked to visit Manipur and Tripura to advise the administration there about tribal affairs. Indeed, I would suggest that his experience might be utilized by us from time to time in tribal problems elsewhere in India also.

1. Note to S. Dutt, Foreign Secretary, Shillong, 30 December 1957. JN Collection. A copy of the note was sent to the Home Minister.

2. Verrier Elwin was adviser to the Governor of Assam on tribal affairs from 1954.

3. Nehru wrote the foreword to *A Philosophy for NEFA* on 16 February 1957. See *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 36, pp. 251-252.

STATES AND CENTRALLY ADMINISTERED AREAS

I. ASSAM

1. To J.J.M. Nichols-Roy¹

New Delhi

November 2, 1957

Dear Shri Nichols-Roy,²

Your letter of October 29th.

I do not think it is at all right for normal letters to be published in the press. There is nothing secret in my letter to you,³ but this business of publication in the press raises a presumption that letters are written for the press and not really for the people to whom they are addressed. The result is that letters in future will not be frank, as they should be. If a subject has to be discussed in the press, there are other ways of doing it, than by publishing personal letters. Therefore, I suggest that you should not publish our correspondence.

Our Home Minister⁴ has been in Shillong and will, no doubt, have discussed this matter there.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.

2. Nichols-Roy, a Christian missionary, was a former minister in the Assam Government. He had also been a member of the Advisory Committee for Minorities, and of the Sub-Committee for Partially-Excluded and Excluded Tribal Areas of Assam in the Constituent Assembly of India.

3. The reference is to Nehru's letter of 23 October 1957 regarding local autonomy for the Hill Districts of Assam and the demand for statehood for these Hill Districts. See *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 39, p. 234.

4. Govind Ballabh Pant.

2. Importance of the North-Eastern Region¹

I am glad that after many years a session of the Indian National Congress is being held in Assam². The last few years have brought the problems of Assam and of the North-Eastern frontier into far greater prominence than before. Indeed, during British days Assam was rather neglected and treated as a distant outlying province. Our Eastern Frontier was what might be called rather a dead frontier. There were no communications across it, and mountains and jungles intervened.

All this has changed now. Partly, of course, it had to change because of independence. Partly, the last World War brought out the importance of the North-Eastern region. What were supposed to be almost impenetrable barriers were no longer so. In fact, even during the War, a road was made from India, right across Burma, to China. The development of air communications also made a great difference.

During the last few years great changes have taken place on both sides of this old frontier line, in India as well as in China and Burma. Strong and independent states, friendly to each other, lie on either side of this line. Because of this fact it was not possible to have a kind of no man's land of mountain and forest with no communications between these great states. Inevitably administration had to spread on the side of India towards the frontier and communications had to be built.

So this Far-Eastern area was gradually brought into the sphere of India's life and development. This brought serious problems, which perhaps were inevitable. Those problems are being tackled and will no doubt be solved.

Assam and the other parts of North-Eastern India become thus not outlying border areas but India's bridges to other countries. The discovery of additional sources of oil has also brought importance and good fortune to Assam, provided these are rightly exploited and used.

There can be no doubt that the future of Assam is full of promise, and it is in the fitness of things that the National Congress should hold its next session there. This session is not only important for Assam proper, but also for the many areas round about inhabited by tribal people. Indeed all this wide area in the North-East of India forms a rich and varied tapestry which demands intelligent interest and help from the rest of India. Here, as elsewhere in India, the paramount duty

1. Message, New Delhi, 12 November 1957. File No. 9/2/57-PMS, Vols. V & VI.

2. The 63rd session of the Indian National Congress was scheduled to be held in Guwahati in the third week of January 1958.



RECORDING A RADIO PROGRAMME WITH CHILDREN, PRIME MINISTER'S HOUSE, NEW DELHI, 11 NOVEMBER 1957



GARLANDING THE BRONZE STATUE OF SHIVAJI AT PRATAPGARH FORT,
MAHARASHTRA, 30 NOVEMBER 1957



Pandit Nehru unveiled Shivaji's statue at Pratapgari.

"THE ESCAPE", A CARTOON FROM SHANKAR'S WEEKLY, 8 DECEMBER 1957



WITH LEPCHA DANCERS, DARJEELING, 26 DECEMBER 1957

is that of unity, the building up of a united and integrated India. The second duty is economic development. The Congress is specially charged with these duties. It has served India in the past and discharged its historic destiny in bringing independence. It has now to serve India further and help in introducing these basic historical changes so as to ensure the unity and prosperity of the Indian people.

3. Folk Culture of Assam¹

The fifth session of the Assam Sangeet Natak Akademi, as the previous sessions, has all my good wishes. I am particularly glad to know that the Assam State Akademi is a representative body including tribal members from the hills and the plains. The hills and the plains of Assam are rich in folk music and folk dancing. This cultural inheritance has not only to be preserved but encouraged in every way. More effective than politics, culture binds people together and makes them grow in the art of life. I wish all success to this session and to the work of the Assam Sangeet Natak Akademi.

1. Message to the Assam Sangeet Natak Akademi, New Delhi, 21 November 1957. File No. 9/2/57-PMS.

4. To B.P. Chaliha¹

Raj Bhavan

Shillong

December 30, 1957

My dear Chaliha,²

As you know, I saw a large number of deputations from tribal people today,³ and each one of them gave me a long memorandum. As copies of these memoranda have been sent to you already, I am not sending my copies. I shall go through them at my leisure and if I have any suggestions to make I shall let you know.

There is one matter, however, which I should like to mention now. I referred to it, I think, in our talk. This is the Aizawl-Silchar road. The progress this has made has been exceedingly slow, and the Mizo District remains rather cut off from the rest of the world. I believe it is the Assam PWD which is dealing with this road. I should like you to look into this matter and speed up construction work.

I was also told that there was great water scarcity in those areas in the Mizo District, and there might even be scarcity conditions about food.

Yours sincerely,

Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.

2. Chaliha was sworn in as Chief Minister of Assam on 28 December 1957.

3. See *post*, pp. 403-405.

II. BOMBAY

1. To S.M. Joshi¹

New Delhi

1st November 1957

Dear Shri Joshi,²

I have seen some references in the newspapers about your having sent me a telegram. I do not remember having received any from you recently. I have enquired from my office too and they cannot trace any telegram either. In case you sent me a telegram, will you please send a copy of it now?

I have, however, just seen a statement which you issued to the press on, I think, October 17. In this statement,³ you refer to what you call the "most objectionable and defaming remarks" made by Shri Morarji Desai⁴ about Shri Shivaji Maharaj.⁵ Further you say that these facts were brought to the notice of the Prime Minister by the Samyukta Maharashtra Samiti.⁶

1. JN Collection.
2. Shridhar Mahadev Joshi (1904-1989); political leader and trade unionist from Maharashtra; imprisoned during freedom struggle; Secretary, Bombay Presidency Youth League, 1929-30; founder-member, Congress Socialist Party, and member of its National Executive, 1934-37; one of the chief organizers of Rashtra Seva Dal, 1941-42; PSP Member, Bombay Legislative Assembly, 1952-62; Editor, *Daily News*, 1953, and *Lok Mitra*, 1958-62; General Secretary, Samyukta Maharashtra Samiti, 1956-60; Chairman, PSP, 1963-64, and Samyukta Socialist Party, 1964-69; Member, Lok Sabha, 1967-70; participated in the Bihar movement, 1974-75; one of the founder members of the Janata Party; author of *Socialist's Quest for the Right Path* and *Mee S.M.: Atmakatha*.
3. Demanding that Nehru should clarify his position on some remarks about Shivaji allegedly made by Morarji Desai, Joshi said that Nehru's forthcoming visit to Maharashtra without a clarification might produce a stir among the Maharashtrians. Desai was alleged to have remarked, in an interview with an American student, that Shivaji had killed, in 1659, the Bijapur general, Afzal Khan, through "treachery". Nehru was scheduled to go to Pratapgarh, near Pune, on 30 November to unveil a statue of Shivaji at Pratapgarh fort.
4. Morarji Desai was Union Minister since 1956. He was Chief Minister of Bombay, 1952-56, when he had become unpopular with the Marathis.
5. (1627-1680 AD); founder of the Maratha kingdom in western India; renowned as a military leader, social reformer and advocate of religious tolerance.
6. The Samyukta Maharashtra Samiti, which consisted of members of several parties, including a large section of the Maharashtra Congress, the PSP and the CPI, demanded a separate State of Maharashtra comprising the Marathi-speaking areas and Bombay city.

I do not remember who drew my attention to an alleged statement by Shri Morarji Desai, but it is true that I did receive a letter to that effect from someone. I immediately enquired into this matter and Shri Morarji Desai wrote to me fully on the subject. It was clear from what he wrote to me that the alleged remarks had not been made by him at all. As a matter of fact, the foreign person who had apparently reported this himself corrected his previous statement in a letter addressed to Shri Morarji Desai.

It was clear to me, therefore, that the so-called "objectionable and defaming remarks" made by Shri Morarji Desai had no basis at all. I am surprised, therefore, that this charge is still repeated.

I might mention that I have again enquired from Shri Morarji Desai about this matter and he has told me that he never made the remarks to which objection has been taken.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

2. To T.R. Deogirikar¹

New Delhi
November 1, 1957

My dear Deogirikar,²

Thank you for your letter of October 31st. I am glad you have drawn my attention to my previous letter to you and to the changes that were made in my *Glimpses of World History*.³ I had myself forgotten them. Referring to the last

1. T.R. Deogirikar Papers, NMML. Also available in JN Collection.

2. Congress Member of the Rajya Sabha from Maharashtra and a leader of the Samyukta Maharashtra Samiti.

3. In March 1936, Deogirikar drew Nehru's attention to his remarks in *Glimpses of World History* (1934) about Shivaji's meeting with Afzal Khan. Nehru had written in *Glimpses*: "With his (Shivaji's) enemies he was prepared to adopt any means, good or bad, provided that he gained his end. He killed a general sent against him by Bijapur by treachery.... Some of Shivaji's deeds, like the treacherous killing of the Bijapur general, lower him greatly in our estimation." There were criticisms of these remarks in the Maharashtra press. Deogirikar in his letter referred Nehru to Jadunath Sarkar's contention that Afzal Khan had wanted to murder Shivaji but had been outwitted by him. In his reply dated 26 March 1936, Nehru acknowledged the error and undertook to correct it in the next edition. See *Selected Works* (first series), Vol. 7, pp. 621-622. The book was revised in 1939 and 1945.

edition, naturally I could not find any of the passages which were deleted. Your letter now reminds me of what had happened. I have nothing to add to what I wrote to you then. You can certainly publish what I said to you then as well as any extracts from my book.

My attention was drawn to a public statement by S. M. Joshi. In this, he had referred to some telegram he is supposed to have sent me. I could not find any trace of this telegram. In his statement, he did not refer to anything I had said or written about Shivaji, but expressed himself strongly against some alleged statement of Morarjibhai. I remember this was referred to me last year, and I enquired from Morarjibhai who stated categorically that he had made no such statement. Indeed, a foreigner who is supposed to have given publicity to this statement himself wrote to him and corrected himself.

I wrote to Joshi today and pointed this out to him.⁴

As for my programme for my visit to Pratapgarh, I suggest you might get it from Chavan⁵ who is in charge of it. I am supposed to reach Poona, I think about 10.00 a.m. on the 30th November and proceed almost immediately to Pratapgarh. On the way, there are some small meetings. We shall try to return by the evening, so that I can have a public meeting in Poona. Next morning I return to Delhi.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

4. See the preceding item.

5. Y.B. Chavan, Chief Minister of Bombay.

3. To N.G. Goray¹

New Delhi

November 3, 1957

My dear Goray,²

Thank you for your letter of the 28th October.

I appreciate your writing to me but you will understand my difficulty in entering into this controversy in reply to your letter. I recognize the feeling in Maharashtra and naturally we should pay attention to it. But past history has shown how difficult these questions are. We made every effort to find a way out which would be agreeable and Parliament took certain action with as near unanimity as has ever been obtained in a controversial matter.³ I do not say that we should take up any rigid attitude in such matters. But I would like to put to you that one of the chief difficulties we have had to face is the type of agitation that has grown round this question. In many ways it has been, I think, very irresponsible.⁴ I am not criticizing the fact of agitating for a particular objective, but rather the way this was done. Let us approach this, as every other question, with a view to find right solutions and not merely from a party point of view.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.

2. Member of the Lok Sabha from Pune and General Secretary, Socialist Party, 1957-62.

3. On 10 August 1956, the Lok Sabha passed a Bill for setting up a bilingual, composite State of Bombay. Earlier, on 6 August 1956, the Congress Parliamentary Party approved, with an overwhelming majority, a proposition in favour of "a composite State consisting of Kutch, Saurashtra, Gujarat, Vidarbha, city of Bombay, Maharashtra and the Marathwada part." See *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 34, pp. 124-129.

4. There was violent opposition throughout Maharashtra to the publication, in October 1955, of the report of the States Reorganization Commission as its recommendations were not in accordance with the demands of the movement for a separate State of Maharashtra. For Nehru's views on this matter, see *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 31, p. 153 and p. 209.

4. To S.B. Hudlikar¹

New Delhi
November 5, 1957

Dear Professor Hudlikar,²

Thank you for your letter of the 4th November.

You have referred to a number of errors in the index of my books—*The Discovery of India* and the *Glimpses of World History*. These errors should certainly be corrected. I have no doubt that there are many other errors too. It was not Shri V. K. Krishna Menon who prepared the index. This is done usually by the publisher. I do not know when the next edition of the book will come out. I hope that these will be corrected then.

Thank you also for pointing out that the General of Mahmud of Ghazni³ was not Tilak but Tilokchand.⁴

You refer to a sentence in *Glimpses* relating to Shivaji. This book was written by me, I think, 24 years ago in prison. I have myself faint memories of what I had written. I have now, at your instance, looked at this reference.

I do not think I could have meant anything disparaging to Shivaji in what I wrote because I have always admired him greatly. Perhaps the words were not well chosen. I cannot at this distance of time find out what I had in mind then. I imagine I was rather laying stress on his method of campaign and to his spirit of adventure, which of course is something different from a pure adventurer. I would be happy to make suitable corrections when the chance comes. It was and is very far from my intention to say anything disparaging to one of the greatest Indians whom I have always admired.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.

2. Satyabodh Balkrishna Hudlikar (b.1890); Marathi writer and academic; educated in Bombay and Heidelberg Universities; taught at College of European Languages, Bombay; author of *German Bhasha Pravesh*, *Pashchim Aghadivar Samsun*, *Gandhijinchya Sabavasat Ek Atbavada*, *German for Indian Students*.

3. (971-1030 AD); Afghan ruler; invaded India seventeen times between 1001 and 1026; a great patron of the arts.

4. Referring to Mahmud of Ghazni, Nehru wrote in *The Discovery of India* (1946): "He enrolled an army in India and placed it under one of his noted generals, Tilak by name, who was an Indian and a Hindu. This army he used against his own co-religionists in central Asia."

5. To S.G. Bhave¹

New Delhi
November 14, 1957

Dear Shri Bhave,²

I have received your letter of the 12th November, 1957, in which you asked me to search my heart and find out whether there does not lurk in its secret recesses a sort of prejudice against or a dislike for Shivaji and his people. I do not quite know what you mean by his people. I have always looked upon Shivaji as a very great Indian. I can hardly dislike our own people even though I criticize them often.³

It is rather difficult for me to say much about what you have written in your letter, because that would mean writing something in self justification. If you hold a certain opinion about me, that is my misfortune, and I can hardly argue in my own favour.

I do not quite understand why these questions have suddenly been raised now. Presumably, it is because I am going to unveil Shivaji's statue at Pratapgarh and, somehow, you have connected this with a political motive and my functioning as a politician regardless of truth and sincerity. How can I answer that, because that is a challenge to my motives and my sincerity. I had never thought of this occasion as a political occasion. I was asked some months ago before the last elections, to unveil this statue. I had agreed. Later, I felt that the election time was not a proper occasion for this, as it might get tied up with political and election matters. Subsequently, a new date was fixed and I agreed. In my mind, there was no political objective at all, and I do not understand why this occasion should be made a political one, whatever my failings might be. Shivaji, in my opinion, is a great Indian and not merely a great Maharashtrian. I

1. JN Collection.

2. Shivram Govind Bhave (1899-1967); Marathi writer and translator; author of *Gadkaryancha Vinod*, *Bhaskatha*, *Prem Giten*, *Bhauche Lagna*, *Madhusain*, *Jagatik Itihasache Ojharate Darshan* (Marathi translation of *Glimpses of World History*).

3. In a short reply sent to S.G. Bhave on 13 November, Nehru stated: "I wrote my *Glimpses of World History* about twenty-five years ago. Even then I admired Shivaji greatly.... Since then I have read more about him and indeed, as a result of that, I had some passages removed long ago from subsequent editions of that book." Nehru added, "Even if I was failing in this or many respects, I do not see why I should be reluctant to honour a man whom I have admired and whom, I consider, a very great leader and fighter for Indian freedom."

do not understand why Maharashtrians should wish to keep him to themselves and deprive others from paying tribute to him.

So far as I am concerned, throughout my life, I have tried to avoid even thinking of people as belonging to one part of India only. I have tried to think of them as Indians.

You are obviously right in saying that my knowledge about Shivaji's life and career was a limited one. Of course, it was so at the time I wrote my book, nearly a quarter of a century ago. I was undoubtedly influenced then by what I had read chiefly in the books of English historians, who were not fair to him. Even so, I never had any doubt about his greatness and the great role he played in freeing India. It is true that I did not at that time like some things he was reported to have done. My attention having been drawn to more authentic accounts led me to vary that opinion. But, to say that I disliked Shivaji is, if I may say so, rather absurd, because I have had the greatest admiration for him.

You are aware of my great regard for Gandhiji. That did not prevent me from criticizing him. It is possible that my criticism was wrong. It has also happened that my view of certain event has changed on further reflection or information. You must be aware also of the many very strong criticisms of Gandhiji, even sometimes amounting to condemnation, which have been made by others. I did not like them, but that was no reason why I should want to limit the freedom of the critic.

I do not personally believe that the greatest of our heroes were all perfect in every respect. They would cease to be human if they were so. You know the great reverence in which, throughout India, Ramchandraj is held as the beau-ideal of a human being and, indeed, as a divine person. Nevertheless, I think that his treatment of Sita was not fair or good. I may be wrong.

I do not claim to be anything special and certainly I do not consider myself a philosopher. I function in my sphere to the best of my ability without any pretensions to being any better than I am. I believe that, whether in public life or private life, tolerance is a great virtue, and intolerance tends to create prejudice and to limit one's approach to problems as to individuals.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

6. To S.A. Dange¹

New Delhi

November 15, 1957

Dear Dange,²

I see from reports in newspapers that you have stated that some kind of a demonstration should be made against me because I had made disparaging remarks against Shivaji, I had rejected the demand for unilingual Samyukta Maharashtra and had vehemently opposed the revival of Marathi language and culture.

I shall be glad if you will let me know to what disparaging remarks you refer and further where and how I had opposed the revival of Marathi language and culture.³

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.

2. CPI Member of the Lok Sabha from Bombay city.

3. Dange replied the next day that in a statement to the Marathi press he had said that it was not correct to hold Nehru responsible for Morarji Desai's comments against Shivaji and the Maharashtrians. Nehru's remarks on Shivaji in his books had been corrected in later editions and this also could not be a ground for holding a demonstration against his unveiling a memorial to Shivaji. Besides, Nehru, like Shivaji, had fought against a foreign invader. But Shivaji had established a state of the Maratha people and had taken steps to develop the Marathi language and culture, whereas Nehru had opposed the establishment of a linguistic Maratha state within a free India and had thereby gone against the growth of the Marathi language and culture. Dange wondered how an opponent of the Maratha state could unveil a memorial to the founder of the state of the Maratha people. Supporting the idea of staging demonstrations on these grounds, Dange said in his statement that till Nehru agreed to the linguistic state of Maharashtra, "we would consider this move on the part of the Congress as an attempt to gather the masses in the name of Shivaji and Nehru and to make a show as if the masses now sanction and support the bilingual State."

7. To S.A. Dange¹

New Delhi

18th November, 1957

Dear Dange,

Thank you for your letter of November 16.

I did not wish to argue any matter with you and you are at liberty to hold your opinions and to express them. But because I was surprised at some parts of your statement I asked you to elucidate them.

May I say that I was invited long ago, that is, more than a year ago to undertake this unveiling ceremony. I found it a little difficult to go then and then the elections came. It did not seem to me proper to tie it up with elections. So it was postponed and a convenient date was then fixed. This has had nothing to do with the political aspect of the linguistic controversy or any other.²

You refer to what Shri Morarji Desai is reported to have said. As he has completely denied this, I do not quite understand what basis there is for continuing to charge him with it.

I need not say anything about what I wrote about Shivaji a quarter of a century ago, in prison. Since then I have read more about this subject and changed my opinion about some events connected with his life. But whether before or after he has always been to me a splendid figure in India's history and the struggle for freedom.

Your argument that because I did not favour what you call a linguistic state for Maharashtra, therefore I am against the growth of Marathi language and culture, is so remarkable that it hardly needs any reply from me.³ In any event, it was not my purpose to enter into any argument. I was anxious to find out if you really believed that I had been working against the Marathi language and culture. I happen to be the President of the Sahitya Akademi which deals with all the languages of India and I have the good fortune of being associated with many eminent exponents of the Marathi language.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.

2. Dange wrote that the atmosphere would have been different if Nehru had made it clear that he was going to unveil the memorial as a mark of respect for Shivaji, that this had nothing to do with the problem of the unilingual State of Maharashtra and that all parties should join him in the making of the memorial.

3. Dange argued that "your opposition to the development of Marathi language, literature and culture is derived from your political standpoint of opposition to the linguistic statehood of the Maharashtrian people and not directly from any subjective desire as such on your part."

8. To Y.B. Chavan¹

New Delhi
November 21, 1957

My dear Chavan,

I have had some correspondence with S.A. Dange. I enclose a copy of it for your information. After my last letter reached him, he enquired by telephone if he could show these papers to his Samiti.² I told him that he could do so.

R.K. Khadilkar³ came to see me today. He said that he was much troubled by this proposed demonstration at Pratapgarh. He himself had been opposed to it, but he had not been able to convince other members of the Samiti. Apparently, Joshi is the most obstinate in the matter.

Khadilkar further said that my letters to Dange, which he had seen, had helped matters considerably. He then said that he was a little afraid that there might be some conflict between Congress people and the supporters of the Samiti at Pratapgarh or roundabout there. This would leave a trail of bitterness and so he was anxious to avoid any demonstration.⁴ Could not this unveiling of Shivaji's statue be made into a national affair and not a one-party affair? I told him that as far as I knew there was no question of party in this at all. Some Committee had sponsored this statue and they were organizing it with the help of Government. Nevertheless he said, could not representatives of other parties, including those of the Samiti, be invited to this function by the sponsors. I said that was for the sponsors to decide. I had no objection to it and I would convey the suggestion to the people concerned.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.
2. The reference is to the Samyukta Maharashtra Samiti.
3. (1905-1979); Congressman from Maharashtra; Member of Lok Sabha, 1957-77; Deputy Speaker, Lok Sabha, 1967-69; Union Minister of State for Supply, 1969-1971, Labour and Rehabilitation, 1971-73, Health and Family Planning, 1973, Supply and Rehabilitation, 1973-75.
4. In reply to the Bombay Governor Sri Prakasa's letter of 8 November, Nehru had written to him on 11 November that, with regard to the decision of the Samyukta Maharashtra Samiti to have demonstrations during his visit to Pratapgarh, "I do not think that you need worry yourself about this at all. There will probably be demonstrations, but they will harm nobody ultimately except the people who organize them."

9. Shivaji—a Great Indian¹

On my way to Pratapgarrh, I was given a warm welcome by the people at many places. At Wai² there was a demonstration against my coming here. As the people of Maharashtra have showered their love and affection on me all these years, they have got every right to criticize me and I have got no complaint against them. After all, it is a small thing. If a meeting is convened to show our respect to a great son of India, naturally outside matters should not be spoken at a great function like this.

I am extremely happy to be in the midst of Maharashtrian surroundings and to be able to pay my tribute to one of the greatest sons of India, Shivaji, who spearheaded India's struggle for freedom from foreign invaders.

We, the people of India, should learn an important lesson from the life of the great warrior, Chhatrapati Shivaji, namely, his valour. And valour without unity is fruitless. These two should go together. Shivaji was above caste, creed and religion. The heroic exploits of Shivaji should not be considered from a narrow angle. His deeds of valour were not against a particular community. He had no rancour at heart against the Muslims. He fought for the independence of the country, and naturally would have clashed against any one who had come in his way. The history bears testimony to it.

A historical letter written by Shivaji to Aurangzeb³ disclosed that Shivaji had protested against the levy of a tax on non-Muslims, particularly on Hindus.⁴ He had asked the Mughal ruler as to why he should divide Hindus and Muslims and should resort to a measure which had been given up by his predecessors, Akbar, Jahangir⁵ and Shah Jahan⁶, in the interests of the State.

1. Speech at a public meeting after unveiling a bronze statue of Chhatrapati Shivaji at Pratapgarrh fort, Maharashtra, 30 November 1957. From *The Hindu*, 1 December 1957. The Pratapgarrh fort is famously associated with Shivaji.
2. A historic town near Mahabaleshwar.
3. (1618-1707); emperor of India, 1658-1707.
4. Aurangzeb reimposed *Jizya*, the tax on non-Muslims which had been earlier abolished by Emperor Akbar. Shivaji sent a letter to Aurangzeb in mid-1679 urging him to follow the wisdom of his great predecessors.
5. (1569-1627); emperor of India, 1605-1627.
6. (1592-1666); emperor of India, 1628-1658.

Shivaji has occupied a chief place in my mind from my childhood. It is not proper to judge historical personalities from the standards of today. The history of Shivaji and his times was written by the British. The British historians praised him as well as criticized him. I read those accounts, but later on when I read the historical accounts about Shivaji by Indian historians—Bengali, Maharashtrian and others—I formed a different opinion of him. The English authors did not have access to certain facts which the Indian historians had opportunities to glean from a number of sources. I changed my ideas and a new vista opened.

The nation has to learn the lessons Shivaji had emphasized and forget linguistic or religious quarrels. The linguistic quarrels were responsible for the divisions of Europe and have caused many wars. If that happens in the present age, then this country will be broken into pieces. You have your language, Marathi. It is a lovely language, rich and deep in cultural values. But whatever language you speak, you are Indians and the country from the Himalayas to Kanniyakumari belongs to you.

The people of Maharashtra are a brave people who have fought courageously against foreign invaders. The Maharashtrians were empire builders and this they did only when they were united. Subsequently the British came and ruled over us. Now the country is free once again and the country has the task before it of building up and improving the lot of millions of people.

National unity is needed today more than ever before. Only with unity can we forge ahead. In the past we have fallen because of disunity among ourselves. Today we cannot afford to lose even a day. We have great tasks ahead. Let us forget our squabbles and feel that we are one nation and one people and belong to one culture.

Maharashtra reached its pristine glory under the great leadership of Shivaji because Maharashtrians were united under his banner. Shivaji had always appealed for unity among Maharashtrian kings and sardars. But some of them let him down. He even appealed to a Muslim king, whom he considered an Indian, to join him in fighting the Mughals.

Shivaji never hated Muslims. He never fought Islam. But he fought Muslim invaders and Muslim kings who wanted to destroy him and the Maratha kingdom. He fought the Muslim empire as a man fighting for the freedom of India. Even Afzal Khan, whom he killed at Pratapgarh, was honoured by him. Shivaji built a tomb for him and maintained it.

Shivaji was no doubt a devout Hindu, but he never persecuted people of other faiths. India has many religions and they have existed for over a thousand years. They have now become part of Indian culture and India's faith. If anyone tries to change them, then they will be trying to change the history of the country. The old tradition of India is one of tolerance of religions.

The country's enemies today are poverty, unemployment and illiteracy. These enemies have to be fought with national unity. All internal quarrels must be forgotten. We have plenty of energy and four hundred million people. We have the strength to do our job, provided there is national unity.

It is indeed a remarkable thing that a poor country like India without a large army is exerting influence in international affairs. India is respected in the United States, Russia, Japan, China and the United Kingdom, despite the fact that there are differences in the policies followed by India and these countries. I myself have noticed this respect for India when I visited these countries. This respect came because they realize that India is a growing country, which is building herself. They recognize that India follows a straight, honest policy, whose only objective is the creation of a climate of understanding in the world.

India's basic policy is of friendship with all nations. She is equally friendly with the United States and Soviet Russia. At the same time India does not believe in entering into military alliances with any country because she does not wish to be bound up with any particular country. She wants to go ahead according to her own conviction and according to the genius and traditions of her people. Such a nation cannot afford to indulge in petty internal squabbles. The people in the country must keep pace with the revolutionary age, when man is launching little moons into space, and they can do that only if they remain united.⁷

7. On 6 December, Nehru wrote to the Raja of Sangli, "The ceremony at Pratapgarh was a moving and historic one and, as I said there, I shall always remember it." The Raja of Sangli had written to Nehru that the unveiling of Shivaji's statue "was a moving spectacle which Pratapgarh presented at which surging crowds gathered from far and near to see their beloved Prime Minister doing honour to the memory of the great hero enthroned in their hearts." He added that Nehru's eloquent tribute to Shivaji and his "clarion call which reverberated through the hills and vales of historic Pratapgarh... cannot fail to rally the whole of the people round the National Flag, which waved in all its majesty beside the equestrian statue of Shivaji... to dedicate themselves anew to the cause of the nation."

10. The Purpose of Pratapgarh Visit¹

Some people have tried to attribute motives to my visit saying that I want to consolidate the bilingual State of Bombay by unveiling the statue of Shivaji. I appeal to those who hold differing viewpoints on this subject not to question each other's bona fides or attribute motives to them. In a democracy, there are bound to be differences of opinion and when these exist, it is one's duty to smoothen them out rather than quarrel over them.

I think that the decision of Parliament to create a bilingual Bombay State² was just and proper and in the best interests of Maharashtra. Parliament took the decision because about a hundred Members took the initiative and a majority of the Members accepted this as the only solution. I am bound by this decision. I also know that many people in Maharashtra do not like the Parliament's decision in this regard. But should Parliament feel that it had not done a proper thing and reverses its decision in favour of two separate States, I will willingly abide by it. But this can only be done after a good deal of discussions and deliberations. If people think that by shouting slogans and by staging demonstrations they will be able to achieve their demands, they are entirely mistaken. One can only succeed in converting the other to one's viewpoint by persuasion and love, and not by coercion.

During the past thousands of years, India made great strides in art, literature, administration and religion. Wherever one goes in the South-East Asian countries, one is overwhelmed by the great impress which India had made in these countries. But despite this greatness, India could not retain her independence because of internal quarrels. There is a need to remain united. This is the lesson which thousands of years of Indian history has taught us.

It is this interest in history that had prompted me to accede to the request of Dr Harekrushna Mahtab, former Governor of Bombay, to install a statue of Chhatrapati Shivaji in the Pratapgarh Fort. He wanted the unveiling ceremony to take place long back but somehow he could not find the proper time for it as the general elections intervened.

I am aware of Maharashtra's deep affection for me during the last so many years and I thank the Maharashtrians for retaining it even now. I have no ill will or prejudice against the people of Maharashtra or against your history, literature or culture.

1. Speech at a public meeting in Pune, 30 November 1957. From *The Bombay Chronicle*, 1 December 1957, and the *National Herald*, 2 December 1957.

2. See *ante*, p. 362.

III. DELHI

1. To K.C. Reddy¹

New Delhi

November 3, 1957

My dear Reddy,²

My PPS³ has been in correspondence with your Ministry for some time past about the complaints of the Delhi tenants as well as the house-owners against each other and Secretary Sachdev⁴ has kept him informed of what your Ministry has been doing. A note on landlord-tenant relationship in Delhi has also been sent to us by your Ministry. This is a long and comprehensive note giving both sides of the question. Sachdev says in his letter that the Delhi Administration had been called upon to supply certain factual data so that we might have an idea of the magnitude of the problem relating to evictions in Delhi. On receipt of this the matter will be discussed with the Ministries of Home Affairs and Health, and concrete proposals will be put up before the Cabinet.

2. From some particulars given with this note it appears that there are a very large number of ejectment cases pending before the Civil Courts and there is also much trouble otherwise. It is clear that this subject is a very complicated one and we have to proceed with due care. I am not at all sure that our previous legislation was happily framed. Apparently the number of cases before the Courts of various kinds has gone up since that legislation. It is true that the basic difficulty is the lack of houses and that can only be remedied by building more or allowing them to be built. Even so, the fact remains that something should be done to prevent this constant and widespread conflict which goes on indefinitely in the Courts and outside leading to trouble and bitterness. It is said that the fault lies probably on both sides. For instance, while small tenants had been protected to a large extent, these small tenants are profiteering by subletting their premises.

3. How then are we to proceed so as to avoid delay and bring about a more satisfactory state of affairs? My own impression is that the Delhi Administration is an exceedingly slow-moving one and to rely on that Administration to bring about any speedy results or even supply facts quickly is to be too optimistic. We must proceed with greater expedition.

1. JN Collection.

2. Union Minister of Works, Housing and Supply.

3. K. Ram.

4. M.R. Sachdev, Secretary, Ministry of Works, Housing and Supply.

4. I had interviews with two deputations today—one of the tenants and the other of house-owners of Delhi. The latter pointed out to me that Swaran Singh had given some kind of an assurance on the 22nd December in the Lok Sabha in the course of which he had stated that the Government intended to examine the matter thoroughly with the association of all concerned including non-official opinion and then to formulate a definite plan.⁵ He had further referred to a Committee being appointed for this purpose. It appears that the idea of this Committee had been given up and the house-owners' delegation pressed for the appointment of such a Committee. I am myself not at all sure that a Committee of the kind envisaged would produce any satisfactory results quickly. On the other hand it is obvious that this matter can only be proceeded with satisfactorily in consultation with the various interests affected. Otherwise we might well be criticized afterwards for having ignored some particular interest or viewpoint. Merely, therefore, to proceed on the basis of consulting the Delhi Administration with its various branches and putting forward some proposals might not be satisfactory. It is not quite clear to me how we are to proceed about this matter. The only thing I am clear about is that there should be no delay.

5. This matter came up before the Cabinet some time ago and I have a vague recollection that it was referred to some Sub-Committee of the Cabinet. Has that Sub-Committee met? It might be advisable to put up a brief note before the Cabinet stating the present position and the various possible approaches to it. That is to say, not so much the actual legislation that might be proposed but the way we should proceed so as to get the proposals framed after due consultation and at the same time without undue delay.

6. I should like your Ministry to keep in full touch with my PPS in this matter.

7. Both the deputations that met me today gave me long notes and memoranda. I am not sending these to you, as presumably your Ministry has got them. If, however, you wish to have them, they will be sent to you.⁶

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

5. On 22 December 1956, Swaran Singh, the then Minister of Works, Housing and Supply, had moved the Delhi Tenants (Temporary Protection) Bill in the Lok Sabha.

6. On 23 January 1958, Nehru asked his Principal Private Secretary to convey to the representatives of the Delhi State Tenants Federation that the Prime Minister and the Ministers of Home Affairs, Health, and Works and Housing were taking active interest in this matter and that they should not go on their proposed hunger-strike.

2. Construction of New Buildings and Landscaping¹

The Cabinet approved the proposal contained in para 5 of the Works, Housing & Supply Ministry's note dated 1st November, 1957.²

2. During the discussion of the proposal, the Prime Minister observed that the building activity in Delhi had led to a lot of haphazard digging of the earth at various places, particularly, on both sides of the road leading to the Palam Airport. He suggested that there should be a plan about these diggings so that the site ultimately becomes an artificial lake, or hillocks of beautiful shapes are left behind. He referred, in this connection, approvingly to the Japanese way of doing such things. The Cabinet agreed that the administrative Ministry should take necessary action with regard to this matter.

1. Minutes of Cabinet meeting, 6 November 1957. JN Collection.

2. The proposal was regarding the construction of multi-storeyed offices and other important buildings on both sides of the Central Vista in New Delhi.

3. To Asoke Sen¹

New Delhi
November 8, 1957

My dear Asoke,²

Your letter of the 8th November. I am glad to note that you have been taking so much interest in slum clearance work in Calcutta. As you know, I attach great importance to it.

I have taken particular interest to the problem in Delhi. I confess that in spite of many efforts, the progress made has not been very satisfactory, though I admit that progress has been made here. We are dealing with this problem in a rather comprehensive way keeping the long-term aspect in view. There is first the major Master Plan of Delhi and neighbourhood as the city should be in the next fifteen or twenty years. Unless we have something like this, it is difficult to go ahead in a methodical manner. This very thorough planning, which is being done by a host of architects aided by a high-powered team from Ford Foundation

1. JN Collection.

2. Union Minister of State for Law.

of America, will take nearly two years.³ I made it clear that we cannot wait till then.

Therefore, a second step was suggested. This is that special areas should be indicated for building so that some of the slums could be cleared.

Thirdly, it has been decided that the existing slums should be improved in so far as they can be, by the provision of various amenities and by bringing in the people there to cooperate.

We have got quite good surveys and statistics about these areas in Delhi. The Bharat Sewak Samaj has done fairly good work.

I should like to discuss this matter with you later. I am rather reluctant to start new Ministries, but we can consider this also.⁴

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

3. The Delhi Development Authority, set up on 30 December 1957 under the Delhi Development Act, 1957, was commissioned by the Central Government to develop a Master Plan for Delhi in conjunction with the Ford Foundation and the American planner, Albert Mayer. The Ford Foundation submitted a draft Master Plan in 1961 envisaging development works for the period 1962-1982. It was sanctioned in 1962.
4. For Nehru's note on the difficulties in dealing with the question of slum clearance in the all-India context, see *ante*, p. 343.

4. Location of Parks¹

I attach a letter. I also read in the newspapers about this proposal to have what is called a moonlight park on the present Race Course grounds. I do not understand what this means. Will you please ask the Delhi Administration to explain what this proposal is, what they propose to do, how much money is to be spent, etc.? Obviously, in present circumstances we should not indulge in any unnecessary expenditure. When we have to deal with the question of slums in Delhi, it will be odd to go about building a distant park where nobody from the slums will probably be able to go.²

1. Note to Principal Private Secretary, New Delhi, 11 November 1957. JN Collection.
2. In a Cabinet meeting on the same day, Nehru observed that it would be much better for such parks to be located in parts of the city that were easily accessible to the large majority of people. The Race Course was at one end of the city and only people with transport facilities could go there.

5. To K.C. Reddy¹

New Delhi
November 16, 1957

My dear Reddy,

I enclose a letter from Karmarkar.²

When this question of a new multi-storeyed building arose, I took it that the Town Planning organization had been consulted.³ Obviously, they should be consulted, because they are planning the whole of Delhi. It is not merely a question of putting up a building, but providing adequate roads, etc.

This morning I went to the National Physical Laboratory at about 10. It was difficult to move along the road leading to it because of the enormous traffic, buses, cars and, more especially, bicycles.

I hope therefore that you will consult the Town Planning organization.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. File No. 2(175)/57-66-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.
2. D.P. Karmarkar, Union Health Minister.
3. See *ante*, p. 375.

6. To K.C. Reddy¹

New Delhi
24th November, 1957

My dear Reddy,

I wrote to you the other day about the proposed construction of additional multi-storeyed offices near the Great Place. I suggested that you should get in touch with our Planning authorities before beginning any construction.

I have today had a talk with these Planning people. They are very anxious that nothing should be done with this area which might conflict with their ideas of planning in Delhi. So, I hope you will stop any construction there.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. File No. 115/CF/57, Cabinet Secretariat.

7. To Manubhai Shah¹

New Delhi

6th December, 1957

My dear Manubhai,²

Your letter of the 5th December.

I do not think that a committee such as you mention can deal with these matters adequately. Any proposal for an industrial concern must be fitted in with the general plan of Delhi, indeed any major building should be fitted in with it. I believe that the people who are drawing up the Master Plan are providing for an industrial area, although the Master Plan will not be ready for some time to come, and I think that a skeleton plan is likely to be ready within a month or two. I suggest, therefore, that this matter might be referred to Mukharji of the DDPA and he should be asked to consult the planners and report.³

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.

2. Union Minister of State for Industry.

3. In reply to Manubhai Shah's letter of 7 December, dealing with the licence for Messrs Hindustan General Industries Limited to manufacture wagons and structurals, Nehru wrote to him from Santiniketan on 23 December that the Delhi Planning Authority had "advised against having this new major factory in the Delhi area and recommended some other place not far off. Indeed they suggested that the other place would, from many points of view, be more suitable. I hope this will satisfy you...."

IV. KERALA

1. To Govind Ballabh Pant¹

New Delhi
November 15, 1957

My dear Pantji,²

I have just been reading a report from the Director of Intelligence Bureau about the Kerala Government's handling of the Police Service.³ This is rather a disturbing report. I do not know if you intend writing to Namboodiripad on the subject or taking any other step.

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal

1. JN Collection.
2. Union Home Minister.
3. Giving his assessment of the happenings of the past one week in Kerala, B.N. Mullik, Director, Intelligence Bureau, reported on 14 November that the Kerala Government was exercising pressure on the Police Service to toe the CPI line in the State. Mullik added: "The intention is quite clear. The Police must be made an adjunct to the Party and must support and help the Communist Party legally or illegally against all other parties and groups. In other words, there should be no independent Civil Service, the equality of people before law will also disappear and every law will then be exploited for the benefit of the Communist Party members against those who do not subscribe to their views...."

2. To Govind Ballabh Pant¹

New Delhi
November 25, 1957

My dear Pantji,

Mrs Damodara Menon,² a bright and intelligent young woman, came to see Indira this morning. I had a brief talk with her. She spoke about the conditions

1. JN Collection.
2. Leela Damodara Menon (1923-95); Congress leader from Kerala; participated in the Quit India Movement, 1942; Member, Malabar District Board, 1949-51; Member, Kerala Assembly, 1957-59 and 1960-64; Chairperson, Kerala Mahila Congress, 1966-76; Vice President, All India Women's Conference, 1965, and Secretary General, 1969-73; Member, Kerala Pradesh Congress Committee and AICC, for many years; Vice-President, Geneva session of the Human Rights Commission, 1973; Member, Rajya Sabha, 1974-80; author of many books in Malayalam including her autobiography *Chettante Nizhalil*.

in Kerala and to some extent about the satyagraha going on to prevent the removal of Harijans from the plots of land they had occupied.³ I do not know much about this. According to Mrs Damodara Menon, the Communists had been encouraging people in considerable numbers to go and occupy lands which belonged to others. Presumably, though I am not sure, the Opposition people, that is the Congress and others, encourage the Harijans to do the same. Now the Kerala Government wants to remove these Harijans from that piece of land which is preserved for some public purpose.

In the course of the afternoon, one Swami Atmanand came to see me. He is a Ramakrishna Missionary and rather a fine man. He spoke to me about Kerala and referred to the same satyagraha about the Harijans. He said that the Communists had been acting wrongly in encouraging people to take possession of others' lands. But it would not be right for the Congress to follow the same policy by encouraging Harijans to do the same thing. At the same time he added that what the Congress had done had served as a lesson to the Communists, and they would probably hesitate to follow these tactics in future. He said that the Kerala Government was apparently prepared to give some other land to the Harijans if they removed themselves from this place. According to him, the Communists had been put in an embarrassing position by having to push out the Harijans from this land. To that he had no objection and he hoped that this would have some good result. Nevertheless, he asked me if it was right for us to do a wrong thing, even though our opponents did it.

I am merely mentioning these talks to you. What I was rather worrying about was as to whether the Congress people in Kerala have any person to give them good advice from time to time. They are in a difficult position and have to face new problems from day to day. Some of our people who have gone there deliver lectures and come back. That does not take them very far. I do not myself know what arrangements Dhebar Bhai has made.

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal

3. See *post*, pp. 383-384.

3. Development Work in Kerala¹

Kusum Nair² saw me this afternoon. She had spent three weeks in Kerala and wanted to give me her impressions. I am merely passing on those impressions.

2. She said that the community development work had been very poor in Kerala. The reason was the same programme was sought to be advanced in Kerala in these community blocks as elsewhere in India, although conditions were entirely different there. There are no villages as such in Kerala and the central pattern of community development does not fit in there at all. Also, the local amenities are of a high order. There are plenty of schools, good roads, many libraries and hospitals and often electricity. Normally, they grow three crops a year. What, then, is the Community Development Officer to do? Most of the things he is asked to do in the rest of India, are already present in Kerala.

3. The question, therefore, is to change the pattern of community development work in Kerala and make it fit in more with the requirements of the situation there. The real problem in Kerala is that of educated unemployment. What can a Development Officer do about this?

4. A year ago, a Community block was started at Ollukkra, four miles from Trichur. The Development Officer there complained that he had little to do, as most of the amenities were present there.

5. Attempts have been made to build up Mahila Samajam in various places. This is hardly worthwhile in Kerala. Thus, some other method of community work should be evolved for Kerala. Maybe some kind of small industries.

6. She said that there was a general complaint about the loans for fertilizers being withdrawn. These used to be given to individual farmers apparently. Now, it is said that they can only be given through cooperatives, which do not exist there. Even when they exist, the procedure is very dilatory. There was a great deal of grumbling over this among farmers all over.

7. Kerala is poor in cottage industries, except Malabar where a good deal of hand-spinning is done. Even there, correlation was bad. Yarn mounted up and

1. Note, 26 November 1957. JN Collection.

2. (1919-1993); journalist; founder member of the Press Syndicate of India; played some role in the Naval Mutiny, along with her husband, Pran Nath Nayyar, who was in the Royal Indian Navy; criticized large industrial projects; toured all over India during 1958; author of *Blossoms in the Dust: The Human Element in Indian Development*; *The Lonely Furrow: Farming in the United States, Japan, and India*; *Three Bowls of Rice: India and Japan, Century of Effort*; *In Defence of the Irrational Peasant*; and *Transforming Traditionally: Land and Labour Use in Agriculture in Asia and Africa*.

could not be disposed of.

8. She informed me that Rupees sixteen lakhs worth of machinery was lying about unopened, because no one seemed to know what to do with it. Apparently, this machinery, which came a year or more ago, consists of lathes and other equipment for a machine shop.

9. According to her, the Congress organization does not exist at lower levels. Some people at the top claim to represent the Congress, but the average person there attaches no importance to this and generally identifies the Congress with vested interests. No leading persons belonging to the Congress are popular or respected.

10. PSP and RSP also have no organization.

11. The Communist Party, on the other hand, has an extensive organization and has cells everywhere. The Chief Minister, Namboodiripad, is respected by everyone.

12. There is confusion in Congress circles about what policy to follow. They make complaints of having no money, no central direction, etc. Thus, there is a certain amount of demoralization. Public attitude is that the Congress people do not care for the common man and run after rich people. Most Congress leaders have a bad name.

13. While there is very considerable educated unemployment, there is actually a shortage of "coolie" labour. Tamil labourers work there, not Malayalee.

14. She told me of a story of the Community Development Officer asking a meeting of women what they wanted. Their reply was they wanted an aerodrome.

15. In the coastal belt, there are mostly fishermen. They are solidly under Communist control.

16. For some years past, there is a Norwegian team there trying to develop fisheries. They have done good work, but they are not popular with the people, who do not even understand what they are there for. They seem to think that they are doing it for their private profit. Evidently, no one has taken the trouble to explain this fully to the people. There is no community development block in the area.³

3. Copies of this note were sent to S.K. Dey, Minister for Community Development, G.B. Pant, Minister for Home Affairs, U.N. Dhebar, Congress President, and Morarji Desai, Minister of Commerce and Industry. In a covering letter to Dey, Nehru wrote: "I enclose a note about a talk I had with Kusum Nair....These are her impressions. They need not be wholly correct, but it seems to me obvious that the normal pattern of Community Development work cannot apply to the conditions in Kerala."

4. To E.M.S. Namboodiripad¹

New Delhi
December 4, 1957

My dear Namboodiripad,²

I have just received your letter of the 2nd December.³ Thank you. I would like to go to Kerala and I hope that I could manage this sometime in the future. But I am afraid it is not possible for me to go there from Madras this month. I am going to Madras on the 7th December and to Gandhigram on the 8th and must return to Delhi by the 9th for important meetings here. On the 10th morning I have to address the Commonwealth Parliamentary Conference which is being held here. On the 11th and 12th there is the Governors' Conference here and so on. The next two months also are very full and I do not see how to find any time then.

I would be glad to meet Achutha Menon,⁴ but I doubt if this would be possible as I shall go away early on the 7th December and the 6th is very full. If it is possible I shall certainly meet Krishna Iyer⁵ at Gandhigram.

I am glad you have sent me an account of the Kattampally affair. I have read something about it in the newspapers and some other people also have spoken to me about it. I had not closely studied this. Your letter helps me to understand

1. JN Collection.
2. Chief Minister of Kerala.
3. Namboodiripad wrote that the necessity for Nehru's visit to Kerala to straighten out the relations between the State Government and the Opposition, particularly the Congress, had become all the greater since his request to Nehru in May 1957 to make a visit. He urged upon Nehru to give this matter some priority "since any further deterioration in our relations in this State may have consequences which neither you nor I desire." Namboodiripad also requested Nehru to find time to meet the Kerala Government Ministers, Achutha Menon and Krishna Iyer, during their forthcoming visits to Delhi and Gandhigram respectively. Nehru was scheduled to visit Gandhigram on 8 December.
4. C. Achutha Menon (1913-1991); politician from Kerala; Congress worker, 1936-40; joined the CPI, 1942; Member, Travancore-Cochin Legislative Assembly, 1952-54; Finance Minister of Kerala, 1957-59; Member, Rajya Sabha, 1968-69; Chief Minister, Kerala, 1970-77.
5. V.R. Krishna Iyer (b. 1915); eminent lawyer, legislator and judge; began his career as a lawyer in Kerala; Member, Madras Assembly, 1952-56; Minister in Kerala Government for Law, Home, Irrigation and Power, 1957-59; at the Kerala bar, 1959-68; Judge, High Court of Kerala, 1968-71; Member, Law Commission, 1971-73; Judge, Supreme Court of India, 1973-80; taught law at the University of Kerala, Cochin University of Science and Technology, and Aligarh Muslim University; awarded Padma Vibhushan, 1999; president or patron of several social, legal and human rights organizations.

your Government's viewpoint.⁶

Apart from this particular matter, I should like to make it clear that I do not approve of some of the things you have written about, such as, stopping Ministers' cars, bad slogans and indeed even black flag demonstrations.⁷ Demonstrations, there can be certainly, but they should be peaceful and decent.

The Congress President spoke to me briefly about this Kattampally affair. He was anxious to find out what it was and he was worried about it. At his suggestion, I think, Shri Shriman Narayan⁸ has gone to Kerala chiefly to look into this matter.

I am clearly of opinion that our political work and agitations should be on a peaceful and decent level, whatever the party concerned might be. Whatever party might misbehave in this matter, I would disapprove of it. Certainly I do not want the Congress Party to do any such thing.

You know that in the past few months many complaints have been made against the Communist Party in Kerala adopting rather violent tactics in various matters.⁹ I did not write to you on this subject as I understood that our Home Minister had been writing to you. It seems to me that if any party permits resort to violent methods, this will injure greatly our public life and not serve any good cause.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

6. Namboodiripad wrote that the Congress and the PSP had made several attempts at encroachment on a plot of government land at Kattampally near Kannur on the plea that the State Government had evicted nine Harijan families from that plot. He said that this contention was not true, as also the argument advanced in justification of these attempts that stringent action had been taken against the nine Harijan families, while thousands of other encroachments, mostly by communist sympathizers, had been allowed. Namboodiripad also stated that prevention of encroachments was an inseparable part of the State Government's programme of assigning all cultivable wasteland to the landless and Kattampally could not be made an exception to this.
7. Namboodiripad said that the opposition parties in Kerala were organizing black-flag demonstrations whenever any Minister went anywhere, and even the Ministers' movements were being obstructed by protesters lying in front of their cars. As regards the slogans shouted, Namboodiripad wrote, "I am sure your blood will boil if you had just heard one or two of these slogans." These activities, he said, had prompted the CPI members and sympathizers to ask: "Is this the way in which the Central Congress leadership wants to take their revenge on the Communist Party of Kerala for having dared to dislodge the Congress from power and forming an alternate Government....?"
8. General Secretary, AICC.
9. There were cases like raiding the office of the INTUC in Pathanamthitta on 24 April 1957, attacks on INTUC members on 1 May, 21 May and 8 June, obstructing the Congress leader, C.M. Stephen's way and threats to and beating up of landholders, factory owners, etc.

5. To E.M.S. Namboodiripad¹

New Delhi

December 13, 1957

My dear Namboodiripad,

I am sorry for the delay in acknowledging your letter of the 6th December.² I have been exceedingly busy with Parliament and various conferences, apart from normal work.

I am almost wholly ignorant of developments in Kerala in regard to your Assembly meeting and possible no-confidence motions. Personally, I am opposed to such motions, unless a matter of principle arises or some other clear development.

You have referred to various manoeuvres that are apparently being indulged in.³ As I know nothing about them, I cannot say anything. I have, however, drawn the attention of the Congress President. I am sure he is as opposed as I am to anything which can savour of improper behaviour.

It is naturally difficult for me to advise the Congress Party in Kerala from this distance and without knowing all the facts. The only person who can advise them is the Congress President, and even he has naturally to advise on general principles only and not on day-to-day developments.

Some time or other, I hope to write to you or speak to you about various matters which trouble me in Kerala. Perhaps, you will be coming here in the

1. JN Collection.

2. Namboodiripad wrote that serious efforts were being made by the Congress, the PSP and the Muslim League (ML) to move three independent no-confidence motions in the Legislative Assembly in an apparent move to replace the existing Government by their own alternate government, in spite of the fact that the three parties held different ideological positions. This procedure, Namboodiripad pointed out, would go against the declared Congress policy of cooperating with the State Government in the Legislature on all important matters and of not joining hands with other parties, particularly with a communal party like the ML, in order to form a government. He further said the "underhand method" adopted by the Congress of having an understanding with the PSP and the ML in the matter of moving a no-confidence motion, without having a united front with them, created the impression that the Congress was intolerant of the existence of another government in even one of the 14 States of India. Namboodiripad warned that this, in the long run, was likely to prove detrimental to the interests of the Congress as an organization and to the nation at large.

3. Namboodiripad wrote that the opposition parties in Kerala were reportedly making serious efforts to bribe a couple of Members belonging to the Government side in the Legislature so as to secure the passage of the no-confidence motion.

second week of January, when it is proposed to hold a meeting of the National Development Council, more especially to consider the food situation. I feel that, in spite of our efforts, many States are not realizing the gravity of it and continue merely to ask the Centre to help.

You have several times invited me to go to Kerala, and I have told you that I want to go there. I really do not know how to find time during the next two or three months. But, provisionally, I am thinking of going there in the second half of March, 1958.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

V. MADRAS

1. To K. Kamaraj Nadar¹

New Delhi

November 5, 1957

My Dear Kamaraj,²

I am much distressed by the anti-Brahmin campaign continuously carried on by E.V. Ramaswami Naicker.³ I wrote to you I think about this some time ago, and I was told that this matter was under consideration.⁴ I find that Ramaswami Naicker is going on saying the same thing again and calling upon people at the right time to start stabbing and killing. What he says can only be said by a criminal or a lunatic. I do not know him adequately to be able to decide what he is, but one thing is clear to me that this kind of thing has a very demoralizing effect on the country. All the anti-social and criminal elements imagine that they can act in this way also. I suggest, therefore, to you that there should be no delay in dealing with this matter. Let him be put in a lunatic asylum and his perverted mind treated there.

I do not understand anyone telling me that the law does not allow us to take action unless actual killing takes place. The law is often very foolish but it is not quite so foolish as to permit a campaign of incitement to murder.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.

2. Chief Minister of Madras State.

3. The Dravida Kazhagam, under Naicker's leadership, held a special convention at Tanjavur on 3 November 1957 to consider ways and means of bringing about caste abolition. A resolution was passed giving 15 days' notice to the Government to delete the provisions in the Constitution of India dealing with religious freedom, failing which copies of the Constitution would be burnt, and portraits and statues of Mahatma Gandhi would be removed and broken. If it produced no results, the Dravida Kazhagam members would be asked to kill Brahmins and burn their residential localities. The Dravida Kazhagam argued that the Constitution provided for religious freedom and thereby gave protection to the caste system and particularly to Brahmins.

4. For Nehru's letter of 23 October 1957, see *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 39, p. 383.

2. To K. Kamaraj Nadar¹

New Delhi
December 4, 1957

My dear Kamaraj,

I enclose a letter I have received, in original.² I see that you are taking effective steps against this agitation.³ It is, as I have said, the most barbarous thing that I have come across in any civilized country.⁴

I hope that the impression that the writer of the enclosed letter has will not be allowed to grow.

I am looking forward to meeting you soon.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.

2. A. Sreenivasan, Member, Legislative Council of Madras, had written to Nehru on 3 December about the speeches made by Naicker. Acknowledging his letter, Nehru wrote to Sreenivasan on 4 December, "I have seldom come across anything more primitive and barbarous in any country presuming to be civilized. I have no doubt that he and his group should be dealt with firmness."

3. To effectively deal with the threatened agitation by the Dravida Kazhagam, the Madras Legislative Assembly passed on 11 November the Prevention of Insults to National Honour Bill, 1957. The measure was meant to prevent certain offences against the National Flag, the Constitution of India, etc. Punishment included imprisonment extending up to three years or fine or both.

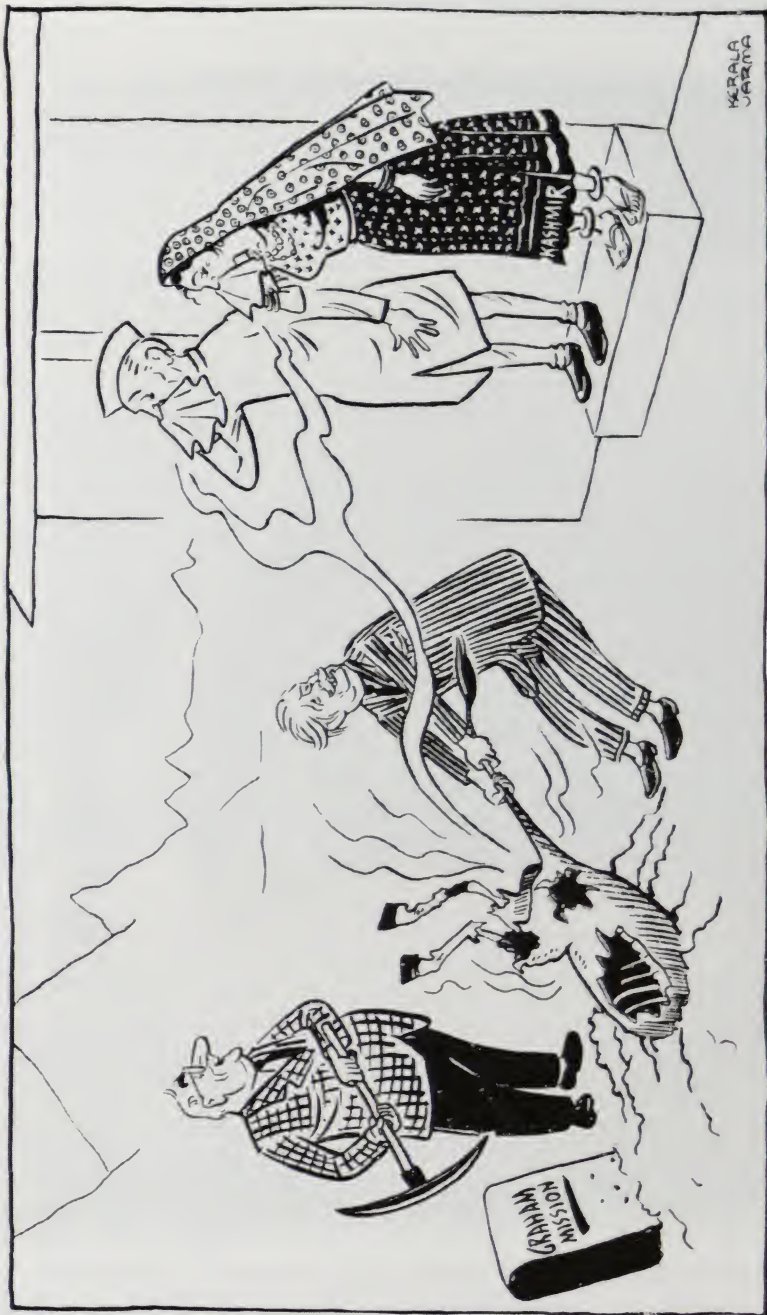
4. Printed copies of the Tamil version of the Indian Constitution were burnt on 26 November at a number of places in Madras State. Several Dravida Kazhagam members were arrested in Chennai, Tiruchirapalli, Tanjavur and Madurai. Naicker was arrested in Tiruchirapalli on 25 November, released on 29 November, and sentenced to six months imprisonment on 14 December.



WRITING AUTOGRAPHS FOR CHILDREN, NEW DELHI, 14 NOVEMBER 1957



RELEASING A PIGEON ON CHILDREN'S DAY, NEW DELHI, 14 NOVEMBER 1957



Western bloc Powers are keen on reviving the Graham Mission, consistently rejected by India, as the next move in the Kashmir dispute before the U.N.



WITH S.W.R.D. BANDARANAIKE, PRIME MINISTER OF SRI LANKA, AND MRS BANDARANAIKE, NEW DELHI,
4 DECEMBER 1957. MRS INDIRA GANDHI IS ALSO SEEN

VI. NAGA HILLS-TUENSANG AREA

1. To Govind Ballabh Pant¹

New Delhi
November 8, 1957

My dear Pantji,

I saw Fazl Ali² in the Nursing Home today. He was not keeping well. In fact, he has had a slight setback.

I had a brief talk with him which largely centred round Noronha.³ It is obvious that the prospect of Noronha going to this new Naga area⁴ rather troubles him. The remark that Noronha made to somebody, that at one time he tied some tribal people in Madhya Pradesh to a tree and had them whipped, has produced a fairly strong reaction in Fazl Ali's mind. I confess that I have been influenced by this also. Not that I think that Noronha would follow that practice in the Naga Hills. He will faithfully carry out the directions we give him. But, what troubles me is the fact not only that once he did this, but also that he related this fact to people in Shillong. Presumably, this was done to impress them with his own ways of dealing with recalcitrant people.

Fazl Ali also did not very much like the impression Noronha carried of Kochhar.⁵ It appeared that Noronha was impressed by Kochhar's talk. As Fazl Ali put to me, in Kohima, there is a kind of mutual admiration society between some of the senior military officers and senior civil officers, and he was afraid that Noronha might become a member of this group.

1. JN Collection.

2. Saiyid Fazl Ali, Governor of Assam.

3. Ronald Carlton Vivian Piedade Noronha (1916-1982); joined ICS, 1939, and served in the Central Provinces and Madhya Pradesh; Deputy Commissioner, Bastar, 1949-55; Commissioner, Jabalpur, 1956-59, and Raipur, 1959-61; Chief Civil Administrator, Goa, 1961; Chief Secretary, Madhya Pradesh, 1963-68 and 1972-74; Adviser to Governor, Punjab, 1968; President, Board of Revenue, Madhya Pradesh, 1969-72; Adviser to Governor, Madhya Pradesh, 1977.

4. It was proposed to constitute a single administrative unit consisting of the Naga Hills District and the Tuensang Frontier Division of the NEFA.

5. Raj Kumar Kochhar, General Officer Commanding, Assam, 1956-58.

Anyhow, as you know, Fazl Ali is much concerned about this, more especially because it is proposed to give large powers to the Commissioner. If these powers are at all wrongly used, then they might create further difficulties. Fazl Ali, therefore, suggested to me that it was not absolutely necessary even to send a Commissioner at this stage, if there was any difficulty in finding a really suitable person. After all, the area was not very big, the size more or less of a district. There would be two or, possibly, three Deputy Commissioners for the time being. The Commissioner could come later, after some months.

I got the idea, and indeed this was borne out by some previous suggestions made by Fazl Ali, that he was anxious to supervise personally, and rather intimately, the administration of the new area, and he did not like the idea of the Commissioner having so much authority as to dispose of various matters without reference to him. If the Commissioner was not to his liking, then this apprehension became stronger. I do not mind Fazl Ali, if he is well, to deal with these matters to some extent himself, and certainly to supervise generally also, but one thing rather worried us in External Affairs. We did not wish routine delays to come in the way of work, and constant references from Kohima to Shillong might lead to these delays.

Anyhow, you suggested this morning, after the Defence Committee meeting, that we should think of someone else for this post of Commissioner. You even hinted that Rustomji⁶ might be transferred to this post, and we should find someone else to take Rustomji's place. Perhaps, this would be a good arrangement. One of our objections to Rustomji going there was the desirability of his staying on in Sikkim till the coming elections, etc., are over. This is a delicate business, and a new man might not be able to be effective. I do not quite know when these elections are likely to take place. If these elections are taking place in two or three months' time, it might perhaps be advisable to appoint the Commissioner after that period. There might be a small gap between the new set-up beginning and the appointment of a Commissioner. I see no particular harm in that.

You suggested that the new set-up should come into effect on the 1st December. I rather doubt the feasibility of this. Perhaps, the 1st January would be a better date.

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal

6. N.K. Rustomji, President, Sikkim Executive Council, 1954-59.

2. To Govind Ballabh Pant¹

New Delhi
November 10, 1957

My dear Pantji,

I have received the following telegram:

“Naga Hostiles decline separate Naga Unit contrary Kohima Convention’s² expectations. Convention Leaders undertake responsibilities such Unit themselves. Assam Jatiya Parishad accordingly urges proposal be dropped and moderate Nagas’ suggestion for transferring Naga Hills District to NEFA conceded by excluding non-Naga Dimapur Area.

“Raghu Nath Chaudhury,³ President Assam Jatiya Parishad, Gauhati.”

I do not think we need attach much importance to this telegram coming from the Assam Jatiya Parishad. Whatever the reaction of the hostiles might be, we should, I think, go ahead with our proposal in Parliament.⁴ That does not weaken our position in any way. Any other course might well result in a charge being made against us that we had gone back on our word.

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal

1. JN Collection.

2. More than seventeen hundred delegates representing fifteen Naga tribes, who met in a convention at Kohima from 22-26 August 1957, decided that the demand for independence be given up formally, and empowered a delegation to meet the Assam Governor “with a view to arriving at a satisfactory political settlement by remaining within the Indian Union.” The convention also asked for the constitution of the Naga Hills District and the Tuensang Frontier Division of the NEFA into a single administrative unit under the Centre.

3. (1878-1967); poet and freedom fighter; President, Assam Literary Conference, 1936; President, Assam Branch of the World Peace Council; President, Assam Jatiya Parishad; spearheaded the Assamese language agitation, 1960; author of *Keteki*, *Dehi Katara*, *Karbala*, *Nava Mallika*; edited magazines *Jayanti* and *Surabhi*.

4. G.B. Pant moved a Bill in the Lok Sabha on 20 November seeking to create a new administrative unit called the Naga Hills-Tuensang Area.

3. Political Future of the Naga Hills¹

Ram Subhag Singh² and twenty-two others: Will the Prime Minister be pleased to state:

- (a) whether he has had discussions with a nine-man Naga delegation, and the Governor and the Chief Minister of Assam regarding the political future of the Naga Hills;
- (b) if so, what is the outcome of those discussions; and
- (c) what further developments have taken place after the agreement arrived at with the Naga delegation on the basis of the resolutions of the Kohima Convention?

Jawaharlal Nehru: (a) and (b). I received a delegation of nine Naga leaders at Delhi on the 25th and 26th September. The results of my discussion with this delegation are embodied in a statement which was issued to the press on September 25. A copy of this statement is placed on the Table of the Lok Sabha.³

(c) There has been no significant development since then. The Select Committee of the Naga People's Convention met at Mokokchung from the 23rd to the 26th October and generally approved of the decisions reached in the course of my talks with the Naga Delegation. We understand that these leaders are now contacting the hostile elements.

So far as Government are concerned, persons who had already been convicted or were under trial for offences against the State have been released.

Steps are also being taken to implement the decision about the new Unit.

Ram Subhag Singh: May I know whether hostility has completely ceased in that area?

JN: No, I cannot give any assurance about completeness, but there have been very few incidents, and rather minor ones, in recent months.

Ram Subhag Singh: May I know whether there is any proposal to have this Naga Hill area also to be administered by the Home Ministry, or will it be administered by the External Affairs Ministry as was announced originally?

1. Reply to a question in the Lok Sabha, 11 November 1957. *Lok Sabha Debates* (Second Series), Vol. VIII, cols 9-12.
2. Congress Member and Congress Parliamentary Secretary.
3. See *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 39, pp. 221-223.

JN: As at present advised I think it is the External Affairs Ministry which will represent the Government of India in this matter but naturally all these things are done in cooperation and the Home Ministry is very intimately concerned with it.

B.S. Murthy:⁴ May I know whether the degrouping of villages has been taken up in those areas where peace and order have been established?

JN: So far as I know there has been no degrouping of the grouped villages yet. What we have said is that gradually these villages will be degrouped as the situation improves in various areas. It may be that in some particular area it might have been done to some slight extent, but not to a major extent yet.

Renu Chakravartty: May I know whether it is a fact that the leaders who met the honourable Prime Minister have stated that it has been difficult for them to contact the hostiles because the police are dogging their footsteps? May I know whether they have been able to contact the hostiles, and what is the latest report regarding their reaction?

JN: I think one of them did make some such statement as the honourable Member has referred to—I have not seen the exact statement—and the moment we learnt about it, we issued instructions that every facility should be given to them to contact those people. We have received no intimation from those people about the reactions of the others yet.

Mafida Ahmed:⁵ May I know whether the Naga delegation made it quite clear that the creation of a separate unit is only an interim measure?

JN: I do not quite know what they are going to make clear. It is for us to make clear what we are going to do, not for them. There has been some talk about an interim measure. That interim measure does not and cannot apply to the basic position. The interim nature of it may be the internal organization, the internal measure of autonomous arrangements. This, of course, can be discussed, but not the basic fact that that area has to be within the Union of India.

L. Achaw Singh:⁶ May I know whether it is a fact that the Nagas have not yet given up their demand for independence?

4. Congress Member from Amalapuram, Andhra Pradesh.

5. Congress Member from Jorhat, Assam.

6. Independent Member from Inner Manipur.

JN: By the convention that was held at Kohima it was definitely given up.

A.C. Guha:⁷ May I know if there will be any legislative enactment to give a final shape to this administrative arrangement, and if the House will in any way have an opportunity to discuss this matter before the final arrangement is made?

JN: Yes, Sir. This will require legislation by Parliament, not a change of the Constitution but legislation by Parliament, and no doubt this question will come up before the Lok Sabha at a fairly early date, sometime this month I think.

H.N. Mukerjee:⁸ In view of the situation being still somewhat complicated, may I know if Government will see to it that nothing is said or done to queer the pitch particularly on behalf of the Assam Government which does not appear to have tackled the problem very gracefully, and that the Central Government itself would look after the problem and see to a solution?

JN: In this matter, whatever steps we have taken have been in full consultation with the Assam Government and with their approval, and I do not think it would be right or fair for any one to suggest that the Assam Government, to use the words of the honourable Member, were queering the pitch.

Gajendra Prasad Sinha:⁹ May I know whether the general amnesty applies to all the Nagas including Mr Phizo, whatever might be the nature of the crime committed by them?

JN: We have said that the general amnesty applies to past offences, not from that date, not the future offences. We did not consider any individual cases. And I have no doubt that this would be interpreted in the most liberal manner.

7. Congress Member from Barasat, West Bengal.

8. CPI Member from Calcutta North-East, West Bengal.

9. Congress Member from Palamau, Bihar.

4. Activities of the Hostile Nagas¹

I enclose a copy of a letter from the Chief Minister of Assam² to our Home Minister.

2. I think we have also had some information from other sources about some aggressive activities of the hostile Nagas. We should be prepared for any such possibility. Our instructions to our Army surely do not mean that they should be passive if danger threatens. What steps they should take in this matter, it is for them to decide, but they should certainly keep wide awake and, where there is any possibility of danger, they should take the necessary steps. You might discuss this with Army Headquarters.

1. Note to S. Dutt, Foreign Secretary, New Delhi, 17 November 1957. JN Collection.

2. At this time, Bisnuram Medhi.

5. The Situation after the Kohima Convention¹

Amolakh Chand:² May I know, Sir, from the Prime Minister whether the hostile and violent activities of the Nagas have completely ceased since the acceptance of the Kohima Convention proposal recently, and if not, how many raids or acts of violence have been committed after the proclamation there including Manipur?

Jawaharlal Nehru: I do not know why the honourable Member brings in the question of Manipur. It confuses the whole question. Where does Manipur come in? Where does any other place come in? Why not then bring in any other part of India too? Broadly speaking, the question is whether there have been any acts of violence on the part of the Naga hostiles or not after the Kohima Convention. Well, there have been a few minor such incidents. So far as I know, there have been no major incidents, that is, broadly speaking, there has been nothing very much. But naturally, I cannot say that everything is completely

1. Reply to a question in the Rajya Sabha, 18 November 1957. *Rajya Sabha Debates*, Vol. XIX, cols 1-4. Extracts.

2. Congress Member from UP.

over. We have to wait and see.

Amolakh Chand: May I know, Sir, whether the Kohima Convention was attended by some tribes, and if so, whether any discrimination has been made in amnesty to those tribes?

JN: The Kohima Convention was attended by every tribe—by the representatives, not of some, but of every tribe—in that whole area. It has created a very powerful impression in favour of a peaceful settlement. But there are odd hostiles from odd tribes who thus far have kept themselves aloof and who have not finally indicated what they are going to do.

Tajamul Husain:³ May I know, Sir, if there is any truth in the rumour that the Nagas were instigated by some foreign countries to rebel against India?

JN: I do not think there is any substantial truth in the rumour that they were recently instigated to do that. It has been said that before independence came, not foreign countries—I do not think any country was involved—but some foreign persons encouraged them to think in that way.

M. Valiulla:⁴ Sir, are the other hilly tribes in Assam also asking for the same treatment as the Nagas to be given by the Central Government, not by the Assam Government?

JN: No, Sir. I am not aware of it.

Amolakh Chand: May I know, Sir, whether the question of degrouping of Naga villages has been taken up, and if so, how much work has been done in that respect?

JN: No, Sir. I do not think there has been very much change about degrouping. We have decided that. Naturally, this is a slightly abnormal procedure, and it would be normalized wherever conditions justify that this should be done. Something might have been done here or there—I cannot say—but on the whole there has been no major degrouping.

3. Congress Member from Bihar.

4. Congress Member from Mysore.

6. To Khelhoshe Sema¹

New Delhi

20th November, 1957

Dear Khelhoshe Sema,²

I thank you for your letter of the 17th November which I have received and read with interest.³

I have myself been a little disappointed at the response of the hostile Nagas to the steps we have taken. At the same time, I am not alarmed about it. I believe that we have taken the right step and a right step should always ultimately produce right results. If the hostile Nagas continue to act wrongly, it will be their misfortune.

So far as we are concerned, we are going ahead with our programme as promised. A Bill has been introduced in Parliament today to form one unit of the Naga Hills and the Tuensang Frontier Division. This will no doubt be passed within a few days and on the 1st December this new unit will start functioning.

If the hostile Nagas continue to give trouble, naturally we shall deal with them as such. But I hope that the great majority of other Nagas will cooperate in this matter.

You can certainly come to see me here if you so wish. But so far as the question of one administrative unit is concerned, this has been finalized and will be given effect to soon. Should you wish to come here, you should consult

1. JN Collection.

2. Naga leader belonging to the Sema tribe; was political assistant to Deputy Commissioner, Naga Hills District, before getting elected to the Assam Legislature as an Independent candidate from Naga Hills (Central); later joined the Congress Party and became a Deputy Minister in the Government of Assam in 1957.

3. Khelhoshe Sema wrote that, contrary to expectation, the acceptance of the Kohima Convention resolutions by the Government had led to a worsening of the situation as the amnesty had given greater opportunity to the hostiles to enrol fresh members. He believed that the hostiles were having the upper hand and were not likely to surrender for the following reasons: fear of vengeance for having killed many of their own people; availability of free meals in hostile camps; unwillingness of hostiles holding officers' ranks to give up their status, and their fear of being looked down upon by the people for failure to bring independence. Attributing the hostile attitude of the Nagas to their emotional nature and the frustration and delinquency among them, Sema said that independence was not their original call and they had only danced to Phizo's tune but Phizo, being dishonest, was destined to fail as a leader. Sema also criticized the Government's handling of the situation and said that the right approach was to deal with the hostiles according to the situation and the individual group or leader, distinguishing between the good and the bad.

your Chief Minister about it. So far as I am concerned, I shall always be glad to meet you.

I shall be coming to Shillong for a day or so, probably on the 28th December. Should you so wish it, you can meet me then.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

7. The Need for a Cautious Approach¹

This is very interesting reading.² I suppose that we shall have many hurdles to overcome in this Naga country. But I have ceased to worry about it, because I am quite sure that the step we are taking is the right one. Even if the hostiles do not surrender, it is the right one to deal with them later. Whatever the hostiles might feel or say, recent developments have gone very much against them and to some extent isolated them.

We are of course going ahead with our legislation and with the setting up of the new administration. We and this administration will have to work a little cautiously to begin with. They should naturally try to get the cooperation of the Nagas. But, in view of the situation we cannot at present make any marked progress in degrouping of villages. We can take no risks now about this. Even if we degroup in a small way, it should be rather on an experimental scale.

Everything depends on what happens after the new administration starts functioning. The Nagas must realize that we are neither going to be bullied nor hustled into doing something unless there is an assurance of peace and order.

As it is possible that the hostiles might start some offensive operations afterwards or might kill some of those who side with us, we should be ready to hit them hard and immediately, if such a thing occurs. Everyone in Naga land must be made to feel that we are not going to put up with any violent activity of the hostile Nagas and at the same time we are going ahead with keeping our promise.

The talk about an interim settlement and a final settlement coming later will cease to have much relevance if the hostiles do not surrender in a big way. We cannot even have talks if this threat continues.

1. Note to Foreign Secretary, New Delhi, 21 November 1957. JN Collection.

2. The reference is to Intelligence reports on the meetings of the hostile Nagas and others to consider the situation.

8. To Saiyid Fazl Ali¹

New Delhi
November 22, 1957

My dear Fazl Ali,

I am writing this late on the 22nd night. I very much wanted to see you today, but just could not manage it. I understand that you are leaving tomorrow morning for Shillong, and so I shall not see you before you go. I hope, however, to be with you in Shillong towards the end of December, probably on the 28th forenoon.

I have received your letter of November 21st, with which you have sent me a copy of a letter from Dr Imkongliba,² which I have read. There are many matters in his letter which deserve attention, more particularly, the question of forced labour. I object to forced labour.

The question of degrouping, however, is rather a difficult one. We all want degrouping, but it is equally clear that we cannot take a step now which might add greatly to our difficulties. The other day, I wrote a note³ on this subject, a copy of which was sent to you. The attitude of the hostile Nagas is still not only not clear, but rather aggressive and threatening to those Nagas who may cooperate with us. If degrouping takes place in any large measure, the result may well be that many of these Nagas will be forced to join the hostiles. We have, therefore, to watch the situation rather carefully.

I can well realize that this grouping of villages has caused great inconvenience and even suffering. At the same time, I do not agree with Dr Imkongliba when he says that regrouping enhanced the strength of the hostiles both morally and materially and in manpower as well. I think that this grouping of villages did the exact reverse of this and brought greater pressure on the hostiles as well as the population than anything else we had done.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.

2. Imkongliba Ao was an elderly medical practitioner from Mokokchung who was later assassinated by underground hostile elements.

3. See the preceding item.

9. To Bisnuram Medhi¹

New Delhi

November 24, 1957

My dear Medhi,

Thank you for your letter of the 21st November.

You are quite right in saying that it was my wish that the link between the Naga Hills and the State of Assam should be maintained if possible. I pressed for this, but I was told that this would involve a change in the Constitution which is a complicated affair. We have to go through the small Bill that has been put forward and this is likely to be passed within the next few days.² I am, however, asking for an examination of what you have written.

I hope you are better now.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.

2. The Bill for the creation of the Naga Hills-Tuensang Area was passed by the Lok Sabha on 25 November and by Rajya Sabha on 28 November. It received the President's assent on 29 November 1957.

10. Tackling the Hostile Nagas¹

I am prepared to discuss this matter with General Thimayya,² but I am going away for two or three days.

2. I am inclined to agree with General Thimayya's appraisal of the

1. Note to S. Dutt, Foreign Secretary, New Delhi, 28 November 1957. JN Collection.

2. S. Dutt had written about his discussion with General Thimayya, COAS, regarding the PM's directive to the COAS to take action against hostile gatherings if the Army authorities were satisfied of their mischievous intentions. Some days earlier, the Government had received information from the Chief Minister of Assam that some hostile Nagas had assembled in the jungles overlooking certain plains districts of Assam with a view to committing raids on those districts. Thimayya had expressed some doubts as to how best the PM's directive could be implemented.

situation.³ Indeed, I said in a previous note that, in the event of the hostile Nagas becoming aggressive, we should be prepared to hit them hard immediately.⁴ We can take no risks about that.

3. As regards the Chief Minister's anxiety about some hostiles committing raids on the plains districts, it is for the COAS to judge of how to meet this possible contingency. I see the difficulty and it might be desirable to avoid patrols in the jungle areas. But, is it not possible for some units to be placed in the plains to protect them in the case of a raid? Apart from raids, this would be a good preventive measure and would hearten the people there.

4. Naturally, there must be close cooperation between the local Army and the civil authorities. There should be no difficulty about this. But, anyhow, full instructions should be sent on this subject to the civil authorities as well as to the local Army Commander.

5. As for fixing a last date for the amnesty,⁵ I agree that this may have to be done. But, this is not the time to do it. The changeover in administration is taking place within two or three days. We may consider this matter after another two or three weeks or so.

3. Thimayya said that the Army was at the time playing a defensive role in the area and some Army action might, in the view of the civil authorities, be against their policy of conciliation. Moreover, it was difficult for the local Army Commander to ascertain whether the purpose of an assembly of people in the jungles was to discuss the recent settlement or to commit raids. Thimayya thought that the Army should not take any offensive action on their own initiative and there should be close cooperation between the local Army Commander and the civil authorities. He also felt that the hostile elements would only respect force and if they had any impression that Government would not hit them hard in their anxiety to make the new experiment a success, they would be encouraged in their recalcitrant attitude.

4. See *ante*, p. 398.

5. The Defence Ministry wanted 15 January to be fixed as the latest date for the amnesty for the COAS feared "that the present lull will be utilized by the hostile forces to effect necessary replacements and regrouping."

11. Challenges before the New Administration¹

I had seen this report already. I am not particularly worried about the situation in the Naga Hills. This does not mean that I am at all complacent or that I expect things to function smoothly. I do not. I think we are likely to have some trouble, though not much.

2. The steps we have so far taken, are, I have no doubt, the correct ones, and once a correct step is taken, then the mind is more or less at ease, though it should always remain wide awake.

3. It seems to me that many of our officials and others in the Naga Hills seem to shift about from a position of considerable optimism to one approaching pessimism. Neither is justified. But, it is obvious that we have to be wide awake and prepared for any likely consequences. I have stated that before. I have an impression that we have been rather lax in those Hills.

4. The other day, I learnt from the Governor that, in a number of grouped villages, the Nagas residing there have quietly walked away and, thus put an end to that particular grouping. I was surprised to learn this, because our instructions were not to degroup unless the position in that area had improved. We should ask Army Headquarters how far this report is true and, if so, why did the Army allow these people to walk away in large numbers in spite of previous instructions.

5. It is of the utmost importance that the new administration for the Naga Hills and Tuensang area² should realize that their work should be done with speed and efficiently. They should not work in the normal governmental fashion.

6. The Governor, Shri Saiyid Fazl Ali, is in Delhi for another two or three days or perhaps more.³ I shall see him for a brief few minutes tomorrow. Then I am going away. I suggest that FS and JS might have a full talk with him before he goes back to Shillong.

1. Note to Foreign Secretary, New Delhi, 12 December 1957. JN Collection.

2. The new administrative unit, Naga Hills-Tuensang Area, came into being on 1 December 1957.

3. Fazl Ali was in Delhi to attend the Governors' Conference which was held on 11 and 12 December 1957.

12. Some Emergent Matters¹

During my brief stay in Shillong, I have had interviews and talks with a very large number of persons.² In particular, I have spent some time in finding out how things were progressing in the new unit, the Naga Hills-Tuensang Area. On the whole it seems to me that progress is being made though this progress is slow. I have no doubt that the steps we have so far taken are the right ones and will ultimately yield results, but we must keep in mind that some small groups of the gangster type might continue to function and give us trouble, even though the major Naga organizations come to terms.

2. Sometimes the newspapers give prominence to some activities of the so-called Naga hostiles. In fact, there has been very little violence and, on the whole, a peaceful atmosphere has prevailed. The violence has been committed by small groups either for reasons of personal vengeance or just dacoity.

3. Recently the Naga National Council declared a truce for two months beginning from December 20. It is evident that there is much difference of opinion among the leaders of the hostile Nagas and each leader pulls in a different direction. There are some undoubtedly who are rigid in their attitude of hostility and wish to carry on with their demand for independence. But they are losing ground and most people look forward to some understanding. Some want to wait and see what happens before deciding.

4. Anyhow, the situation is moving favourably though at a rather slow pace.

5. I do not think that we can rule out hostile Naga action in the future. If there is a possibility of this, then we should be fully prepared for it, and must not be complacent. Therefore, presumably, our Armed Forces will continue to remain there.

6. I think it would be desirable for Nagas to be recruited to the Naga formations (I do not know what they were called, but there were some kinds of militias) which were started a year ago.

7. The main question in this new unit appears to be one of relief and rehabilitation. The boys and young men especially have to be sent off to schools and colleges many of which were closed during the period of trouble. I gather some of these school buildings are occupied by our military. They should be

1. Note to Foreign Secretary, Shillong, 30 December 1957. JN Collection.

2. Nehru met over 50 tribal leaders in Shillong on 30 December 1957. He also met, among others, P.N. Luthra, Commissioner of the Naga Hills-Tuensang Area, Major R. Khating, Deputy Commissioner, Verrier Elwin, Adviser on Tribal Affairs, S.K. Dutta, Chief Secretary, Assam, and J.J.M. Nichols-Roy.

released.

8. The grouping of villages continues still except for some areas which had not been properly grouped and where this grouping seems to have disintegrated. I suppose that the question of degrouping gradually will have to be left to the discretion of the GOC and the new Administrator.

9. The question of fixing a date for the amnesty was considered. Most people dealing with this new unit were of the opinion that it would be unwise to fix a date as seems to have been suggested. (I think January 26th has been suggested). The Governor also is of this opinion. If this is the general opinion here, I think we should respect it and not fix a date. It is felt that as things are moving in the right direction we should not take a step which suddenly stops this movement and creates new problems. Also we have to remember that the Naga Council has, on its own initiative, called for a cessation of violent activities for the next two months. If our amnesty period expires on the 26th January what exactly happens then? People will imagine that this means a renewal of hostilities and this will create a bad impression.

10. Therefore, I agree that no fresh notice may be issued now fixing the date for the ending of the amnesty period. We might consider this matter afresh in three or four months' time. The Defence Ministry should be informed, as also the Home Ministry.

11. It is felt here that any notice in regard to the amnesty should be issued on behalf of the Governor rather than the GOC. This is likely to create a greater impression.

12. Copies of this note are being sent to the Home Minister and the Defence Minister.

13. No Quarter to Separatist Ideas¹

We are entering a new age—call it the Sputnik age—in which not only the frontiers of countries, but the old concept of the world would vanish. If we lag behind in advancing with the rest of the world, we will be left far behind and vanish altogether from the international scene. Therefore, India cannot afford to remain static. We must develop a dynamic society.

In the Naga Hills, there has been a great deal of violence in the name of

1. Speech at a public meeting, Shillong, 30 December 1957. From *The Hindu*, *Amrita Bazar Patrika* and *National Herald*, 31 December 1957.

independence. It is very foolish to talk of independence for a small area like the Naga Hills, which is surrounded on all sides by big countries. In any case the Nagas became independent when the rest of India gained freedom. The talk of independence will not be tolerated whatever the consequences. Let every man, woman and child in this country remember and let the whole world take notice that the creation of Pakistan was the last division made of India. Not a yard of India is going out of India.

So long as the Nagas talked peacefully of independence, the Government did not interfere. But when they resorted to violence the Army had to step in to restore peace.

Although some hostile Nagas are still not sure in their minds as to what to do, I am happy to find that the saner and larger section among the Nagas are cooperating with the Government. They have accepted the Kohima Convention decisions, which the Government has already implemented. The situation in the Naga Hills has now considerably improved. On my part, I want to assure the Nagas that there will be no interference with their customs and traditions.

Some tribal representatives met me today and complained that the Assam Government has not treated them well and suppressed them. If there is any such feeling of dissatisfaction or frustration, it is the duty both of the State Government and the Central Government to remove it.

On the other hand, the Jaintia Hills leaders, in the course of their interview with me today, complained that the Khasis have been oppressing them. They want to have a separate District Council. This shows how far the ideas of separation can go.

Yesterday, when I was entering Shillong town, I heard a slogan: "We want a separate Hill State". There is nothing wrong in feeling emotionally attracted to such an idea, but we must think calmly and dispassionately of the full implications of such separatist ideas. The people of the hills and the plains are tied together by many bonds. In entertaining any separatist idea, one should not forget the geography of the country. The people of the hills as well as of the plains must work together for the progress of the country.

The word 'tribal' has no meaning and I want this word to go. We all are tribals, and the worst form of tribalism prevails in Hindu society which advocates caste distinction.

I am very much distressed to hear of the difficulties the Khasis are facing in the matter of border trade with Pakistan. I shall like to help them in solving the problem, but it is not possible for me to change the policy of the Government of Pakistan.

I appeal to you to give your full cooperation to Shri B.P. Chaliha, the new Chief Minister of Assam. Shri Chaliha will approach the problems of the tribal people with every sympathy and greatest consideration.

VII. NORTH-EAST FRONTIER AGENCY

1. Surfeit of Government Staff in NEFA¹

These are tremendous figures.² Indeed, I might call them alarming. This is just the kind of thing which I should like to avoid anywhere in India, more particularly in the NEFA. I wonder what proportion of our budget for the NEFA goes for salaries for these thousands of Government employees. I do hope that something will be done progressively to reduce this number.

1. Note to Foreign Secretary, New Delhi, 15 November 1957. File No. 45(46) NEFA/57, MEA.
2. According to an estimate, of the five thousand Government servants in the North-East Frontier Agency, the majority in the lowest category were tribals, but in category III, comprising of clerks, agricultural demonstrators, school teachers, etc., non-tribals were in majority.

2. To D.P. Karmarkar¹

Raj Bhavan
Shillong

December 30, 1957

My dear Karmarkar,²

I have been here in Shillong discussing tribal affairs. I find that your medical unit has not come here yet. I hope it will be sent very soon as the need is great.

One medical unit will not be enough and some efforts should be made to add to it. The medical men attached to our Armed Forces have also been largely diverted to this medical relief work.

I suggest that you might write to Dr B.C. Roy, Chief Minister of West Bengal, asking him if he can manage to send some medical units here.

1. JN Collection.

2. Union Health Minister.

STATES AND CENTRALLY ADMINISTERED AREAS

I think I suggested to you that it would be desirable to get hold of any trained nurses here and attach them to your unit. There are, I am told, some Naga nurses who have had some training. Your medical unit might be told to explore this and take necessary action.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

3. Avoid Imposition and Interference¹

As you know, I have been greatly troubled at the way our administrative staff and its followers grew in the old NEFA. I have been pointing this out for some time past and laying stress on the administrative staff being strictly limited. In particular, that the camp followers should be as few as possible. The last time I saw some figures about the number of people who have been introduced from outside into the NEFA, I was greatly distressed.² This ran counter to all the various notes that I have written from time to time in regard to our tribal policy. Generally speaking, over-administration is not good administration. In a backward tribal area, more especially, we must be particularly careful not to over-administer. The motive to do good and develop the area is no doubt good, but ultimately development consists not so much of roads, hospitals and schools, etc., good as these are, but the development of the human being there and gradually bringing him out of his shell. But it is essentially to be a process inside him and not imposed. Every outsider who comes there is an imposition. All kinds of new problems arise because of this intrusion of outsiders.

2. There is, of course, the question of expense involved which is important. But I am thinking of it from a larger point of view of the future of these areas and our not interfering too much in them. Also I found that there are far too many people with high sounding titles like Director-General of this or that. In a simple area like this, we want a few good men and not a host of officers and

1. Note to Foreign Secretary, Shillong, 30 December 1957. File No. 3(5) NEFA/57, MEA. Also available in S. Dutt Papers, NMML, and JN Collection.

2. See Nehru's note of 15 November 1957 to Foreign Secretary on the preceding page.

others, and we should concentrate on some simple types of improvement. Communications are probably the most important, and then come some health measures and schools, but always imposition and interference should be avoided. Many things that we do in other parts of India would be out of place here, and every officer should understand this and try to conform, as far as possible, to tribal customs and ways of living. I am glad to find that there has been some improvement in small industries like spinning and weaving and the old tribal dress is being encouraged. Even the young boys at school are now, I believe, being given some uniforms more in tune with their tribal dress instead of the distasteful idea of putting them in some kind of boy scout dress.

3. The whole idea is that we must not give the people there too rapid a break from the past or a feeling that they are being uprooted from all that they had believed in.

4. In the new Unit these facts should be particularly kept in mind. The Tuensang Division has been transferred from NEFA to the new Unit.³ It will carry with it all the old staff, which I think is in excess of requirements. I hope steps will gradually be taken to reduce this heavy staff not only there but in the present NEFA also.

5. A year or two ago, I used to get reports about NEFA from the officers there. I do not remember having seen any such report for a long time and I am not quite sure if such reports are sent now to the External Affairs Ministry. We should try to get frequent reports and they should be put up before me, as I am interested not only in this area but the general question of tribal development.

6. I used to read very interesting reports from Shri Verrier Elwin.⁴ They were in fact more travel diaries than reports, but I found them fascinating and instructive. These travel diaries should also be continued and received by the External Affairs and put up before me.⁵

3. About the formation of the new administrative unit, called the Naga Hills-Tuensang Area, see *ante*, p. 389, p. 400 and p. 402.

4. Adviser to the Governor of Assam on tribal affairs. See also *ante*, p. 352.

5. See also *post*, p. 411.

4. A Blueprint for Development¹

In a note written today I mentioned some matters about which Dr Verrier Elwin had spoken to me. Late this evening Dr Elwin sent me a note on this subject which was handed to me by Shri K.L. Mehta.² I attach this note.³

2. About the type of official buildings, I agree with what Dr Elwin has said.⁴ But in discussing this matter with Shri K.L. Mehta, the Adviser, I pointed out that it was not necessary always, more especially in regard to schools, to put up solid brick structures and the like as normally laid down by PWD standards. Even in the rest of India, it has been suggested to put up bamboo or some other simple structures for schools. These may not be very lasting, but with simple repairs they can last ten years and more and they are much less expensive. Apart from the question of expenditure, they fit in with the surroundings. In Santiniketan, for instance, teaching was done for a long time in the open under the trees. Now I saw some bamboo sheds with thatched roofing being used as classrooms. They are very attractive and relatively very cheap. I think that some thought might be given to this type of simple construction for these schools. Hostels would require a solid type of structure. In this way we could probably construct ten or fifteen or even more schools for the same cost as previously allowed for one.

3. I agree with Dr Elwin that the local tribal architecture should be followed as far as possible and, for the Buddhist areas, some Tibetan style or Buddhist emblem should be introduced.⁵

1. Note to S. Dutt, Foreign Secretary, Shillong, 30 December 1957. File No. 11(3) NEFA/1958, MEA. Also available in S. Dutt Papers, NMML, and JN Collection.
2. Adviser to the Governor of Assam, 1954-59.
3. Verrier Elwin wrote about the difficulties in implementation of Prime Minister's ideas and policy for the tribal people of NEFA, and said that these were mainly due to the cumbersome procedures that often had to be followed.
4. Verrier Elwin said it was desirable to adapt the official buildings, such as those for schools, cottage industries centres, etc., to the local tribal architecture to provide inspiration to the people. This applied especially in western Kameng where the Chinese across the border had put up buildings in the traditional Tibetan style, he added.
5. In an earlier note written on the same day, Nehru stated: "In Sikkim I was glad to find that the buildings being put up had something of the local architecture about them. Sometimes they had some Buddhist motif because it is a Buddhist area. Part of NEFA is also a Buddhist area, and it will be very desirable to have our schools or dispensaries or other buildings have this touch of local architecture and more especially of Buddhist symbols. This would be much appreciated...."

4. Regarding the dress of school boys and girls, I am entirely of opinion that this should be patterned after the tribal customs.⁶ Previously, I am told it had been suggested to give them something in the nature of boy scout shorts, but no final decision was arrived at because there was no agreement on this subject. The question now is not what type of dress should be given but rather as to whether we should give them any uniform. Obviously, it is very desirable to give them some kind of uniform. I asked Shri K.L. Mehta how much it would cost to give such a uniform to all the boys and girls at schools at present in NEFA. He could not give me any exact idea but he said it might cost a lakh of rupees for all of them. This figure would be the same whether they are given this tribal pattern uniform or something else. I have suggested to him that we might make a beginning. Let us say that twenty-five per cent of the boys and girls are given this uniform this year. Another twenty-five per cent next year, and so on.

5. I agree generally with what is said about anthropologists coming to NEFA. We should not encourage them too much in present conditions. If any come, they should work directly under the Political Officer.⁷

6. I do not think it will be wise to merge the Research Department of NEFA with Department of Anthropology. The Research Department of NEFA is not merely for the study of anthropological specimens of humanity, but has a more positive role to perform. It will lose this if it was merged with the Department of Anthropology.

6. Verrier Elwin said that the proposal to provide school boys and girls with local dress in tribal colour and pattern could not be implemented for want of financial approval from the Centre.

7. Nehru had noted the same day: "Sometimes our professors or students of anthropology in universities wish to go there. If properly qualified people wish to go, we need not have any objection, but I think they should definitely function under the Political Officer, so that there may be no conflict or difficulty. They should be prepared to abide by the advice of the Political Officer as to where they should go and in what manner they should function." Verrier Elwin said in his note that "great caution" was necessary in anthropological research, for the people were sensitive to being measured, examined and photographed. He thought it would be wiser not to have visiting anthropologists from outside for the next few years.

7. Regarding repairs to ancient temples, shrines and sacred gates, there is no objection whatever to this.⁸ The only question is that of expenditure. I gather that some people thought that any such repairs would go against our secular outlook. That is not so. We repair temples, mosques, etc. Apart from this, this is a very special area and special considerations attach to it. The question of expenditure, however, has to be considered. I have no idea what this would be and, in any event, we can take this up one by one.

8. Shri K.L. Mehta has given me, at my request, copies of notes of tours by Dr Verrier Elwin. I referred to these in my previous note. After reading them I shall send them to External Affairs Ministry.

9. Shri K.L. Mehta has also given to me a copy of his letter to the Joint Secretary, Shri B.K. Acharya dated 12th December. In this letter he has dealt with a number of points I had raised about the excess of staff. I still think that the staff is excessive, but as the principle of its reduction has been accepted, I have nothing further to add at present.

8. Verrier Elwin wrote that the NEFA Administration had experienced difficulty in obtaining approval for repairing the ancient temples, shrines and sacred gates in western Kameng and along the areas bordering on Tibet. He pointed out that in order to achieve the "emotional and spiritual integration" of the Buddhist frontier tribes, it was important to encourage their faith and to look after the ancient Buddhist monuments. Elwin added that assistance given for repairs and renewal of the great monastery at Tawang was "one of the factors that has brought the people of the neighbourhood enthusiastically to the Indian side today."

VIII. PUNJAB

1. To Rajendra Prasad¹

New Delhi
November 1, 1957

My dear Rajendra Babu,

I understand from Maulichandra Sharma² that he had sent you some papers about the Hindi agitation in the Punjab.³ I do not know if you have seen them. He has sent a copy of these to me this evening, and I have glanced through them.

Maulichandra Sharma means well, but I fear that his activities in this matter have not led to any helpful results. I have told him repeatedly that there can be [sic] so-called compromise approach to this problem. The Arya Samaj agitation was thoroughly misconceived, and it has created very harmful results in the Punjab as well as elsewhere, more especially in South India.⁴ Apart from the merits of the agitation, and I do not think there are any merits, the manner of carrying it on and the method adopted to deal with such matters, seem to me completely wrong.

1. JN Collection.

2. A Congressman who was formerly with the Jan Sangh.

3. The Arya Samaj had been spearheading a Save Hindi agitation in Punjab since May 1957. Educationally, it wanted absolute freedom for both languages, Hindi and Punjabi; administratively, treatment of the Hindi region as unilingual and the Punjabi region as bilingual. It also wanted replacement of English by Hindi at all levels of administration. For earlier references, see *Selected Work* (Second Series), Vol. 38, pp. 209-212, 216-222. And 227-231, and Vol. 39, pp. 385-388.

4. In the previous Session of Parliament, 88 Congress MPs from the southern States had presented a memorandum to Nehru urging that the Official Language Commission's recommendation to make Hindi the official language from 1965 should be discussed by the Party. They also wanted postponement of the introduction of Hindi as the official language till 1990. In a communication to the Members on 14 November, Nehru stated that a meeting of the Parliamentary Party might be held for the purpose later in the month. In November 1957, the Chief Ministers of Madras, Mysore and Andhra Pradesh also decided to meet at the year-end to consider the question of official language.

I have sent Maulichandra Sharma a brief letter today, a copy of which I enclose.⁵ I told him also, when he saw me this morning, that I thought that it was very improper to bring the President's name in this matter.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

5. Replying to Maulichandra Sharma's letter of 1 November, Nehru wrote to him, "As I told you today, I am personally not prepared to consider any proposals for a so-called compromise over this agitation. Apart from this, some of the matters that are suggested are by no means obvious and will have to require careful consideration.... I do not, however, wish to go into any of these matters in detail, because that itself means some kind of a compromise approach while the agitation is being carried on."

2. To Le Corbusier¹

New Delhi
November 3, 1957

Dear Monsieur Le Corbusier,²

Thank you for your letter of the 30th September, 1957. I have delayed answering it, as I referred the matter to the Punjab Government.³

I have been informed by that Government that they have accepted your proposal to form a Board for Chandigarh on the lines of the Bhakra Control

1. File No.7(188)/56-66-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.
2. Le Corbusier, French architect and town planner, and adviser to the Government of Punjab for the Capital Project at Chandigarh, was at this time in Paris.
3. Conveying the Punjab Government's acceptance of Corbusier's proposal regarding the formation of a Board for the Capital Project, C.P.N. Singh, Governor of Punjab, wrote on 24 October that Chief Minister Partap Singh Kairon was very zealous about the project and had been treating its every demand in a generous way in spite of financial stringency. C.P.N. Singh found Corbusier to be "uncharitable" in his remarks about the State Government, "and particularly the people who have been doing their very best to carry out his plans." Criticizing Corbusier's comment "that Chandigarh has neither soul nor head", C.P.N. Singh said, "He forgets that every inch of Chandigarh has been allowed to be conceived and constructed as he planned and designed...." He also remarked that, having invited experts like Corbusier, it was up to the Government to make full use of them in spite of their idiosyncracies. He also suggested that Corbusier should be told that, "for financial reasons, every country has to stagger the accomplishment of its projects."

SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

Board. This Board has now been officially appointed with the following as Members:

- | | |
|--|-----------------------------|
| 1. Chief Minister, Punjab | } Chairman,

Members. |
| 2. Finance Minister, Punjab | |
| 3. Revenue Minister Punjab | |
| 4. Public Works Minister, Punjab | |
| 5. Secretary, Capital Project, Punjab | |
| 6. Shri P.L.Varma, Member, UPSC | |
| 7. Shri M.S.Randhawa, Vice-Chairman,
Indian Council of Agricultural
Research | |
| 8. Shri Brish Bhan | |
| 9. Shri Niranjan Singh Talib, MLA | |
| 10. Mons. Le Corbusier | |

You will notice that you are a Member of this Board and so also Shri P.L. Varma.⁴ This Board will have overall charge of the Capital Project at Chandigarh and will no doubt give the fullest consideration to your ideas and proposals.

Unfortunately, we are now passing through a very difficult period in India from the financial point of view and we have had to give up or postpone many of our important projects for financial reasons. It may be, therefore, that even though we accept some proposal in regard to Chandigarh, it has to be staggered and phased.

I need not tell you how much we value your association with this project and how we wish to take full advantage of your ideas. But, as a Government, we have to consider many other aspects of the problems.

I understand that you will be coming to India and to the Punjab soon. You will then have an opportunity of discussing this matter fully with the Board that has been appointed.

Thank you for sending me some photographs and other papers which I have seen and read with interest.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

4. C.P.N. Singh wrote that "He (Corbusier) has thus every chance of putting across his ideas along with at least one man, Shri P.L. Varma, in whom he has full confidence."
P.L. Varma was Chief Engineer, Secretary and Chief Administrator, Chandigarh Capital Project, 1950-56.

3. To Sundarlal¹

New Delhi

November 4, 1957

My dear Sundarlal,²

Your letter of the 3rd November.

I am afraid the press has been playing some tricks in this matter of the language agitation in the Punjab. Probably, but for the press, this matter might have been settled earlier. Every now and then, the newspapers say something which indicates that high level efforts are being made for a compromise. As a matter of fact, so far as we are concerned, we have not taken any step in this direction and do not intend to. The President did not interest himself in this matter in the sense of trying to intervene in any way. Someone asked him if he was prepared to meet Ghanshyam Singh Gupta. Naturally he said that he was prepared to meet anybody.³ This was given a different interpretation in the press as if he had taken the initiative. In fact, the President was distressed at the press reference. The newspapers also said that I had written to the President about it. I had done no such thing. Later, it has been stated that the President has been receiving all kinds of proposals. I suppose some papers may have been sent to the President,⁴ but he is not intervening in any way, nor am I. I am quite clear that in this matter I should not interfere at all. In fact, I do not believe in a so-called compromise in this matter. Quite apart from the merits, and they are pretty feeble, this agitation is so wrongly conceived and wrongly carried on that any giving in to it would be very injurious.⁵

1. JN Collection.

2. Secretary, Hindustani Culture Society.

3. Ghanshyam Singh Gupta, an Arya Samajist and President, Sarvadeshik Bhasha Swatantrya Samiti (All-India Language Freedom Committee), met the President on 23 October.

4. In reply to Nehru's letter of 1 November (see *ante*, pp. 412-413), President Rajendra Prasad wrote to him on 4 November that Maulichandra Sharma had seen him some days ago and given him a note containing certain proposals in the nature of a compromise. The President added that Sharma had not seen him again.

5. The same day Nehru advised Bhikshu Chaman Lal, author and journalist, not to undertake his fast which was to begin that day to bring about a termination of the Hindi agitation. As reported by the *National Herald*, Nehru observed that defiance of law by a section of the people by resorting to agitation was unnecessary in a democracy and that it was in the best interests of Hindi to call off the movement. Expressing the view that the Hindi Raksha Samiti should not hesitate to call it off, Nehru said, "A wise general never hesitates to call halt when he realizes that it was unnecessary to carry on a wrong struggle. Did not Gandhiji call off movements several times without caring for the critics?"

I have expressed myself repeatedly and quite clearly on this subject. I am going to Chandigarh in three or four days' time.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

4. To Partap Singh Kairon¹

New Delhi
November 7, 1957

My dear Partap Singh,²

This evening I met a deputation of teachers from secondary schools in the Punjab. They gave me a memorandum, a copy of which has already been sent to you. From what they told me, it appeared that they had not been very fairly treated in the matter of integration with the Pepsu teachers and by some odd process, the juniormost from Pepsu often with lesser qualifications have been put above. Five years in Pepsu apparently get precedence over fifteen years in the Punjab. It appears that just before integration the Pepsu Government suddenly advanced many of their teachers making a number of them Headmasters so as to give them higher places subsequently after integration. This seems to me very unfair. If a mistake has been made surely it ought to be looked into and rectified and not allowed to fester in the minds of these people.

I am not sending you the papers they gave me because you presumably have them. I should like to talk to you about this also in Chandigarh.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.

2. Chief Minister of Punjab.

5. Reinventing Punjab¹

Sisters and brothers,

I have come to Chandigarh after two and a half years² and I have seen various signs of progress here. Gradually, this place is putting on the garb of a city. It will take some time to complete. Just now Musafirji³ mentioned that I have had something to do with Chandigarh. What he said is true. I remember that seven or eight years ago, there was a great debate about where the capital of the new State of Punjab should be located. Most people were in favour of making one of the older cities like Amritsar, Jullundur, Ludhiana or Ambala the capital. A few were in favour of a new place. I was also of the same opinion. Though there were difficulties in that, and in the beginning we had to invest a great deal of money and face problems for various reasons, it was a good thing to select a new place. Then an inspection was done, enquiries made, and finally the report came. There was a great deal of opposition to it and the matter was stuck for a year and a half or so. Ultimately, it was decided to build Chandigarh.⁴ The State Government as well as the Central Government were in favour of building a new kind of city combining the best of the old and the new ideas. We wanted it to be not only aesthetically beautiful but to have modern comforts and good working and living conditions, and a number of other things which the city planners in the olden days did not understand. For instance, the location of schools is an important matter. The children should not have to go very far or cross busy thoroughfares. Then there should be shopping malls in every part of the city.

In short, we wanted to take into account the various aspects of urban living while building the city. Some of the best engineers and architects were called in. We invited some experts from outside too. A great deal of money was spent on this and many people complained about it and said it would have been better to make one of the older cities the capital. In a sense their criticism was justified.

1. Speech at a public meeting, Rajendra Park, Chandigarh, 9 November 1957. AIR tapes, NMML. Original in Hindi.
2. Nehru visited Chandigarh on 7 November 1953 for laying the foundation stone of the new Secretariat building. For his speech on the occasion, see *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 24, pp. 45-50.
3. Gurmukh Singh Musafir was President, Punjab Pradesh Congress Committee.
4. Chandigarh, the new capital of Punjab, was inaugurated by President Rajendra Prasad on 7 October 1953.

But it did not provide any answer to the problems that we were facing at that time.

Punjab had gone through a traumatic experience due to Partition. It was a wounded State. Innumerable refugees had gone from one side to the other. Millions had been rendered homeless. So Punjab was in a state of shock. It had sustained a physical and emotional injury. The blows inflicted by one's own brother go very deep, and it is difficult to heal them. It was essential to do something to heal that wound. The wounded spirit needed a soothing balm. Taking all this into account, it was felt that the people of Punjab, with their hearts and minds, should look forward in a new direction. It was not proper to keep lamenting about the past. Unfortunately, a great ordeal had to be gone through. But it does not befit men of courage to moan about it. They must take advantage of the blow they received and look ahead and try to become strong.

This is the picture that was before us. It was felt that to build a new city to be the capital of the Punjab would give the people something new to look forward to. We wanted them to look to the future with new hope after the trauma that they had been through. We felt that the new capital would be a symbol of new hope.

So, Chandigarh was in more ways than one a panacea for the wound that had been inflicted on Punjab. It would show that Punjab has not been crushed by this blow, that Punjab is once again on the move. Chandigarh is a symbol of this spirit and image. It is possible that many of you may not like the new houses in Chandigarh or criticize them for not being aesthetically pleasing. Perhaps their criticisms would be justified. I do not say that what has been built here is the last word in architecture. But the main thing was to get out of the old ruts, and the outworn ideas of town planning. So in this sense too, this city has become a symbol of a new age, a new India, a new world and a new Punjab. Behind the bricks and mortar and cement which have been used here, there is a glimpse of a new age and, rightly or wrongly, a new spirit. You will find that Chandigarh has become famous. It has given a new direction to the thinking in Punjab. The wound has gradually healed and Punjab has gained new vigour.

Well, ten years have gone by, and gradually Chandigarh has emerged in a concrete way. Even now, as I said, the city has not yet fully come up. When I saw it from the plane today, I could only see big and small houses scattered here and there. But ultimately it will be a full-fledged city. It cannot come up overnight. It will develop gradually under the guidance of architects and engineers. Gradually, it will acquire a character of its own.

You may perhaps be aware that already the fame of Chandigarh has spread not only in India but in the world too. It is obvious that there are far bigger and more grand cities than Chandigarh in the world. There is no doubt about it.

Chandigarh has not even acquired all the characteristics of a city. Yet its fame has spread far and wide. Why is it so? It is because the world recognizes that it is not merely a cluster of buildings but it is based on some ideas. It provides a glimpse of a new age. The newspapers in the US, England, Germany and France are full of the city's planning, mention of the architects who have designed and built it, and their statements, etc. So Chandigarh has become yet another symbol of the goals that we have set before ourselves. Indian engineers come from different places to see it and go away with new ideas. Whether you like the architecture of Chandigarh or not, the fact is that it is making a great impact on the whole of India and many of its ideas are being applied elsewhere.

There is one more thing which has happened in Punjab during this time and gained recognition in India and outside. I am referring to Bhakra-Nangal. I shall go there tomorrow. I have seen it growing gradually. It used to be a desolate place. It has now changed. We have had to invest enormous sums of money in it. It was painful to have to spend such vast sums. In fact, there have been criticisms about the amount of money that has been spent on this one project when the condition in other parts of the country is so difficult. But this project too has become a symbol of the times. For one thing, it will benefit the farmer for miles around and water will be available for irrigation where none has been so far. These waters will reach as far as the deserts of Rajasthan. We will also be able to generate electricity. Electricity is the mainstay of modern life. It gives strength to the nation. The more electricity we produce, the greater progress there will be.

Thirdly, we wanted to show to the world that even at a time when we had been severely wounded, we had the spirit and daring to take up such big projects, and having taken them up, to finish them successfully. Chandigarh and Bhakra have proved to be the crowning glory of Punjab.

So I came here to see these two places. It is always refreshing to see these places because they seem to present a glimpse of the future. We are facing the challenge of progress. Every nation faces it at some time or the other, particularly an ancient country like India which has a history of thousands of years. We have learnt a great deal and forgotten much of it, and have good as well as bad deeds to our credit. We have scaled great heights of glory at times and also fallen into pits of degradation. We have seen great many ups and downs during these thousands of years and learnt something. We have now got an opportunity to get out of the rut and to set our sights on the peaks. So the question is how we should go about it so that we do not slip and fall into the pit once again. What are the lessons to be learnt from history and from the times that we live in? We live in the modern world. That is obvious. Yet people often dwell in the past and fail to grasp what is happening in the world today.

You may have heard about the satellite which the Russians have sent into space.⁵ I think this is the first time in the millions of years of the earth's existence that something has escaped from its gravitational pull and gone into space. It is orbiting the earth now. The next time they sent a dog, a female dog, in it which was also a historic landmark.⁶ It was an extraordinary achievement. This is the kind of world that we are living in. The Sputnik, which is orbiting in space, is not a sudden occurrence. It is the product of long years of research and scientific advance, and which has led to momentous changes in the world. You are not aware of all the steps which are taken from day to day. They do not find mention in the newspapers or you do not pay attention to them. You notice only the final step, which is taken amidst great fanfare.

The fact is that not only in the Soviet Union, but in other countries too, science and technology are making rapid advances. There is a great competition among the scientifically advanced nations of the world. The Soviet Union has performed a great feat. But the Americans will not be far behind. The knowledge of science is not like magic, which is supposed to be kept guarded. It is open to all and cannot be prevented from spreading. India had become backward because we had distanced ourselves from what was happening in the world of science. We were steeped in pride about our past glory and superiority. More than nine hundred years ago a great Arab historian, Alberuni⁷ had visited India. His accounts of those times are a detailed mixture of praise and criticism. But he has pointed out one important thing. He wrote that the people of India think that they have learnt all there is to learn and that nothing more remains for them to learn. They have a great superiority complex. This is what he wrote about us nine hundred years ago. The moment a nation feels like this, it means that its mind is closed. It is bound to lead to its downfall. The moment an individual thinks he need not learn any more, it spells the beginning of his fall. We are living in a vibrant, throbbing, bouncing world which is constantly advancing. Those who fail to keep in step are bound to become backward. Our society is a changing, growing society. The garb of traditions, customs, laws and lifestyles, etc., that it wears at a particular time may be relevant for it then. But as the society grows, its garb has to change accordingly just as a growing child has to have new clothes. No society can remain the same forever. An intelligent society changes with the

5. On 4 October 1957, the Soviet Union launched its first man-made satellite, Sputnik I, into outer space.

6. On 3 November 1957, a female dog, Laika, was sent in Sputnik II.

7. (970-1039 AD); well-known astronomer, author, philosopher and mathematician; came to India with Mahmud of Ghazni and travelled widely; author of *Alberuni's India*.

times, changes its customs, laws, ways of working, etc. If it fails to do that, the old garb becomes tight and prevents its growth. The problem is that nothing can stop that growth unless it is chained rigidly, in which case it will die out. But growth is natural. Therefore, either its garb has to be continuously changing or it will be torn off. Violent change in a society is a revolution. If the process of change is not gradual and the society has to struggle to get out of its outworn garb, it will tear it off. Such phenomena are painful and involve a great deal of violence or chaos. But that is inevitable if the process of change is not allowed to go on. In India, for a long time, the people had refused to change and felt that they had learnt everything. It led to our downfall and stagnation, and ultimately the society became lifeless.

If you look at the history of India, you will find that we had great achievements to our credit. It helps to roam all over India to understand the India of the olden days, of a couple of thousand years ago. But in order to understand India fully you should go abroad and see the impact that our ancestors had upon the world thousands of years ago. At a time when travel was by no means easy, when crossing the oceans and the mountains was extremely dangerous, the brave and adventurous people of India had gone to faraway places, carrying their thoughts and ideas, their arts and music, and a thousand other things.

Recently when I was in Japan, I was given a very warm reception by the Japanese.⁸ It was not because there was something special about me but because their eyes are upon India on the march. I was shown many old Buddhist shrines and told that these had been built by Indians who had gone there a long time ago. Those memories are still fresh in the minds of the Japanese.

Recently, our Vice-President, Dr Radhakrishnan, had gone to Mongolia⁹, which is thousands of miles away, to the north of China, between China and the Soviet Union. He is a great scholar but even he was amazed to hear about the origins of the Mongolian people. I forget the name but it was an Indian who went there and married a Mongolian girl and started the dynasty. He had carried the arts and religion, that is Buddhism, with him. The people remember that to this day. I am not sure but the President of Mongolia is called Shambhu¹⁰ and perhaps his flag is also known by that name.¹¹ This is my impression.

8. For Nehru's tour of Japan in October 1957, see *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 39, pp. 550-626.

9. In September 1957.

10. J. Sambuu was the Chairman of the Presidium of the Great People's Khural (Parliament) of the Mongolian People's Republic from 1954 to 1972.

11. The Mongolian flag has in its centre the country's national emblem *Soyombo* which symbolizes fire, sun, moon, earth and water.

Wherever you go, whether it is Java, Sumatra, China, Indo-China, Cambodia, Laos, you find the imprint of ancient India in their art, architecture, and in a thousand other things. It shows that India was a nation full of vitality in those days. It was not bound rigidly by the caste system and taboos against foreign travel and religious rituals, which developed later. A time came when we became completely incapable of doing anything new. All our energy began to be frittered away in meaningless kitchen rituals. The world was advancing while we lived in the narrow compartments of casteism. A great nation like ours which had left an imprint on the world with her thought and philosophy, arts, science and culture, became steeped in pride and refused to learn anything new. We had a great heritage and were no doubt descended from the great sages. But we were ourselves not sages. There would have been some point if we had tried to emulate them. We had no achievements to boast about. So the nation lost its vitality and became lifeless. It had an adverse effect on our arts and culture too.

Well, anyhow, all this is history now. The question is, having reached the modern age, with high hope and after a great deal of effort and sacrifice, and having gained Independence, what are we going to do now? How are we going to stabilize our freedom and progress? Those who refuse to progress do not stay where they are. They become backward because the world continues to progress.

We must learn from the experience of the affluent countries of the West and understand how they have become so wealthy and powerful. It is an old malady of ours to feel that though the West is affluent, we are superior to them spiritually, even if we starve. I do not say that there is no spirituality in India. It is our ancient heritage, which has sustained us in the past. But I doubt if the people who repeat lessons by rote ever understand the meaning of spirituality. As far as I can see, there is not much of culture, either in their thinking or their attitudes, among the people who talk a great deal about Indian culture.

So the question is what we should do. Just now Musafirji recited some verses glorifying India's mountains and rivers and oceans. The fact is that geographically nature has created India out of the union of mountains and oceans. This country of ours nestles between the two. On the one side, we have great mountains and, on the other, thousands of miles of oceans. We have to understand both and connect ourselves with them. If we forget the mountains and the oceans and are content to remain within the narrow confines of our villages and cities, we will become stagnant. Mountains and oceans are symbolic of courage and the desire to scale heights. It is in plateaus where people remain stuck.

We faced this problem of choosing the path which would lead to rapid progress. How could we provide the opportunity for the talent and vitality which we

know India has? It is obvious that it was by no means an easy task because great challenges are never easy, otherwise they would not be challenges. What could be a greater challenge than uplifting thirty-seven crores of people? How is it to be done? They cannot be pushed or pulled into it. It can be done only by their own effort and intelligence and strength. The shackles of thousands of years of customs, traditions and ideas drag us down.

You hear of the five year plans and shortage of foreign exchange, etc. India is passing through a difficult period of transition. The biggest conflict, however, is between intellect and emotion. On the one hand, there is the pull of the past and, on the other, the pull of the future. It is obvious that we cannot let go of the future. It is obvious that we cannot let go of the past. After all, we are the products of the past. We have been moulded by thousands of years of history. We cannot deny that past, nor do we intend to. But that does not mean that we should carry the accretions of dirt and waste of thousands of years. We can progress only if we get rid of useless baggage. If we insist on carrying an unnecessary load, it will be difficult to keep in step. So the real conflict in our minds is over this. The Five Year Plan and Bhakra and Chandigarh, etc., mirror that conflict. You must remember that the problems and conflicts that we are facing today are the products of the strange times that we are living through. This is an age of transition for the whole world. We got the first inkling of it when, twelve years ago, the atom bomb was dropped on a city in Japan. The new age had been ushered in with a great bang.

You have heard about the great Russian feat of sending a satellite into space which is now orbiting the earth. It is believed that soon man will be able to reach the Moon. It would have been unthinkable just a few months ago. Now it seems it will soon be a reality. How can I say what else is in store for us? We have to fit into this age and understand the times that we live in. We cannot progress unless we do so. We have not only to understand the times but mould them and give them a shape. But before we do that we, the people of India, have to mould ourselves and our thinking. If we continue to remain in the old narrow grooves of casteism, communalism, linguistic chauvinism and provincialism, we will definitely fall and remain backward. In spite of all our professions and speeches and slogan-mongering, we will remain backward. You will find that, leave alone state boundaries, even national boundaries have no meaning now. Where is the question of national boundaries when you can travel thousands of miles in a few hours? How can the sanctity of national boundaries be maintained when man is trying to go into outer space? What is the relevance of narrow compartments of castes, etc.? That is finished though some of you may cling on to them. You must understand these things because very often people fail to do so.

All kinds of things are happening in India. For the last five or six months, an agitation has been going on in Punjab to protect Hindi. You are welcome to do so. But it is not clear who they are protecting it from. They seem to be having nightmares and out of the fear of those nightmares they have taken up the cause of protecting Hindi. The fact is that Hindi does not need any protection except from the misguided people who are harming it. I have no animosity toward them. They are our own kith and kin and we must bring them round to our way of thinking. We want every single man, woman and child to participate in this great task and gain vitality and strength. We do not wish to criticize anyone. But it is obvious that we must not be led astray because in that lies ruin for all of us. That is why I have pointed out in a civilized way but quite clearly that what is happening in Punjab is wrong and the method that is being adopted is the worst possible one.

All of you are aware that in these few months the atmosphere in Punjab has been vitiated and has become poisonous. Neighbours are full of hatred for one another. Leaving aside everything, you can see the great harm that has been done in the name of protecting Hindi. It has created an atmosphere of bitterness and enmity and the people have been led astray. I regret to say that Hindus and Sikhs are standing armed against one another and these trends have pervaded even the Congress ranks. You can gauge from this the harm that this agitation has done.

I am reminded of one of Gandhiji's lessons that wrong means can never lead to right ends. Even though the goals and ends are good, if the path that is followed to achieve them is wrong, the ends will not be justified. Right ends have to be achieved by right means. So, you can see, one wrong step leads to several wrong ones and it is harmful. It is not only the instigators who do wrong but they lead others also astray. As you know, there is a belief among the Hindus, and in other communities too, that as you sow, so shall you reap, if not immediately then some other time. I am not talking of religious matters because I am not a religious man, as you know. But I believe in this as an axiom that every act has to lead to some consequences. A good act yields good results and a bad one leads to evil. This is a law of nature which you cannot ignore. If anyone tries to achieve something, however good it may be, through wrongful means, the result is bound to be bad. If you treat a man badly, he will behave worse. This is also a law of nature that if you behave in a friendly manner to someone, you can undoubtedly draw him towards you. Enmity can only lead to bitterness.

Take the situation in the world today. There is a cold war going on. New and lethal weapons have been invented and there is a big arms race going on. Bitterness and enmity are fed constantly by abuse and hatred though not a single shot is

fired. But I cannot understand how the cold war mentality can solve any problems. It increases fear and hatred and bitterness. Tempers are always high and nobody knows when the bulb of the thermometer will burst. It will then be impossible to control the situation. Even if a country does not wish to go to war, there is always the danger of some foolish military officer doing something, which would trigger off a war. Once something happens, it will start off a whole chain of events which cannot be stopped.

This was about the cold war. Everyone in the world knows that an actual war can annihilate the world. There is no question of victory for anyone. War will only lead to total destruction and ruin. Everyone knows that and I think practically all the people in the world want that there should be no war. Then what is the point of the cold war and its atmosphere of bitterness, enmity and arms race. I am sure that a day will certainly come when the statesmen and nations of the world will realize this. Even now they do realize this but they are caught up in a vicious circle and cannot get out of it. But they will have to, some time or the other. Cold war can lead nowhere except towards a war.

I have given you the example of the Great Powers. If you apply this to our own country and to your State you will find that the same cold war atmosphere of bitterness and hatred prevails. Threats and what you mistakenly call satyagraha can lead us nowhere. If one undertakes it, so can another. There was a time when we used to do satyagraha but it was against foreign rule, not against another nation or individuals. We did it for freedom under the supervision of a very strict commander. He would pull us up at the slightest mistake. Do you remember the time when—many of you may not even have been born then—the non-cooperation movement was started? It shook up the British Government. Then some peasants in a village in Gorakhpur district went on a rampage and set fire to the police station. This was in Chauri Chaura. Many policemen were burnt to death.¹² It created a great furore.

At that time we were in jail, and we heard that Gandhiji had called a halt to the movement, which had shaken the British Government. We wondered why the whole country should suffer for the folly of a handful of men. But later on we realized that Gandhiji was right in having called off the movement because he was trying to mould the nation, not waging a war on the enemy. He was teaching India discipline and unity. He did it for thirty years and ultimately we succeeded because of his efforts. But in spite of the lessons that he taught, it is obvious that there is still a lot to be learnt as you can see from the state of affairs in the

12. The incident involved the burning alive of 23 policemen by a mob at Chauri Chaura in Gorakhpur district of Uttar Pradesh on 5 February 1922.

country.

As I said, I have no quarrel with the leaders of the Hindi Raksha Samiti. When the problem was first brought to my notice, I drew their attention to the fact that what they were asking for had already been given, more or less, by the Government of Punjab. There was some problem still about the remaining ten per cent of their demands and a way would be found. In any case, it was not proper to waste one's energy in doing satyagraha and what not. I am sorry to say that they did not accept my request. Now what was I to do? I am always prepared to make all efforts to put an end to quarrels, but I am not prepared to give up what I consider right on principle. I am not prepared to adopt the wrong path because others do so. I would be betraying my principles if I did that. No country has ever progressed in this way.

I have expressed my views on this, not because I wish to criticize anyone but because this path is wrong. If the matter is allowed to escalate it will ruin Punjab, India and Hindi too. People point out to me that the atmosphere in Punjab is getting more and more vitiated while I am sitting in Delhi doing nothing. It is a good point. I would have dropped everything and come here if I had felt that I could have done anything to resolve the matter. But I was not clear in my mind about that. I have come here today but not in that connection though the matter has been very much in my mind. My intention was to come to Chandigarh and it is obvious that since I am here, you have met me and I want to talk to you freely about the subject. But I must tell you that I am amazed to hear the stories about what is happening here when the world is in a great flux. On the one hand we are trying to uplift the country and here you are entangled in internal quarrels and stupidity. I am amazed that at a time when people are trying to go to the Moon, there are others who prefer to live in a mire, wrangling with one another. Who is going to benefit by all this? I simply cannot understand this. This state of affairs is perhaps symbolic of a tussle in the Indian mind: on the one hand, we are pulled back; on the other hand, there is an urge in us to move ahead. A new India is beckoning to you but some people are trying to hold on to the old chains. We had a great past but there are certain things which are extremely harmful. There are some people who simply refuse to get out of their mental ruts. I want to help them to get out, to give a friendly hand. But I am not prepared to help them by falling into the rut myself. That would be absurd. It will not help anyone but only drag us down into a deeper mire. Therefore, my request to you, to the people of Punjab, is to understand the times that we live in and give up this wrong way.

As I said elsewhere too, you must forgive me if I criticize you but I feel that I have the right to speak freely to you, whether it is in praise or criticism. Punjab, and the Punjabis, reflect both the good and the bad qualities more than

any other province in India. It proves that this State has great vitality. It makes mistakes in a big way but at the same time it has the vitality to rectify them, to pick itself up and go on when it has stumbled and fallen. So the time has now come to put an end to such futile internal wranglings.

We have had to face a great calamity in parts of Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, Orissa, Madhya Pradesh, Chattisgarh and Bengal. I think we have not faced a drought like this for the last 50 or 60 years. We were full of hopes, the crops were promising and, we hoped to reap a rich harvest. But the failure of the monsoon has been a great setback to us. But we will not run away in panic. We have to face the situation and bring it under control and all of us must help to do so. When we are held back by all these problems, here you find the Punjab newspapers full of the Hindi versus Punjabi issues and some people are jumping into the fray as champions of Hindi. Now the protagonists of Hindi are coming here from other places. Somehow this does not seem proper. I want to reach out to those elements too and persuade them to participate in the national tasks. My request to the people who are leading this agitation is that they should give it up and participate in the tasks of nation building. I hope my voice will reach them.

I have heard that there is a strike in Punjab.¹³ I have no objection to that. To tell you the truth, it does not hurt me in any way though I am perturbed that they should get involved in such trivialities.

If you look around, you will find a strange turmoil in the world ever since the Soviet Union launched the satellite. It is understandable because it is a symbol of their power because a nation which can achieve this remarkable feat can hit a target thousands of miles away, in any part of the world. That is obvious. But you must not think that the other Great Powers are lagging behind. You will soon hear that the United States has followed suit. There is a race between the Great Powers to become more powerful than the others. But I cannot understand how one can become powerful by suppressing the others. Everyone must feel happy at successes like this, no matter which country is concerned. I agree that others must also try to catch up. But how can peace be restored in the world by threatening one another and boasting about one's own power?

As you know, India has evolved a policy of non-alignment. We wish to keep aloof from the armed camps of the world. But at the same time, we will maintain

13. The Hindi Raksha Samiti had given a call for a State-wide strike during Nehru's visit to Punjab to protest against the alleged anti-Hindi policy of the Punjab Government and Nehru's failure to condemn the Ferozepur Jail incident. About 175 persons were arrested in different parts of the State.

friendly relations with all the countries. I feel that this policy has benefited India. We have had the opportunity of serving the cause of world peace. Even now, Indian forces are stationed at the border between Israel and Egypt. They are not there to take part in the fighting, nor will they ever do so. We have gone there at the invitation of both sides. We sent our forces to Korea and Indo-China. We have friendly relations with all the countries. Just a couple of days ago the President of South Vietnam was here.¹⁴ We gave him an affectionate welcome. He visited Bhakra too. We follow different policies but we feel that we can serve the interests of both the countries best by maintaining friendly relations. The days of war are gone though it flares up now and then.

Anyhow, this is our policy. You read in the newspapers about the affectionate welcome that I am given whenever I visit other countries. As I told you, I had gone to Japan recently, and a few months ago to Norway, Sweden, Denmark and Finland in Europe.¹⁵ Wherever I went, I got such an affectionate welcome that I was amazed. I am not talking of the official welcome but of the welcome given by the common people. I often wonder why that is so. After all I am not an angel with wings. Why am I given such an affectionate welcome? The fact is that no matter what the government policy is, the common people in every country want peace, whether it is the United States, the Soviet Union or any other country. Secondly, they like India's policy. I am not saying that they agree with all aspects of our policy. But, broadly speaking, they like our policy because they think that it can bring peace to the world. So they turn out in large numbers wherever I go, not because of me as an individual but drawn by India's fame. So we are following this policy and will continue to do so. But we must always bear in mind that our achievements in the world can be only proportionate to what we do internally. If we fight among ourselves, who will respect us outside? We are respected in the world today because of Gandhiji and the manner in which we won freedom. Since Independence, we have adopted the five year plans and are successfully implementing them. People come from other countries and see what we are doing here.

Well, I will just mention a couple of things. I mentioned the drought in Bihar and other places. We are facing great shortage, particularly of rice. As you know in some parts of India, like Bengal and South India, people eat only rice and not wheat. I want to request everyone in India not to waste food in these

14. President Ngo Dinh Diem of South Vietnam (the Republic of Vietnam) visited India from 4 to 9 November 1957. See *post*, pp. 574-575.

15. Nehru visited the Scandinavian countries in June 1957. For details of his visit, see *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol.38, pp. 477-597.

times of shortages. Punjab produces rice. But it must be sent to other parts of India where rice is required. The wheat-eating people in North India should completely stop eating rice. On no account should food be wasted. People must eat more vegetables and fruits.

I have shared my thoughts with you for the last hour and a half. I have come here after two and a half years. So thoughts come rushing into my mind and I want to share them with you, to make an impression on you because we are partners in the tasks that we are taking up. The pitfall is that we are constantly bogged down by petty problems, which drag us down. A great deal of time is wasted in wrestling with these problems when we have great tasks to accomplish. Well, I suppose that is also an experience. We must not be afraid of problems. That is how nations progress.

I would like to explain one thing to you. We are facing grave difficulties as any nation on the march is bound to. It cannot be done by waving a magic wand or by counting beads. We have to work hard. You may have heard about the foreign exchange shortage that we are facing in the country. We have been trying to get some loan. We do not want any doles. We just want a loan for a few years in order to pay for the things that we are buying. There is nothing wrong in that. Other countries have also done so. I hope that we will get something. But ultimately we ourselves have to bear the burden of progress. Other countries cannot do it for us. We must face the future with courage and not panic. That is not the proper way to face any problem. We want our friendly countries to help us. I hope that we will get the loans that we want. We do not want charity. But even if unfortunately they do not help us, we will go on and carry the burden, though it will be a little heavier. There is no alternative. We cannot break our pledge to the nation to progress and develop.

Jai Hind!

6. Hindi Agitation—A Harmful Movement¹

Yesterday evening Shri Ghanshyam Singh Gupta of the Arya Samaj came to see me. Two or three days earlier he had written to me expressing a wish to meet me,² and I had invited him to do so.

2. To begin with, he would not say anything and asked me to advise him. I told him that I had expressed my views on the Save Hindi movement repeatedly and quite clearly, and I had not changed them at all. The decision which we had taken about the Regional Formula seemed to me a good and fair decision and we had taken it after much consultation with various people.³ I could understand some people not agreeing with any part of it. It is difficult to evolve perfect decisions, but whatever the merits of that might be, I was quite clear in my mind that the Arya Samaj's Save Hindi movement had done great injury to Hindi, to the Punjab and to the Arya Samaj. If their proposal to make both Hindi and Punjabi-Gurmukhi voluntary was accepted, then this would apply to the whole of India and make it difficult for Hindi to be made a compulsory second language in other States. That was not the way to serve the cause of Hindi.

3. I said that the Arya Samaj had attained a position of dignity and importance in India because of the good work it had done in the educational and cultural spheres. I had admired that work. But its recent agitation, whatever its motives or origin, had inevitably brought it into the political and communal field. There could be no doubt that this was injuring the Arya Samaj greatly and making it appear a communal organization and thus taking away from its previous prestige in the educational and cultural fields. I was sorry for this development.

4. I made it clear that it was quite impossible for me to go back on the settlement arrived at in regard to the Regional Formula, partly because I thought it right, but chiefly because I could not go back on our word. A Government's word could not be treated so lightly, and if we did go back on it, it would certainly not bring peace to the Punjab but will incite others to start their campaigns. Thus there would be no end to this trouble and conflict and

1. Note, New Delhi, 20 November 1957. AICC Papers, NMML. Also available in JN Collection.
2. Ghanshyam Singh Gupta had sought an appointment with Nehru, encouraged by Nehru's speech at Chandigarh on 9 November which he considered "not only as an expression of your goodwill and desire to solve the language problem in Punjab but also as your standing invitation to all those who might seek an interview with you for that purpose."
3. For the Regional Formula to solve the language issue in Punjab, see *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 32, p. 209.

Government could not play any effective part, because it had shown that it could not keep its word.

5. While, therefore, it was not possible for us to change that Regional Formula in the slightest degree, it was always open to the people concerned to suggest agreed variations for consideration.

6. Shri Ghanshyam Singh Gupta said that he realized our position and could not expect us to go back on our settled Formula. Nevertheless, he wanted me to help him to do something to put an end to this conflict. He said that he had joined this movement because he felt that otherwise it would have gone completely into wrong hands, that is, those of the Jan Sangh. By his coming in, he had helped to some extent to save the Arya Samaj and this movement, and he had also, he thought, served the Congress.

7. He seemed to suggest that I should take the lead and bring the Sikhs and the Hindus together to discuss this matter. I told him I could do no such thing. The mere fact of my doing some such thing or suggesting it would itself indicate that I was prepared to go back on our decision, which would not be true. Therefore, I did not propose to take any step or to make any suggestion except to suggest that the movement should be withdrawn. I had no animus against the Arya Samaj and I thought it would be a great pity if the Arya Samaj got tied up more and more with these communal politics. Whatever the past, it was clear that the continuance of this agitation could not possibly do any good to anybody, least of all to the Arya Samaj. I did not wish the Arya Samaj to be humiliated, nor was I asking them to change their opinion even though I was convinced that that opinion was wrong. But they should realize that it was wholly wrong to continue this agitation now. Merely for the sake of prestige to continue it was obviously not right and it did not even save prestige. They could very well say that having regard to the communal repercussions of this agitation and the bad blood created in the Punjab they had decided to withdraw it and to deal with the matter in other more cooperative ways. A recent Sikh convention had, I believe, appealed to them to withdraw it. They could refer to that. However they put this, the result should be the withdrawal of the agitation.

8. In any event, I could not be drawn into this picture.

9. Shri Ghanshyam Singh Gupta said that it was difficult for him to convince others of his group and he asked me to give further thought to the matter. I told him that I had given quite enough thought and certainly I was prepared to give even more thought, but I did not think this would lead to any change in my clear opinion. It was for him and his colleagues to give thought to what I had said. Should he care to see me again, it was always open to him to do so.

7. To Partap Singh Kairon¹

New Delhi

November 25, 1957

My dear Partap Singh,

This is just to keep you informed. Ranbir of the *Milap*² came to see me today and said that Ghanshyam Singh Gupta was pleased with the interview he had with me,³ but he was in a fix as to what he can do. He had apparently been to see Baldev Singh⁴ and somehow hoped that I might do something which would ease his way.

I told Ranbir that one thing should be quite clearly understood. I was not going to move from my position by a hair's breadth, whatever the consequences to the Punjab or India, that is to say that I would not go back on the Regional Formula and I would not take any step to ask other people to reconsider this matter. If other people did so of their own accord, that was another thing. I expressed myself so definitely because I was convinced that any going back by us would have very harmful consequences in the Punjab and in India.

My advice to Ghanshyam Singh Gupta and the Arya Samajists was that they should withdraw this agitation unconditionally and completely. They can say what they like in justification of it, provided they withdraw it completely. I do not want, as far as possible, to put them in a false position and make it more difficult for them to withdraw, nor do I want to gloat over their withdrawal and make out that we had won a great victory over them. That is not my way, and I hope it will not be the way of anyone else either. If they withdraw this agitation unconditionally, I am even prepared to congratulate them on it for having at last done the right thing.

1. JN Collection.

2. Ranbir Singh, Chief Editor of Urdu daily *Milap* (Delhi).

3. See the preceding item.

4. Congress Member of the Lok Sabha from Hoshiarpur, Punjab, and former Defence Minister.

I further added that any man with the least intelligence can see that the Arya Samaj by every day's delay was injuring itself. If they do not withdraw the agitation, it will withdraw itself.⁵

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

5. On receiving a letter from Ranbir Singh on 27 November, Nehru asked his Private Secretary to write to him as follows: "...He [Prime Minister] asked me, however, to clear up a misunderstanding that appears to have arisen. He made it clear to you, as also to Shri Ghanshyam Singh Gupta, that he could not take any step or give any assurance in regard to the language agitation in the Punjab. Therefore, no question of any assurance, even though it may be unwritten or verbal or confidential, can arise. Indeed, it would be improper for him to give confidential assurances. Whatever he has to say, he would gladly say in public.

"So far as the Language Committee of Parliament is concerned, it is not proper for the Prime Minister to approach them in any matter or in any way. That is a Committee of Parliament, and not appointed by Government."

8. To Partap Singh Kairon¹

New Delhi
December 11, 1957

My dear Partap Singh,

In the Lok Sabha yesterday, there was a discussion on the Bill to extend the Preventive Detention Act.² In the course of this discussion, the detentions in the Punjab were mentioned with great force.³ Two major points came out. One was that the reasons given for detention were sometimes quite extraordinarily frivolous. The other was that a considerable number of the persons detained had been subsequently released by the Judicial Tribunal appointed to consider these cases.

Our Home Minister, Pantji, was hard put to it to answer the criticisms. Indeed, he had to admit that mistakes had been made. It seemed that the persons

1. JN Collection.

2. The Lok Sabha passed the Preventive Detention (Continuance) Bill, 1957, on 10 December 1957. The Bill sought to extend the validity of the Preventive Detention Act for a period of three years from 31 December 1957.

3. For example, J.B. Kripalani, Atal Bihari Vajpayee, Thakur Das Bhargava and Ajit Singh Sarhadi raised the issue of the language agitation detainees in Punjab.

responsible for issuing these orders of detention had performed this task without any adequate care, and that no proper supervising authority had looked into this matter. I do not know who issues these orders of detention. But, it is obvious that such an order should be properly framed and should give some reasons which are *prima facie* adequate. To give a reason which, on the face of it, is not only inadequate, but rather silly, is likely to bring some discredit on the Government and even the good cases then begin to create doubts.

You know that in this language agitation, I have always been in favour of our taking a strong line, though that line, however strong, should also always be a friendly one, and we should avoid bringing in the personal element. But, it is one thing to take a strong line, and quite another to take an inadequate line and to give reasons for detention which are not proper. I hope you will kindly look into this matter and see that wherever such an order of detention is passed, it is carefully examined by a very responsible person.

During the entire debate in the Lok Sabha on the Preventive Detention Bill, the only really weak point that arose, was this criticism of the type of action in the Punjab. It is for this reason that I am pointing this out to you, as ultimately this weakens the position of Government, both Central and State, if we do not make it clear that we take action only after full care.

Today, there was a discussion about the language agitation in the Punjab in our Governors' Conference. The Governor, C.P.N. Singh, told us about the present position. It appeared that the agitation was slowly fading out so far as the Punjab was concerned, and that more and more people from outside were being brought in, often on payment of some daily fee. We were also given the total figure of persons arrested and those still in prison. I forget the exact figures but it appeared that far the great majority of people arrested were still in prison, even though very many of them had not been tried for months and they continued to be undertrials. Normally, for a person to be an undertrial prisoner for a long time is considered bad. In a case like this, where the offences are formal and easily proved, delay becomes doubly bad. You may remember a case that was brought to your notice, of Judge Khosla's father, an old man who had been arrested and kept in prison for many months without trial.⁴ Subsequently,

4. Duni Chand, a Congress leader from Ambala, had sent Nehru a letter from Justice G.D. Khosla's father, Murari Lal Khosla, who was detained in the Central Jail, Ferozepur. Forwarding it to C.P.N. Singh on 22 November, Nehru wrote, "It does seem to me odd that a large group of persons should be in prison from the 19th August, that is, more than three months, without trial." Nehru added, "Apart from this, would it not be advisable to release old persons, unless there is something very special against them?"

I think you ordered that people above a certain age, probably sixty, should be released. This was right.

But the question still arises why so many people who have not been tried, are still in prison. This does not help us at all. Probably, if they were out of prison, the great majority of them would go back to their normal lives. While if they are in prison this fact itself is a constant irritant, and injures the reputation of Government. Our policy should be to keep as few persons in prison as possible, to indicate that the agitation is going down; also, to save money. We should really almost find excuses for releasing people, unless there is some reason in an individual case. In any event, the idea of keeping persons for a long time in prison as undertrials is very undesirable. I hope you will look into this matter and release as many people as possible, and if you wish to try others, this should be done very soon.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

9. To Ghanshyam Singh Gupta¹

New Delhi
December 31, 1957

Dear Ghanshyam Singhji,

Thank you for your letters of December 24th and 28th, which I received today on my return to Delhi. I was very glad to learn of the withdrawal of the language agitation.² You are right in presuming that the release of the *satyagrahis* was a gesture of goodwill,³ and I am glad you have reacted accordingly. In any event, goodwill should always be there.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.

2. On 27 December, Ghanshyam Singh Gupta announced the suspension of the seven-month old Save Hindi agitation with immediate effect pending final settlement of the issue.

3. Nearly 2,000 Hindi Raksha Samiti volunteers were released by 24 December 1957. Following the suspension of the agitation, the Punjab Government passed orders for the release of the rest of the detainees.

IX. WEST BENGAL

1. To B.C. Roy¹

New Delhi

December 12, 1957

My dear Bidhan,

I have received a copy of a memorandum demanding autonomy for the Darjeeling district. The idea is apparently that a deputation would wait upon me when I go to Darjeeling and present this memorandum to me. I enclose this copy of the memorandum.²

Yours affectionately,
Jawahar

1. JN Collection.

2. Speaking at a public meeting in Darjeeling on 26 December 1957, Nehru said: "Darjeeling can be termed as a frontier town. People from various places—Nepal, Sikkim, Tibet and Bhutan— come here to work and meet others. The town, therefore, has some special significance." The next day, speaking to pressmen at Darjeeling, Nehru said: "Darjeeling, having a mixed population and being a hill station, needs special attention. The West Bengal Government is conscious of this and has given special attention to it. The Government of India is also interested because it is on the frontier. We want all mixed people here to be dealt with favourably and no particular group should suffer. I am interested in all the people, but I am a little more interested in Lepchas, the original inhabitants of this area. They are also backward and deserve help and encouragement."

2. To B.C. Roy¹

Raj Bhavan

Calcutta

14th December, 1957

My dear Bidhan,

Kalidas Nag² came to see me today with Mr Gee Taing Po,³ President of the Chinese Chamber of Commerce. Mr Gee Taing Po handed me a note, two copies of which I enclose.

In this note he makes two requests. One is for a piece of land for poor and aged Chinese persons who, according to him, are good at Chinese methods of agriculture. They are not very young, say about 50 or maybe a little more. I asked him how much land he wanted. He said that about four or five acres would be enough for this model farm and he would like to call it Gandhi Farm. I told him that land was a scarce commodity in Bengal because of the refugees and for other reasons and that, however, I would pass on his letter to you.

He said that this land could be anywhere within 20 or 30 miles of Calcutta and, if possible, it might be both low lying and somewhat higher land for two types of vegetables, etc.

Apart from the fact of providing these persons, who otherwise will be vagrants in Calcutta, there might be some advantage in having a Chinese model farm which might serve as an example to others.

His other point was that some arrangements might be made to treat opium addicts. I asked him how many such persons were likely to be in Calcutta. He said he could not say, but they might well be four or five hundred.

I have suggested to him to see you. Perhaps you could send for him.

Yours affectionately,

Jawahar

1. JN Collection.

2. A noted scholar and former Member of Rajya Sabha.

3. A representative of the Chinese community of Kolkata, and President, Chinese Chamber of Commerce. About 20,000 people of Chinese origin had been staying in India for over a century.

3. Accident near Howrah Station¹

Jawaharlal Nehru: As I am concerned with this matter,² may I give my personal impression? First of all, whatever arrangements were made at Howrah to control the large crowds, nothing happened in Howrah station. These deaths and injuries, they did not take place in Howrah. What happened at Howrah, unfortunately, was that the invited guests were pushed out and others took their places in the train, which is not, of course, very satisfactory. This accident happened long after we moved from Howrah. When we left Howrah, there were large crowds on the track, on either side of the track, very enthusiastic crowds, cordial crowds lining up the route. We stopped and my recollection is that many times we slowed down, moving I think at three miles an hour or four miles an hour. These people were clinging to the engine, in front of the engine. It is a long train with 5, 6 or 7 bogies. As soon as people jumped down, others came in. It was, therefore, before Lillooah, a little before Lillooah, that this unfortunate accident took place, that is, after we started from Howrah. So, we must separate the two—what happened at the Howrah station and what happened afterwards.

Renu Chakravartty: Nobody was hanging on the train at Howrah?

JN: Of course. But they all came down. They were made to get down repeatedly. Twice at least everybody who was hanging on to the small footboard was made to come down. Then the train started and then others got in again. So, the crowd at Howrah had nothing to do with the accident. The fact is—I do not

1. Interventions in the Lok Sabha, 18 December 1957. *Lok Sabha Debates* (Second Series), Vol. X, cols 6160-6164. Extracts.

Hiren Mukerjee and Renu Chakravartty had tabled an adjournment motion on the failure of the Railway administration to make proper and adequate arrangements to receive and control large crowds on the occasion of the inauguration of the electric train service at Howrah on 14 December 1957.

2. Two person were killed and 21 injured in a freak accident that took place during the inaugural journey of the suburban electric train from Howrah to Sheoraphuli. A large number of people were travelling on the footboards of the train. When the train gained speed near Lillooah, about five miles from Howrah, some of those who were hanging by the door handles began to lose their grip and casualties occurred. Nehru himself travelled in the train after inaugurating the train service at Howrah station. For Nehru's speech on the occasion, see *ante*, pp. 131-133.

know, I am giving a vague estimate—a million people were at Howrah and all along the route up to Sheoraphuli. Vast numbers, overwhelming enthusiasm and all that was really something very cheering to see. But, it is rather very difficult to make arrangements for it.

The honourable lady Member enquired about something that the West Bengal Government said about the arrangements made at Howrah station.³ I believe there was considerable discussion as to the place where this function should take place. There are a number of accounts. The West Bengal Government or the police did suggest that it should be held in some maidan. It may be that the Railway people wanted it nearer to the station. Ultimately, the Railway opinion prevailed. If I may say so, that may have been a wrong decision. I am personally of the opinion that no such major function should take place within the station. But, that has nothing to do with the accident. That was something apart from it, after the train left, miles after the Howrah station.

H.N. Mukerjee: We have seen reports in the papers and from what the Ministers have said it also appears that the start of the train was delayed by a certain number of minutes in order to get the people off the footboards either through persuasion or compulsion. I would like to know why the train was not delayed a little longer, and why if necessary even the starting of the train was not cancelled altogether so that danger to life on account of people travelling on footboards of the electric train could be avoided. Papers have alleged that the additional effort to get the people off the footboards either by persuasion or by compulsion was not made and that should have been made.

JN: May I say, Sir, I am merely surprised at the honourable Member's persistence in error? Here I am, who was present there, telling him that the train was not stopped once, twice but three times, repeatedly people were taken off and others came on the scene a little later, and they were pushed off again and again. I took them off myself, many of them....⁴

Speaker: ... A suggestion is made that the train ought not to have started at all that day, that is, cancellation merely because some persons came and stood there improperly. It seems no function at all is possible hereafter.

3. Renu Chakravartty asked whether it was a fact that the West Bengal Government had stated that since large crowds would attend the function it should be held in an open space.
4. At this point Mahendra Pratap suggested that the Prime Minister might give up going to such places.

JN: That would be dangerous. There would have been trouble if the train had not started....⁵ I venture to point out that the arrangements on paper were, no doubt, very very excellent. I was much impressed by the beauty of the scene when I entered the Howrah station. But, the arrangements were obviously not adequate to meet a million people or half a million people or whatever the number.

Anyway, the point is that whether the arrangement was good or bad is not relevant to the accident. That is what I am pointing out. Because, the accident took place miles away from Howrah. The train started, it is said, four minutes later. It is true. After having moved for a few minutes it stopped again. After moving for another five minutes, it stopped again. Really it was half an hour late before we left the neighbourhood of the Howrah station. It was long after. After we had cleared the train several times, somebody else—it was going slowly—would climb up and hold on to it. Unfortunately, many of these persons were, I take it, I do not know, railway workers themselves who felt a little confident, knowing how the train goes. But, they did not have enough experience of an electric train going. It was slightly different from an ordinary train. It gathers speed suddenly. There were a number of unfortunate occurrences and this accident happened.

H.N. Mukerjee: May I suggest, in view of what has happened, that the Railway Ministry and other Ministries may consider the desirability of not dragging the Prime Minister unnecessarily to certain celebrations where his time is wasted and events occur which sometimes produce deleterious results?

JN: I heartily agree with the honourable Member.⁶

5. Renu Chakravarty raised the question of arrangements again.

6. The Speaker disallowed the adjournment motion as he felt that there was nothing wrong either on the part of the Railway authorities or others in the management of the event. He added, "Sometimes such accidents occur beyond the control of anybody."

X. OTHER STATES

1. To Mohanlal Sukhadia¹

New Delhi

November 17, 1957

My dear Sukhadia,²

Some Pakistan newspapers have published an item of news to the effect that the Jhalawar Municipality of Rajasthan is planning to convert the Altumash³ Mosque into a temple. Will you please enquire and let me know very soon what the facts are?

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.

2. Chief Minister of Rajasthan.

3. Iltutmish; the Sultan of Delhi (1211-36 AD).

2. To Govind Ballabh Pant¹

New Delhi

3rd December, 1957

My dear Pantji,

Your letter of December 2nd about Udaipur. Any assurance given by the young Maharana² should normally be kept.³ I do not know what assurances were given by him and in what context. Bhagwat Singh's account of all this is somewhat different from that of the Maharanis. According to him the Maharanis get little out of this money, but some other people attached sponge on them.

It would certainly be desirable for Bhagwat Singh to come to some understanding with the Maharanis.

I suppose it might be worthwhile for you to send for Bhagwat Singh and have a talk with him.

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal

1. JN Collection.

2. Maharana Bhagwat Singhji (d. 1984); Maharana of Udaipur; adopted son of Maharana Bhupal Singhji of Udaipur; succeeded his adoptive father in 1955.

3. Bhagwat Singhji had given an undertaking to Bhupal Singhji that he would pay annually Rs 80,000 and Rs 30,000 as allowances to the senior and the junior Rani of Bhupal Singhji. However, soon after his accession, Bhagwat Singhji reduced the allowances of the two Ranis to Rs 24,000 and Rs 20,000 respectively. The senior Rani wrote to Pant in this connection. Bhagwat Singhji, who also wrote to Nehru about this matter, attributed the reduction in allowances to the impending reduction in his own income on imposition of the Wealth and Expenditure taxes. Pant, in his letter to Nehru, doubted whether the Maharana would be hit in any way by the taxes, so far as the allowances were concerned, and saw no justification in the drastic cuts in the Ranis' allowances. Pant also wrote that, at the instance of the Centre, the Government of Rajasthan had helped the Maharana in several ways, for instance, by writing off a sum of Rs 4½ lakhs owing from him to the State Government, and by buying some of his palaces at Udaipur.

3. To Sri Krishna Sinha¹

New Delhi
December 17, 1957

My dear Sri Babu,²

The President, Dr Rajendra Prasad, has written³ to me drawing my attention to the extreme hardship caused to the ex-zamindars of Bihar because of the delay in payment of the compensation due to them. It appears that only a very small part of the compensation has thus far been paid, and great distress has been caused because of this delay to several lakhs of persons.⁴ Whatever the difficulties involved, you will agree that this is a most unfortunate state of affairs. There is the human element and there is the political element, and both are important, and from both points of view, we suffer and are discredited. I do suggest that you might take some personal interest in this matter.

The President's Secretary⁵ wrote to the Secretary to the Bihar Government in the Department of Revenue. He received a reply and a note. I am afraid the note does not reveal a satisfactory state of affairs at all. If the prescribed procedures are bad, they should be changed, and new procedures laid down. The most important thing is that we should redeem our pledge and not cause human misery.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.
2. Chief Minister of Bihar.
3. On 13 December 1957.
4. Till August 1957 only a sum of Rs 16,960,892 had been paid to ex-zamindars in Bihar as ad interim payments which were in the nature of interest. According to the Planning Commission, the amount payable was estimated to be about Rs 160 crores. In the first phase of the zamindari abolition, all intermediary interests having a gross annual income exceeding Rs 50,000 were abolished by September 1952. Later those with a gross annual income exceeding Rs 10,000 but below Rs 50,000 were abolished by 1954. The number of persons entitled to compensation was about five lakhs.
5. C.S. Venkatachar.

4. To Rajendra Prasad¹

Raj Bhavan

Darjeeling

December 25, 1957

My dear Rajendra Babu,

You wrote to me on the 7th December enclosing a copy of a letter received by you from Gopal Narain Saksena,² This was about Ram Manohar Lohia's imprisonment.³ Please forgive me for this delay in answering your letter. When I received it the matter was pending in the High Court of Allahabad and I thought that I might wait for the decision of that Court. Also I was very heavily occupied.

The decision of the High Court has now been given. There was, at first, a difference of opinion between the two Judges and the matter was referred to a third Judge. The third Judge decided in favour of the UP Government and against Lohia's contention. Subsequently, the matter was taken up to the Supreme Court, but meanwhile the UP Government released Lohia.⁴

I am not competent to judge about the legal aspects of this matter. Nor do I know any facts in addition to what Gopal Narain Saksena has himself written to you. I know this, however, that the Chief Minister of UP has been very specially concerned about Ram Manohar Lohia's case. Also that there is a group in the UP Assembly belonging to Lohia's party and this group takes an active and aggressive part there. Therefore, the question of any matter going by default does not arise. Because of this, I did not think it desirable to write to the Chief Minister on this subject.

1. JN Collection.

2. (b. 1897); participated in the non-cooperation movement; Member, AICC, for several years; Member, Constituent Assembly; Member, Fundamental Rights Committee of the Constituent Assembly; one of the founders of the KMPP; later joined the PSP; broke away from the PSP to form the Socialist Party, 1956; Chairman, Parliamentary Board, Socialist Party, 1956; Chairman, Socialist Party, 1957.

3. Socialist Party leader Ram Manohar Lohia was arrested in Lucknow on 2 November 1957 for picketing in front of the gate of the sales tax office. He was protesting against the rise in the prices of essential commodities. Lohia held that enhancement of taxes, like the sales tax, had led to abnormal price rise.

4. The Uttar Pradesh Government withdrew the case against Lohia and released him on 23 December.

In Gopal Narain Saksena's letter, stress has been laid on three points, apart from the general question of the right to perform satyagraha. So far as this question of right is concerned, I do not understand the significance of the argument. No one can prevent a person from performing satyagraha, but the essence of satyagraha is that the punishment involved should be faced and indeed cheerfully accepted. It would be ridiculous for satyagraha to be performed in the expectation that no consequences will flow from it. Satyagraha means breach of the law, and no Government can tolerate that breach.

Gopal Narain Saksena has made out in his letter that the Socialist Party stands for the highest code of conduct, etc. Whatever the theory may be, in practice the Socialist Party and even its leaders have behaved in a manner which I consider wholly wrong and discreditable. I shall not, however, discuss this matter in detail.

The first objection that Gopal Narain has raised is that persons arrested for performing satyagraha were not released. His contention is that their previous satyagraha was for the removal of British statues and Government accepted this demand. Therefore, the *satyagrahis* should have been released.

This is not a correct version. On many occasions before the Socialist Party's satyagraha was launched, I had made it clear in Parliament and elsewhere that it was our policy to remove objectionable statues gradually.⁵ We did not propose to remove all statues as some might have historical or artistic merit. Even in regard to the objectionable statues, we would remove them gradually because we did not wish it to appear that we had any personal animus in this matter. In pursuance of this policy, we had actually removed some such statues and later removed some others. This had nothing to do with the satyagraha. In any event, it surprises me that a *satyagrahi* should go on complaining about the punishment awarded to him for breach of the law.⁶

The second point is that Dr Lohia was not allowed to have interviews in his barrack in prison. It appears that interviews were permitted, presumably in the

5. The Socialist Party had launched a campaign in Uttar Pradesh to remove the statues of several former British rulers. For Nehru's statements in Parliament, on 13 May and 26 August 1957, on the general policy of the Government in regard to the question of statues put up during the period of British rule, see *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 38, pp. 169-170, and Vol. 39, p. 266, respectively.
6. Lohia had stated at a public meeting in Lucknow on 1 November that the sentences awarded to *satyagrahis* during the Socialist Party agitation in the State were excessive and that all the *satyagrahis* should have been released as a result of criticism of the decisions of the lower courts by judges. He thought that nobody should be awarded a sentence of more than four months in civil disobedience movements.

jail office or elsewhere. The only objection was to the interview taking place in the barrack. How this can be made into a major complaint I do not understand. The fact is that Dr Lohia expects very special treatment for himself which is not normally given to others. During the many years I spent in British prisons I had almost always to have my interviews in the jail office. Only on some rare occasions were interviews allowed in the barrack. This is not a question of giving facilities but rather of preventing Dr Lohia from directing the movement from prison.

The third point referred to is what is called "a lathi charge" on Dr Lohia and his thumb impression being taken forcibly. I do not know the facts and I cannot believe that anything in the nature of a lathi charge could have been made. Personally, I think that it should not have been necessary to take his thumb impression at all, by even asking for it, much less to have it forcibly taken.

These questions do not now arise as he has now been released, but I thought I might refer to them as you have been good enough to send me Gopal Narain Saksena's letter.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. *Parliamentary Affairs* (1961-1962)
2. *Parliamentary Affairs* (1963-1964)

PARLIAMENTARY AFFAIRS

The following is a summary of the main points of the report of the Committee on the Administration of the House of Commons, published in 1961. The report is a valuable contribution to the study of the House of Commons and its working methods. It is a well-written and readable document, and it is a pleasure to read it. The report is a valuable contribution to the study of the House of Commons and its working methods. It is a well-written and readable document, and it is a pleasure to read it. The report is a valuable contribution to the study of the House of Commons and its working methods. It is a well-written and readable document, and it is a pleasure to read it.

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1. Avoidance of Pomp and Ceremony in Parliament Sessions¹

I agree to the arrangements proposed, subject to what I say below.

2. I think that you should be a little liberal about press correspondents. It is always difficult to select a few, and there is no reason to limit them. They will, of course, be chosen from the accredited correspondents in Delhi.

3. I do not particularly like the idea of the President going in some kind of a procession through the hall, as he does when he inaugurates Parliament. We should do away with pomp and ceremony. When the President comes to Parliament, the bugles perform and all that. The President, I think, should enter the hall from the main entrance, and not the side-door, and should be received by some selected persons, not many. He will then walk up through the hall, to the dais. Presumably, the audience will stand. There should be no bugles and no other type of procession.

1. Note to M.N. Kaul, Secretary, Lok Sabha Secretariat, New Delhi, 13 November 1957, JN Collection.

2. Proposed Resolution by K.T.K. Tangamani¹

When notice of some questions for the Lok Sabha was communicated to us, I wrote a note which, I believe, was forwarded to Mr Speaker.² I do not know whether Mr Speaker admitted those questions or not.

2. The present Resolution by Shri K.T.K. Tangamani³ is in effect a motion for censure. When a motion for censure against an individual Minister or the Government is brought forward, it has to pass the usual test applied to a motion for censure, that is, a number of Members should support it. To put in a motion for censure in a slightly different form, so as to avoid the rules applying to such motions for censure, would be an attempt to bypass those rules. It is, therefore, for Mr Speaker to consider whether this is a motion for censure or not. Government cannot seek to avoid a motion for censure if it fulfils the rules, and it would not be proper for Government to find some excuse in the rules for such avoidance.

3. This note of mine may be forwarded to Mr Speaker. A copy of it, together with Shri K.T.K. Tangamani's Resolution, should be sent to the Finance Minister. Also, a copy to the Home Minister.

1. Note, New Delhi, 18 November 1957. JN Collection.

2. M. Ananthasayanam Ayyangar was the Speaker of the Lok Sabha.

3. (1914-2001); lawyer, member of the Communist Party of India, and trade union leader; served as Secretary and President of All India Trade Union Congress; Member of Lok Sabha, 1957-62.

3. Portraits of Leaders in Parliament House¹

I think we should be careful in accepting offers made by Members or others of portraits of departed leaders. It would be better if the Speaker and the Chairman² made a rule that the portraits to be accepted would be confined to those persons who have previously been approved of. Otherwise there will always be difficulty and embarrassing situations will be created.

As far as portraits in the Central Hall are concerned, it has already been decided that only four more portraits should be put up of the persons named and the remaining four spaces will be kept empty.³ I entirely agree with this.

I do not know how far portraits will fit in with murals in the corridors of Parliament House. In any event it would be very difficult to fit them in if they are of the same size as in the Central Hall. I suggest that in future it should be made clear that any portraits that we accept will have to be of a smaller size.

So far as I am concerned, I think we should welcome the portraits of Hakim Ajmal Khan,⁴ Dr Ansari⁵ and Shri Rafi Ahmad Kidwai.⁶ I do not know if these are ready already. If so, I hope they are of a smaller size. We should, of course, be strict about their quality.⁷

1. Note to Lok Sabha Secretariat, 28 November 1957. JN Collection.

2. S. Radhakrishnan, Chairman of the Rajya Sabha.

3. Already there were portraits of Mahatma Gandhi, Dadabhai Naoroji, Bal Gangadhar Tilak and Lala Lajpat Rai in the Central Hall of Parliament House. In May 1957, it was decided that the portraits of Vallabhbhai Patel, Madan Mohan Malaviya, C.R. Das and Rabindranath Tagore would be put up in the vacant panels in the Central Hall, leaving four panels vacant for future use. See *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 38, pp. 354-355.

4. A leading Unani physician of Delhi; was associated with the national movement; Congress President in 1921.

5. A leading doctor and Congressman of Delhi; Congress President in 1927.

6. A well-known Congress leader from Uttar Pradesh; Cabinet Minister in the Union Government, 1947-54.

7. A life-size portrait of Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya was unveiled by President Rajendra Prasad in the Central Hall on 19 December 1957.

4. To A.K. Gopalan¹

New Delhi
December 1, 1957

Dear Gopalan,²

I have received a copy of the letter dated the 29th November addressed by you to Mr Speaker. In this, you refer to some remarks which apparently the Finance Minister made in the course of a debate.³ I do not know the context of this. But, it seems to me that you have perhaps attached a meaning to it which was not intended.⁴ Perhaps, the reference was made to the fact that Hiren Mukerjee was a professor and you were not. I am sure no one could have meant anything else.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.

2. CPI Member of the Lok Sabha from Kasarkode, Kerala.

3. On 27 and 28 November, in the course of a debate in the Lok Sabha on Finance Minister T.T. Krishnamachari's visit to the US and some European countries in September-October, some Members, including Hiren Mukerjee, strongly criticized the Government's policy of seeking aid from the Western countries. However, A.K. Gopalan stated that the Communist Party was not against getting aid from any country. He further said, "The only thing is that no political strings should be attached to the aid." Krishnamachari remarked that Hiren Mukerjee was "nursed in the traditions of Oxford" and "Oxford culture or Cambridge education goes by the board when indoctrination of communism starts. A totalitarian mind believes that anything that is untrue becomes true by repeating it.... But the (Government) policy is a thing which, at any rate, Shri Gopalan in clearer terms, being not so well educated as Shri Mukerjee, states something which he is not against."

4. Gopalan wrote to the Speaker that he might not have had formal education, but he had "education" enough to be "Secretary and President of the Kerala PCC, member for years of the AICC, as well as of the Central Committee of the CPI, and leader for five years (1952-57) of the leading Opposition group in India's first Parliament."

5. The Relevance of Parliamentary Democracy¹

Mr Chairman,² Vice-President, Your Excellencies, fellow parliamentarians, During the last few days, there has been a spate of speeches on democracy, parliamentary government and the like,³ and I feel rather at a loss to say anything that is worth the while and not merely repeat some pious platitudes about how good parliamentary government is.

The fact that we in India deliberately, and after long argument, adopted a Constitution based on parliamentary government itself indicates the value we attach to it. The fact that these nearly eight years since we adopted the Constitution have not in any sense made us waver in our allegiance to it also indicates how strong our faith in it is. That does not mean, of course, that parliamentary government is without any failings.

What is parliamentary government itself? Well, if we take any half a dozen countries where parliamentary government is supposed to have developed most, we see that hardly two are alike. Take the United Kingdom, take the United States of America or France or Germany. They are entirely different from one another. True, there is some common factor. The people come in, the people can make governments or remove them ultimately, but for the rest there are great differences.

We here in India followed, broadly speaking, the British example with this major difference that we were a federal government, a very big country, so we took some features of the federal idea from the United States of America. Now, most people lay stress on parliamentary government or democracy being good for a variety of reasons. Sometimes, stress is laid on something, or something is said in that connection which appears to me to have no relevance. We praise

1. Speech while inaugurating a seminar on parliamentary democracy, Central Hall of Parliament, New Delhi, 6 December 1957. AIR tapes, NMML. Also available in JN Supplementary Papers, NMML. The seminar was held under the auspices of the Indian Bureau of Parliamentary Studies.
2. M. Ananthasayanam Ayyangar, Speaker of the Lok Sabha, presided.
3. Nehru was referring to the proceedings of the Commonwealth Parliamentary Conference, which was held in New Delhi from 2 to 10 December 1957. For Nehru's speeches at the conference, see *post*, pp. 525-537 and 694-696.

this form of government because it is a peaceful method of dealing with problems. It is a method of argument, discussion and then decision, after considering every aspect of the case, and then accepting that decision, even though you may not agree with it. And the way we change it is by either argument or persuasion, or by changing the government through the vote.

The minority in a parliamentary government has a very important part to play. Naturally, the majority, by the mere fact that it is a majority, must have its way, but a majority which ignores the minority is not working in the true spirit of parliamentary democracy. But that is so, and I believe that that method is not only good for the political structure of a country, but it is broadly good for almost any activity, that is, the method of argument, discussion, consideration of all aspects of a problem and decisions, which then are accepted, so long as they are not changed through the proper course.

But another point arises that in a period of dynamic change, one has to function, the institution of parliament has to function, with some speed. Does the parliamentary form of government enable a country to move with that speed when speed becomes essential? Let us take a grave emergency like a war. When a war occurs, parliaments continue to function but with certain limitations because of that emergency. So, a great deal depends on the times or the period you are living in, on the environment that surrounds you and on the problems you have to face.

One might approve, as one does, parliamentary democracy as the right approach. Having approved of it, then one has to see how to temper it, how to fit it in, so that it can answer the major questions of the age. Now, as I said, sometimes, parliamentary democracy is supposed to represent some things which, to my mind, it need not, it may or may not. For instance, it is said that parliamentary democracy is inevitably combined with a system of private enterprise. Private enterprise may be good or bad. But I do not see what parliamentary democracy has got to do with private enterprise. I do not see any connection except the connection of past habit and past thinking. In fact, as we all know, these arguments, socialism, private enterprise and public sector, valid and important as they are, become less and less a choice between the extremes. There is no country in the world where some form of middle way has not been found or is not being found today because the extreme is not applicable. In the USA, which is said to be the country having a highly developed form of modern capitalism and private enterprise, there is more public enterprise than in most countries which apparently have a different objective and ideal. It is inevitable.

So, while the world changes, we still live under the influence of slogans and ideals which are not wholly applicable today. It is quite extraordinary how the change in the physical world is much swifter than working the people's minds.

The change itself occurs because of people's minds. That is true, it does not occur automatically. People's minds bring about all these revolutionary changes that we see. Yet people's minds, individuals apart, lag behind the actual changes when the changes are fairly fast.

Take even the French Revolution: Liberty, Fraternity and Equality. Even while the French Revolution was being fought in the streets of Paris and elsewhere, a far greater revolution was taking place: the Industrial Revolution had begun in England especially and elsewhere too, to some extent. Yet the ideas of the French Revolution overshadowed Europe for many years. Even in 1848, the year of Revolutions, the slogan was the French revolutionary slogan, although the world was rapidly changing because of the coming of the Industrial Revolution.

People's minds even in Europe lag behind the physical changes that are taking place and people are using the slogans of yesterday and the day before. That process continues. It amazes me how in the context of today when prodigious and colossal changes are taking place which are affecting, and will affect even more, the human society, most of us use the arguments and talk in terms of the slogans and ideas of a world that is rapidly passing.

I believe that certain basic principles are not changed whatever changes in society may take place. Maybe certain basic, ethical approaches remain permanent. It may be that we may say, as I would be prepared to say, that individual freedom is something precious which should be guarded whatever other changes may take place. But apart from these very basic things, society and individuals are constantly being affected by other changes. The Industrial Revolution has changed and is changing Europe out of recognition in the last two hundred years. It has changed India and other countries of Asia while we still talk in terms of a past age. How can we get over that? The parliamentary form of government, of course, neither helps nor hinders it. It depends upon the human beings in it. I will say that such a government requires certain qualifications and qualities in the people. If they do not possess it, that form of government may not succeed.

There has to be a broad acceptance of that form of government, and not only the form of government but the approach to problems. For instance, if a majority crushes a minority and does not treat it fairly, the minority will lose faith in that form of government. If, on the other hand, a minority refuses to accept the majority decisions, then you move from the debating chamber to some other place to decide questions. There has to be a measure of agreement as to how we are to function, broadly speaking, and also a measure of achievement in realizing the objectives that you have in view.

The Parliament of the United Kingdom is supposed to be the mother of Parliaments, although I believe that there are other parliaments which are older,

notably that of Iceland⁴ which is very old indeed. The whole structure of Parliament in the United Kingdom evolved, roughly speaking, before the twentieth century, when the world was different. In the nineteenth century, the Private Member had a good deal to say in parliament. Today he has very little say. Issues are decided upon by all kinds of forces. Governments have no time, parliaments have no time, we are busy with so much legislation and trying to catch up all the time.

So, it has changed and I believe in every parliament the question arises as to how to retain the essential quality of parliament and yet speed up the procedures and to give the individual members some chance of not being a mere voting machine, which he tends to become. I do not know what consolation that is. But anyhow even if he is a voting machine to a large extent, though not wholly so, it is far better to have that than not to have it. Therefore, it is a better way even though it may not be as good as some theoretical scheme that we may evolve.

In the address that my predecessor delivered, he mentioned some subjects which apparently are going to be discussed in the seminar.⁵ Those subjects by themselves are very important but they have little to do with any form of government. Nuclear energy is a highly important subject but it has nothing to do with the parliamentary form of government. If you discuss the private and public sectors, that too is an important thing, but it may be discussed in any context, even in the context other than that of parliamentary government except, as I said, when people think that parliamentary government necessarily involves a private sector only, which of course, is not right.

In Europe you see many countries which have advanced very far on the road to socialism. I am not talking for the moment about the communist countries which, of course, have gone very far. But I am talking of the other countries which may be called parliamentary social democratic countries, meaning thereby the countries which follow a parliamentary form of government. There is no conflict in that. In fact I would venture to say that there is going to be an increase in conflict between the idea of parliamentary government and full-fledged private

4. The Althingi, the legislature of Iceland, was founded in 930 AD, making it one of the oldest legislative assemblies in the world.
5. Sohan Lal, President of the Indian Bureau of Parliamentary Studies, in his welcome address said that the seminar had been called to discuss the most pressing problems of the day, such as control of nuclear weapons, taxation in a democratic socialist country, the role of public and private sectors, and the function of the press in relation to a democratic government.

enterprise. Why do I say that? Because the whole conception of parliamentary government is a democratic conception. Most of the battles for it were fought on the political plane—for instance, votes for all, votes for women and the gradual widening of the franchise till it became adult franchise. It was rightly fought on the political plane. Please remember that it is only in very recent times, twenty to thirty years or so, that any country has had adult franchise. All the democracies of the nineteenth century were based on a very limited franchise. The basic and new innovation of adult franchise was brought during the last thirty or forty years and its effects are being felt in full only now.

This political change having fully established itself, it becomes obvious to the people that a political change, by itself, is not enough. People who shouted for the vote realized that a vote does not fill empty stomachs and something else is necessary. The vote may be a way to fill empty stomachs or to lay down policies that help to fill them; that is a different matter. Therefore, immediately from political democracy you advance on the plane of economic democracy. Every country does so in a greater or lesser degree. That is a different matter, whatever it may say. And, more particularly, if you advance on the plane of economic democracy, that means, I do not say absolute equality, but certainly a measure of equality in the economic sphere, and certainly, to begin with, a certain measure of well-being for all, call it the welfare state. And secondly, broadly speaking, a certain measure of equality, not complete equality of opportunity. If you can give complete equality of opportunity to every individual, that becomes the ideal. Every country in some way or other is going that way, whether it is a communist country, non-communist country, anti-communist country or any other country. It is going that way, though the method it adopts may be different.

Again, you can hardly have a political democracy without mass education. In other countries real full-blooded political democracy came after a good deal of education had spread, because of the economic revolution which had prepared the ground for it, which had added to the resources of the country and thereby made it easier to fulfil the demands made by people in those countries.

In most Asian countries, certainly in India, we have taken a huge jump to hundred per cent political democracy without the wherewithal to supply the demand which a politically conscious mass electorate makes, and that is the essence of the problem in all these countries. Before this the people of India were certainly much worse off than they are today, not only people in India but in Pakistan or any other country, they were much worse off, they were poorer than today, but that political consciousness had not arisen and so they put up with their evil conditions. They thought it was an adverse fate which brought this upon them and they did not grumble so much. But as soon as they woke up politically they began to grumble, and quite rightly. They should grumble. There

is this hiatus between desires and non-fulfilment of them, and all our political life is really concerned with how rapidly to bridge this gulf, cover this hiatus. We may call it the Second Five Year Plan but it is an attempt to bridge that hiatus, firstly because it is right in itself that people should have at least the primary things of life supplied to them and, secondly, some other good things of life. Even if that was something that was not imminently and absolutely desirable, social pressures are so great that you cannot avoid trying for that.

So, you have to think not merely in some academic way of the form of government you have or you should have, but also in terms of that form of government or political structure which will fulfil the demands made upon it. If it does not, it may go, if it has become out of date. However theoretically good it might be, it has to answer the questions put to it by the age. If it answers those questions, well and good; then it is firmly established.

In the countries of Europe and America, which are economically advanced and which have more or less established some kind of a welfare state, the tension is not so acute. It is there, of course, and it grows some times, but it is not so acute because the primary necessities of life have been supplied and not so much because of political theory, or speculations. The problem in India or in the countries of Asia or Africa is one of primary necessities of life and not so much of political theory, not so much of all kinds of speculations and the like. And, so long as those primary necessities are not supplied there is tremendous pressure, and there is always an element of uncertainty as to what may happen and what may not happen.

So, it is always difficult for people, apart from individuals, people in the mass, to keep pace with the changing world or with a changing society. As everyone knows, today we are in now for a pace of change which is terrific. Of course, the pace has been increasing all the time since the Industrial Revolution; before that the pace was frightfully slow. I often give this very, very simple instance. Take the case of communications. Well, one hundred fifty years or two hundred years ago the fastest way of communication was the same as it was two thousand or three thousand years ago, there was no change, practically no change. I do not know what the fastest way of communication was, unless one went on a fast horse or an animal like that. Then these changes came in communications, gradually with an ever increasing speed. Now you have the radio, wireless, radar and also the modern ways of going from one place to the other. These have changed our life.

With the coming in of the atomic energy and all kinds of new things, which sometime you read about without understanding them, have come, and the whole basic structure of human life is changing. And yet, we are still talking a language which might have suited some past generations, but which does not

fit in today, and yet you also have to deal with human beings living in this atomic energy age; you have to deal with human beings who mentally have not really caught up to it. And I am not referring to people in India. With all respect, I refer to people in the most developed countries of the West. They may use aeroplanes and radars, but I doubt very much if mentally they are adapted to them. It is one thing to go about in an automobile, and anybody can learn to drive in an hour or two, but it is quite another thing to adapt yourself mentally to the age that the automobile represents, and to the age atomic energy is going to represent, so that we are going into a period when all our old ideas are challenged or they do not fit in.

On the political plane, it becomes more and more obvious that countries, small or big, wish to retain cent per cent national independence. They can hardly continue to do so in the world today. The world has become too small. They have to come together, successful or not they have to come together in the United Nations. The United Nations may not be a startling success but it is an inevitable thing, and if it was not there, the world would be much worse, much more dangerous, so that even the idea of national sovereignty is challenged.

People talk about world brotherhood, world order, federal union of the world and all kinds of things which seem to most of us, certainly to me, quite unrealistic today. As we see the world today, it is quite unrealistic. Some people seem to think that if we collect a large number of people from various countries and they pass a resolution to establish a federal government of the world, it will be established. It will be so completely unrealistic. And, yet, thinking of it logically, only some such thing is likely to meet the demands of the future world.

So, how we are going to establish it? I do not know whether we will ever establish it. It is obvious that these completely independent sovereign states are becoming slowly out of place in the modern world. I have no remedy to offer, and I do not know how they are going to develop. But I have little doubt in my mind that some kind of world order will have to rise and I am very much afraid that that world order will not be of the kind which takes away from the other attributes of national freedom, individual freedom and the rest. That is, the world moves more and more towards centralization. The whole process of scientific advancement is towards centralization. You cannot escape it. And yet centralization kills liberty or reduces it or limits it. There is no doubt about it either, and the biggest problem of the age is, how to live in the modern world with the inevitable centralization which it brings with it and yet maintain individual, group and the national freedoms, which may be crushed by too much centralization.

Whether ultimately the parliamentary structure answers this question or not, I do not know. But I should imagine that the parliamentary form of government

and approach to problems is more likely to answer that question than any other. The other forms ultimately become some measure of authoritarianism. No authoritarian government is really absolutely dictatorial. I mean, it cannot ignore public opinion in the long run however strong the dictator may be in the short run. More especially, it cannot be ignorant in the modern age, because the modern age demands education to function on the industrial plane and on the scientific plane. It may have been possible in the old days where you had an ignorant populace to deal with, the ruler being the absolute king. But even to succeed on the industrial and economic planes you must have high class education. High class education makes people think and question and maybe ultimately to rebel against something which they do not like. So, I am not very much afraid of new dictators coming in the future, but a great deal of centralization undoubtedly means a restriction of liberties. How to have centralization and decentralization both is the problem of the age. In India, during the last generation or two, we have been powerfully impressed by Gandhiji, his ideas on decentralization, apart from other things. We are all impressed by that. He talked about the spinning wheel, and economists and the rest rather laughed at this idea, not realizing the true significance of what, I think, Gandhiji meant. I do not think any of us is, I do not think even Gandhiji was, against the essential features of the modern age. He did not want the country to be without electric power, railways, aeroplanes, etc. Nevertheless, seeing the dangers of too much concentration of power, he wanted to decentralize. Whether it was political power or economic power or money power, whatever it was, he did not like that concentration at all. So, he wanted to decentralize and, inevitably, he laid so much stress upon it to impress people, so much stress which perhaps logically was not justified. But he wanted to impress the people. The problem remains: how to balance between these centralized authorities, whether on the political plane or on the economic plane.

Then again, there is another problem which, as a person having something to do with administration, troubles me more and more. We talk about socialism. There is socialism and capitalism in every country which grows and where society becomes more and more complex, the official apparatus grows tremendously. Bureaucracy grows. It is the bureaucracy which runs the country, there is no way out of it. I do not mind that, but there is this type of bureaucracy which grows certain elements which are not fully desirable. What is criticized is the bureaucratic way of dealing with things. The criticism is quite right and yet bureaucracy is essential. We cannot do away with it.

What is bureaucracy? It means a trained person doing a job for which he is trained. If he is not trained, that is another matter, train him better. But even the trained persons fitting into a huge machine, they become cogs in the machine

and lose initiative, lose direction, lose purpose, which is a bad thing. The whole thing becomes a passive, static organism. Life is not static and passive, it is dynamic, it is organic and any system of government which tends to become passive and static is, therefore, bad. It does not fit in with life.

Again, the parliamentary system of government with all its failings has the virtue that it can fit in with the changing pattern of life. Even if there is a lag sometimes, it will catch it up later on, because people in command are there and there is no easy way of removing them. You cannot remove them gently; you cannot remove them peacefully but with violence and with indecency, almost.

You discuss forms of government and the like. Behind that must be some pictures of the individual that you have in your mind, the type of individual you would like to develop, the type of society you would like to develop, and any form of government must at least enable you to go in the direction of developing that individual and that type of society. You cannot plan unless you have some picture in your minds for the development of material resources which forms the basis for anything else. But that by itself is not enough. We see that material resources vitiate the whole atmosphere sometimes, of a country or of the world, not only becoming dangerous in the form of weapons, but also destroying, to some extent, some qualities in the individual which are very precious. Nobody is against material resources, nobody can be against scientific advance and the release of all kinds of energy from nature which humanity can utilize for its benefit. But the line of division becomes very thin as to whether you are going to use it for the good or for the evil of mankind. So, you come back ultimately to the development of the individual, to the development of the political or economic structure, which helps the individual to develop. This is a very important thing. If a political structure does not help the individual to develop, then it is lacking, it is bad.

So, all these factors have to be considered. These are matters for which I have no remedy, I only put some doubts in my mind and in your minds. I think my friend, who just spoke before me, in his address talked in brave language about me. Well, it is very good of you, but I am a person full of doubts and hesitation when I look at the problems of the world, and whether it is virtue or not, I dislike the dogmatic approach to anything. I dislike it in religion, in politics, and in economics. I do not think the attitude of a dogmatic approach is helpful to clear thinking or to the human approach that we should have. At the same time I recognize fully that possibly the normal philosophic approach is so philosophic that it allows nothing to be done. They only talk. So you have to find a better way.

Thank you.

6. To Algurai Shastri¹

New Delhi
December 11, 1957

My dear Algurai²,

Your letter.³ I am returning the Speaker's letter.

I think that it is proper for the Speaker to resign from the membership of the Congress Party in Parliament during his Speakership. But, of course, he continues, as he says, his ordinary membership of the Congress.⁴

You might place this letter at the next meeting of the Executive Committee.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. File No. PG-14/1955-57, AICC Papers, NMML.

2. Secretary, Congress Party in Parliament.

3. On 10 December, Algurai Shastri forwarded to Nehru Ananthasayanam Ayyangar's letter of resignation as a member of the Congress Party in Parliament. Ayyangar had resigned on 8 December having regard to the views expressed on the floor of the Lok Sabha regarding the position of the Speaker in relation to the political parties in the House.

4. Algurai Shastri wrote that the previous Speaker, G.V. Mavalankar, had continued to be a member of the Congress Party, though he did not attend any of the formal meetings.

7
INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

1. To Govind Sahai¹

New Delhi

November 3, 1957

My dear Govind Sahai,²

Your letter of the 23rd October came to me some time ago. I am glad you have sent me an analysis of the UP civic elections.³ Subsequent reports in the press have justified your analysis.

I am glad to know that you feel quite integrated now with the UP Congress and the Assembly Party. We are facing difficult times which need not surprise us because of this tremendous period of transition through which we are passing.

You talk about a socialist movement. That is all very well. But I find that most people who talk about socialism talk in terms of a past age and repeat the old slogans. While the essential approach of socialism is one thing, these old slogans have little relevance today in an age of tremendous technological advance.

Practically the way to deal with this programme is in the policies we adopt in our five year plans as well as perspective planning. Of course, the Congress should always try to have a clear theoretical approach apart from implementing the practical aspect of it.

I am always glad to meet you if I am not overburdened with work.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection. Also available in File No. 6, Secret Correspondence between U.N. Dhebar and Jawaharlal Nehru, AICC Papers, NMML.
2. Sahai left the Congress in 1952 and was elected to the Uttar Pradesh Legislative Council as an Independent. He rejoined the Congress in 1957 and was elected to the Uttar Pradesh Assembly.
3. Govind Sahai wrote that in contrast to the last civic elections in Uttar Pradesh, there was a uniform swing towards the Congress in the eastern, western and central zones in the elections held in October 1957, the Party having secured the majority of seats in 60 per cent of the municipalities where it contested. He said the Congress had fared well in spite of the fact that initially the State leadership of the Party was reluctant, and even divided, on the issue of participation in the elections and it had approached the elections without proper planning or any centralized direction. Govind Sahai added that a trend towards unity was visible in the Congress circles and a consciousness about 'urgency' was gripping Congressmen.

2. To K.P. Madhavan Nair¹

New Delhi
November 7, 1957

My dear Madhavan Nair,²

With reference to the attached paper, I have no comments to make about the Nabinagar Assembly constituency.³

As regards the Muzaffarpur Parliamentary constituency, I feel that it might be desirable not to contest this seat on behalf of the Congress.⁴ As you have stated, Asoka Mehta is contesting this seat on the PSP ticket. I understand that a Communist is also contesting it. It is possible that in a three-cornered contest, we might lose. On the whole, it seems to me desirable that a man of Asoka Mehta's calibre should be allowed to come in. I do not know what Sri Babu will think of this proposal. I have written separately to Pantji and Dhebarbhai⁵ also on this subject.⁶

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. File No. PEC, 3/1957, AICC Papers, NMML. Also available in JN Collection.
2. General Secretary, AICC, 1955-58.
3. Sri Krishna Sinha, Chief Minister of Bihar, had recommended the candidature of Ram Narayan Sanik, who belonged to a backward community, for the Nabinagar Assembly constituency, where a vacancy had occurred due to the death of Anugraha Narayan Sinha of the Congress.
4. A vacancy had occurred in the Muzaffarpur Parliamentary constituency due to the demise of Congress Member Syamanandan Sahay. Sri Krishna Sinha had suggested the name of Pashupati Nath Mahtha for this seat.
5. U.N. Dhebar, Congress President.
6. Finally the Congress did not contest and Asoka Mehta won the by-election.

3. To Damodar Swarup Seth¹

New Delhi

November 10, 1957

My dear Damodar Swarup,²

I have received your letter of the 8th November, in which you discuss the present situation in the country and suggest that I should retire from the Prime Ministership and devote my time and energy to organizing the country.³

This suggestion has been made to me previously, and I recognize that there is some force in it. I have given it full consideration repeatedly. But, I feel that, in the balance and in the existing situation, I should not do that. What the future will bring, I cannot say.

You know that you have had my affection in the past. I cannot forget that.

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.

2. A former Congressman from Uttar Pradesh.

3. Noting that the Congress organization was rapidly losing its hold on the masses, Seth referred to the need for someone commanding influence with the people who could inspire and enthuse the workers and the masses. He argued that workers, including those of other parties, had as a class lost all sense of honest and sincere service, and suggested that Nehru should take leave from prime ministership for two years and tour the whole country to motivate the people in general and Congress workers in particular. He added that Nehru might choose, as his successor for two years, his most able and loyal colleague, who would pledge to consult Nehru in all important matters. Seth, who was at the time expecting conviction in a case relating to insurance business, also acknowledged "that you and Sri Prakasa did what you could possibly do to help me under the law."

4. To U.N. Dhebar¹

New Delhi
December 6, 1957

My dear Dhebarbhai,

Your letter of December 6th, with which you have sent a copy of Dwarka Prasad Mishra's letter.² I quite agree with the attitude you have taken about him.³ I think it would be most unfortunate if he becomes the head of the Congress organization in Madhya Pradesh.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection. Also available in File No. 5, Secret Correspondence between U.N. Dhebar and Jawaharlal Nehru, AICC Papers, NMML.
2. On 3 December, Mishra wrote to Dhebar seeking his permission for his candidature for presidentship of the Madhya Pradesh Congress Committee and offered to resign his vice-chancellorship of Saugar University.
3. Dhebar replied to Mishra on 6 December that he had no objection to Mishra standing as a delegate but he should not seek any position. In March 1955, Mishra was banned from holding any position for two years.

5. To U.N. Dhebar¹

New Delhi
December 6, 1957

My dear Dhebarbhai,

M. Chenna Reddi² came to see me today and spoke to me generally about the sorry state of affairs in the Congress organization in Andhra Pradesh.³ I told him that you had mentioned this matter to us yesterday and were looking into it.

He referred also to the allotment of land to Satyanarayana Raju.⁴ He said that while some kind of a decision had been previously made, the actual allotment order was passed only six weeks or so ago and by the present Government.⁵ Apart from everything else, the actual land given was community land which should not have been given to anybody.⁶ Further that the villagers had strongly objected to this.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. AICC Papers, NMML. Also available in JN Collection.

2. Congress MLA, Andhra Pradesh.

3. On 24 November, a report on the abuse of political power in Andhra Pradesh was presented to Shriman Narayan, General Secretary of the All India Congress Committee, by B.V. Sivaiah and D. Hanumantha Rao.

4. Alluri Satyanarayana Raju (1913-63); Congressman from Andhra Pradesh; participated in freedom movement; imprisoned for several years; President, Andhra Provincial Youth League in the thirties; President, West Godavari District Congress, 1937-38 and again in 1949; General Secretary, Andhra Provincial Youth Congress, 1937-38, and President, 1946; Member, Legislative Assembly, Madras, 1946-52; General Secretary, Andhra Pradesh Congress Committee, 1951-52, and President, 1957; Member, AICC, for several years; appointed General Secretary, AICC, and Member, Congress Working Committee, during the Guwahati Congress session; Minister for Irrigation and Power, and PWD, Andhra Pradesh, 1959.

5. N. Sanjiva Reddy, Chief Minister of Andhra Pradesh, following the policy of the Madras Government of assigning lands to freedom fighters, allotted ten acres of *patinela* (communally owned fertile land) to Alluri Satyanarayana Raju and his wife on 21 October 1957, although their earlier applications for the same had been rejected by the Madras Government in 1952.

6. According to a Government order of 18 June 1954, *patinela* was exempted from the land grant scheme of the Government.

6. To Shriman Narayan¹

New Delhi
December 21, 1957

My dear Shriman,²

Your letter of December 12th about the request from the American Embassy for observers to attend the Gauhati session of the Congress.³

I think you might inform them that the open session of the Congress is a public session, and it is open to anyone to attend on the normal conditions attaching to visitors. We have no objection to representatives of their Consulate coming there as visitors. If we invite them specially, this would mean our inviting representatives of other Embassies also, which we do not normally do.

There will be no difficulty about attendance as visitors. But, I do not know what arrangements are required or may be necessary for their stay in Gauhati. Accommodation there is very limited, and it would not be desirable for the Embassy people to live with the delegates. This is for your information.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.

2. General Secretary, AICC.

3. The sixty-third session of the Indian National Congress was scheduled to be held at Guwahati from 16 to 19 January 1958.

7. To U.N. Dhebar¹

New Delhi
December 21, 1957

My dear Dhebar Bhai,

At a meeting of the Congress Party in Parliament today, the question of the ten per cent contribution to the Congress organization was discussed.² A number of people said it was too much. Some supported it and a few even said that it should be more. I pointed out that it was not for our Party to consider this matter, as the AICC had decided it.² If anyone chose, he could make a personal reference to the AICC. We must stand by this decision. Ultimately this was decided. We have asked all Members of our Party to pay ten per cent of their salary, that is, Rs 40/- a month to our Party's Treasurer. He will keep Rs 175/- for the year as the Party's subscription and the rest will be forwarded to the AICC Office who can distribute it to the PCCs, etc., as decided upon.

I enclose a copy of a letter I have received. The original must have been sent to you.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. File No. PG-18/1958, AICC Papers, NMML. Also available in JN Collection.
2. The Congress Working Committee, at its meeting held at New Delhi on 17 November 1957, decided that all Members of Parliament and State Legislatures should contribute ten per cent of their salaries and that from out of the amount so collected, the party subscription of the Members shall first be paid and, from the balance, an amount necessary to meet the PCC share of the allowance of the full-time workers shall be set apart and the rest distributed among the District and Mandal Congress Committees. It was also decided that further contributions should not be demanded by Congress Committees from the Members.

8. To U.N. Dhebar¹

New Delhi

December 31, 1957

My dear Dhebar Bhai,

Your letter of December 27 has reached me this evening on my return to Delhi.² I have just read it. Since you wrote, there have apparently been other developments in the UP. It has not been very easy for me to follow these developments and I am not quite clear even now in my mind what has happened.

I need not tell you that I agree with you broadly. We should always try to have free and fair elections and yet on special occasions one is compelled to take some steps to postpone them, even though that is not ordinarily desirable.

But, surely no question arises of your surrendering your office.

I shall be meeting you soon of course.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection. Also available in AICC Papers, NMML.

2. Dhebar referred to factionalism in the UP Congress and postponement of the UPCC elections due to various difficulties. He emphasized the need for free democratic organizational elections and suggested that these could be held at the Guwahati session of the Congress in January 1958.

DEFENCE

1. Quality and Costing of Bren Guns¹

Some papers about the supply of Bren guns to Nepal have been placed before me. In this connection, I find that the price of Bren guns supplied by the United Kingdom is much cheaper than our price even when the cost of transport is included. Indeed, the UK price is cheaper than our cost of production and we cannot, therefore, compete with it unless substantial subsidies are given.

2. I am surprised to learn this. The cost factor depends chiefly on wages and the quality and expertness of the work. Presumably, wages in India are much lower than those in England. If even so the cost is greater, then one must presume that the quality of the work is very poor. This is a very distressing thought.

3. The Defence Ministry, like every other Ministry of the Government of India, probably tend to look at these matters from a non-businesslike point of view. I remember, some time ago, that their way of costing seemed to me extraordinary and most unbusinesslike. At that time, some attempts were made to change these methods. I do not know what actually happened. But in any event, we can only work our Ordnance Factories on the strictest principles. If they cannot compete with similar factories abroad, there is something wrong about our organization or our men.

4. I shall be glad if you will let me have some information on this subject.

1. Note to O. Pulla Reddi, Defence Secretary, New Delhi, 1 November 1957. JN Collection.

2. The Navy Day¹

Greetings and good wishes to the men of the Indian Navy on the occasion of the Navy Day. Independence has brought many problems to us. It has made us conscious of the obvious fact that India has a tremendously long seaboard. It has reminded us of the past when we were a seafaring nation. Geography compels us to think of the sea and of traffic across the seas and of defence connected with the sea. Even in this age of air communications, the importance of the sea remains and, therefore, the importance of the Navy also remains.

I have always been happy to meet our youngmen in the Navy, and I send them my good wishes.

1. Message, New Delhi, 2 November 1957. File No. 9/2/57-PMS. Also available in JN Collection. The Navy Day is celebrated on 21 December.

3. Erratic Conduct of an Army Captain¹

In view of the strong opinions expressed in this matter by the DIB² and by others, and the recommendation of the COAS,³ I suppose that we have to take the action recommended. I rather dislike the idea of invoking the Army Act⁴ in this way, apparently for the first time, and I would have preferred that Captain Rehman should go in the normal course after another six months. However, if even this is considered a grave security risk, then we can take this action.

2. It seems to me, however, that before this action is taken formally, COAS or any senior officer who is supposed to deal with him, should send for Captain Rehman and tell him that his conduct at the time he joined his present service, in not informing us of his return to Pakistan from India and his taking up service there and then coming back to India, was very reprehensible and not befitting an officer. Before we take any formal step against him, we are prepared to allow him to resign from the service. Presumably, he will resign. If so, I suppose nothing further need be done.

3. If, however, he does not choose to resign, then action should be taken as suggested under Section 18 of the Army Act.

4. If there is any difficulty in the procedure I have suggested, the matter can be referred to me again.

1. Note to Defence Secretary, New Delhi, 16 November 1957. JN Collection.

2. B.N. Mullik

3. K.S. Thimayya was the Chief of Army Staff.

4. Section 18 of the Army Act empowers the President of India to terminate the service of a guilty officer without issuing any show-cause notice.

4. Discourteous Behaviour of a Brigadier¹

I have read these notes. I think that our displeasure should be conveyed to Brigadier Wilson for his discourteous behaviour to the public.² There is seldom any excuse for discourtesy, and a senior officer has always to be courteous and well-behaved. A person who occupies a responsible position as President of a Cantonment Board, where he has to deal with members of the Board, has specially to be careful in this regard. While discourtesy is bad even to one's subordinates, it is doubly so to any member of the public, especially an elected member of a Board.

2. It is for COAS to consider whether Brigadier Wilson should be transferred or not and, further, if he has to be transferred, when this should take place. It does not seem to me necessary, having regard to all the circumstances, for Brigadier Wilson to be transferred immediately. A little later, this might be considered.

3. So far as the Executive Officer is concerned, a departmental enquiry should be held.

1. Note to V.K. Krishna Menon, Defence Minister, New Delhi, 18 November 1957. JN Collection.

2. For the incident involving the discourteous behavior of Brigadier Wilson, President of Jabalpur Cantonment Board, on 19 August 1957, see *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 39, pp. 435-436.

5. Usefulness of Noratlas Aircraft¹

I am sending you a note and some photographs sent to me by Shri B. Patnaik² about the four-engined Noratlas 2508 aircraft. From the account given of this aircraft, it is an extraordinarily useful one for all kinds of operations.³

The question is what we can do about this. The request made is that:

- (1) this aircraft may be used for NEFA supply drop operations,⁴ and
- (2) that it may be permitted, in association with Air India International or separately, to operate international charters particularly cargo.⁵

I think these matters should be pursued soon. So far as the NEFA supply drop operations are concerned, it should be easy to try this for these operations.

The other matter is perhaps more complicated, but it should certainly be considered.

Both our Air Headquarters and the Civil Aviation Ministry should examine this aircraft and test it. As the aircraft is already here,⁶ this does not involve us in any expenditure and it should be easy to come to decisions. Those decisions need not be permanent to begin with. It might be possible to have provisional decisions so as to try this aircraft in both the supply drop operations and for cargo.

Could you kindly get in touch with Air Headquarters as well as Civil Aviation on this subject?

1. Note to M.K. Vellodi, Cabinet Secretary, New Delhi, 22 November 1957. JN Collection. Also available in File No. 5(6)-NEFA/57, MEA.
2. Biju Patnaik; pilot, industrialist and Congress leader from Orissa.
3. According to Biju Patnaik, this French aircraft had been widely used for carrying heavy equipment to difficult and small places. Through its rear exit, light tanks, jeeps and cars could be driven into and out of the aircraft and be easily parachuted out also. Its high engine and jet power ensured a high safety factor to counteract strong wind turbulence on high mountain sides and valleys.
4. This aircraft, Biju Patnaik wrote, was ideally suited for supply dropping in the NEFA and other mountain areas, and had a much greater safety factor than a Dakota.
5. Biju Patnaik pointed out that Air India International had not got the requisite aircraft capacity to cope with international cargo going out and coming into India, and that four crores of rupees of foreign exchange was annually taken away by foreign operators. Patnaik himself wanted to venture into this business and requested for permission to operate international charters, particularly cargo.
6. A Noratlas 2508 aircraft purchased by Patnaik had arrived at Safdarjang airport in Delhi.

6. Polish Offer of Defence Equipment¹

The Polish Ambassador² came to see me today and, inter alia, referred to the question of defence equipment supply from Poland to India. In April last, there had been talks with Shri Mahavir Tyagi³ on this subject and a little later with General Thimayya. He said that Poland could give to India a fully equipped factory for the production of tanks, tractors, excavators, earth-moving machine, etc. It could produce two hundred tractors a year or in the alternative excavators, etc. The total cost would be thirty-five million rupees, but it had been suggested that some of the existing ordnance factories might be used as the base for this factory. In that event, of course, the cost will be less.

2. He told me that Brigadier Nanavati, our Military Attache in Moscow, had visited such a factory. There had been some talks also with our Defence Minister, Shri Krishna Menon, on this subject.

3. The Polish Government were greatly interested in this project. They realized our present financial difficulties and were prepared to give the fullest consideration to payments suited to India's needs.

4. Apparently, there are some Polish engineers here in India at present and some kind of talks have taken place between them and our Defence experts.

5. The Ambassador wanted to know if they should carry on these talks in some detail, i.e., whether there was no political objection to such a transaction. If a political line clear was given, then they could go ahead with further talks in regard to this proposed factory.

6. I told him that I saw no special political objection. We had to consider these matters naturally from a variety of points of view. The most important of these at present was the financial and we were not able to undertake any obligation involving foreign exchange. I further told him that what attracted me to his proposal was its combined character for producing tractors, excavators, etc., as well as tanks. In fact, that I was more interested in tractors and the excavators.

7. Two or three days ago I sent a note from Shri Mahavir Tyagi to the Cabinet Secretary. This note contained some reference to the talks he had recently in Poland, about this tank factory. In his note he had given details about tanks.

1. Note to Defence Secretary, New Delhi, 22 November 1957. JN Collection.

2. Julius Katz-Suchy was Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Poland to India.

3. Mahavir Tyagi was Minister for Defence Organization at that time.

I had asked the Cabinet Secretary to send a copy of this to you.

8. I have not followed this matter at all in the past and this subject is coming up before me almost for the first time now. Everything is governed by our resources position. But subject to that it appears to me to be a worthwhile proposal which will give us something that we really need and thus save a good deal of foreign exchange in the future. The Polish Ambassador's question to me as to whether a line clear signal could be given for further discussions was relevant. It is no good going in for detailed discussions and then to be overruled at the last moment for some other major reason. Therefore, we must be clear about this matter even at the beginning. I suppose the Defence Minister will be coming back⁴ fairly soon and he will no doubt deal with it. Some broad considerations, not of the project itself, but of the possibility of our undertaking such a thing might be given to it by the Planning Commission. The Finance Minister, of course, has to be consulted. After these preliminary consultations we should be in a position to know whether to continue these talks or not.

9. I am sending copies of this note to the Finance Minister, Cabinet Secretary,⁵ Foreign Secretary and the Deputy Chairman, Planning Commission.

10. The Ambassador gave me a note in regard to his proposal. I enclose this note.

4. V.K. Krishna Menon, Defence Minister, was at this time in New York as the leader of the Indian delegation to the UN.
5. The same day Nehru wrote to M.K. Vellodi, Cabinet Secretary: "I should like you to consider how we should proceed with this matter now, that is to say, how we should undertake our preliminary talks so that we might be able to adopt a clear attitude with the Polish Government or the Ambassador."

7. The Flag Day¹

The Flag Day which our Defence Forces celebrate every year is a day not only for them but for others also. Our Armed Forces no longer exist as something apart from the general life of the community. They are part and parcel of it, trained for a definite purpose of service to the country. It is their business to defend the freedom that we have won. It is also their business to serve the country and the people in other ways, as they have often done in times of floods and other calamities.

In Defence, as in many aspects of civil life, the equipment and modern technique count. But, in the final analysis, it is the human being that counts. Whenever I see our young men in the Army, Navy and Air Force, it gladdens me to note their smart bearing, their efficiency and their capacity for service.

But the Flag Day is even more so a day for people outside the Defence Services. It is a day when they should give thought to these young men of the Defence Services, to make them their own, as they are, and to show their appreciation of their service both within our country and outside where they have gone on missions of peace. A small way to indicate this appreciation is to contribute to the Flag Day fund.

1. Message, New Delhi, 22 November 1957. File No. 9/2/57-PMS. Also available in JN Collection. The Flag Day is celebrated on 7 December.

8. Defence Purchases¹

I have read these notes.

It appears that the Defence Minister is in favour now of our accepting Levy's offer, subject to any possible better terms that we might be able to get. His chief consideration appears to be that we have gone too far with Levy's and it would be morally and politically disadvantageous for us to go back on what we have already done, even though in strict law we are entitled to do so. The Finance Minister appears to be of the same opinion, that is, the letter of intent given to Levy's is morally binding on us.

Napco's terms are slightly more advantageous, more particularly in regard to some payment in rupees. Both firms appear to be desirable and capable of fulfilling the contract. We have been dealing with Levy's for some time past and certainly in this particular matter we were on the verge of concluding a contract with them and gave them fully to understand that this was so. I feel that in all the circumstances we should not go back on our letter of intent to Levy's, although of course we might try to get some better terms if possible. It is stated in the notes that there is no chance of Levy's reducing their prices. If there is a possibility of their accepting part payment in rupees, it might be investigated.

There is certainly certain moral liability attaching to us in this matter and there is a political aspect also. The Canadian Government is interested in this. They have done much for us in many ways and we should not like to do anything which savours of going back on our word.

I agree therefore with the Defence Minister and the Finance Minister that we should proceed to finalize this matter with Levy's. I do not think it is necessary to refer it to the Defence Committee of the Cabinet. But at the next meeting they should be informed of our decision.

1. Note to Defence Secretary, New Delhi, 4 December 1957. JN Collection.

9. Supply of US Bomber Planes to Pakistan¹

Mr Gaitskell,² the Leader of the Opposition in the UK, told me that when Mr Aneurin Bevan³ had discussed the question of the supply of American aircraft to Pakistan with Mr Dulles, Mr Dulles had told him categorically that no bomber planes had been supplied. This surprised Mr Bevan as he had been told when he came here that Bomber planes had been supplied and it was because of this that we had to spend a lot of money in buying Fighter planes.

Will you please enquire from Air Headquarters what their information is on this subject.

1. Note to Defence Secretary, New Delhi, 12 December 1957. JN Collection.

2. Hugh Todd Naylor Gaitskell (1906-1963); British politician; taught political economy at the University of London; Principal Private Secretary to the Minister of Economic Warfare, 1940-42; entered the House of Commons, 1945; Minister of Fuel and Power, 1947-50; Chancellor of the Exchequer, 1950-51; succeeded Clement R. Atlee as Labour Party leader, 1955; reunited the party and moderated its policies.

Gaitskell visited Delhi in December 1957 in connection with the Commonwealth Parliamentary Conference.

3. Chief foreign affairs spokesperson of the British Labour Party.

10. Acquisition of F-86 Sabre Jets by Pakistan¹

I think you should write to Mr Nye Bevan (under secret cover) that I have enquired further into this matter, and I am told definitely that Pakistan received during 1955 a considerable number of F-86 Sabre jet aircraft which are transonic Fighter Bombers similar to the Hunters. They can bomb at a short range, though they are not so good for longer ranges. We have also received reports that Pakistan is receiving or may receive soon some American Light Bombers also as well as Super Sabres. But, about this, we are not quite sure yet.

1. Note to M.O. Mathai, 13 December 1957. JN Collection.

JAMMU AND KASHMIR

I. AT THE UN

1. Cable to V.K. Krishna Menon¹

Your telegram 602 November 2nd. Kashmir. We generally agree with line you propose to take at Security Council meeting.²

2. Your paragraph 8.³ I think it is unwise to make any reference to self-determination in East Bengal or North-Western region of Pakistan. Any such reference is likely to be exploited by Pakistan against us to further their argument that we wish to dismember and destroy their country. Further it will be harmful to progressive elements in Pakistan.

3. About Graham I agree to approach in your paragraph 4.⁴ We cannot of course refuse to have him, and we can say that we have no objection to Graham

1. New Delhi, 4 November 1957. JN Collection.
2. Krishna Menon informed Nehru that Pakistan was trying to rush the Kashmir question in the Security Council, and said, "We will not wish to give an impression of playing for the time but I do not propose that Pakistan dictate time table." He also said that he would decline to speak on the proposed Anglo-US resolution on the ground that the Government of India would have to consider it. In the discussions on 25 and 29 October, the British representative, Pierson Dixon, had put forward a proposal that Dr Frank P. Graham should enter into consultation with India and Pakistan in an attempt to achieve a settlement.
3. Krishna Menon wanted to know if it would be in order for him to ask whether Pakistan would give self determination in East Bengal or in its north-western region on the twin issue of joining Pakistan or being independent.
4. Krishna Menon thought India could hardly refuse to have Graham to come to India because he was the successor of the UNCIP. However, in view of the fact that Pakistan had not implemented Part I of the UNCIP Resolution and there had been further non-implementation and military augmentation, he suggested taking the stand that India was willing to talk to Graham but not prepared to go beyond UNCIP Resolution and assurances, and neither agreeable to arbitration or arbitrament by Graham, or to findings on facts which were already established by the UN Commission. Graham, who was appointed UN mediator for India and Pakistan in relation to the Kashmir dispute on 30 April 1951, had submitted his last report to the UN in 1953.

or anyone else coming to our country, but we are not prepared to go beyond UNCIP resolutions and assurances.

4. I agree with your reaction, as given in your paragraph 11, to Jarring's suggestion.⁵

5. Krishna Menon wrote that Gunnar Jarring, the Swedish representative, had made a reference to asking for an advisory opinion from the World Court on certain legal aspects of the question "presumably on accession". Krishna Menon thought India could list "a large number of issues, for example aggression, concealment, accentuation and their relationship, etc., so that nobody would want to refer it."

2. The Anglo-US Proposal¹

If the Security Council of the UN adopts any resolution seeking to revive the Graham mission to Kashmir, it will be against the wishes of India. Dr Graham may come if the Council passes the resolution, and the Security Council as now constituted² is more a Baghdad Pact Council. The Anglo-US proposal is quite out of tune with the recent developments in this part of the world and in Kashmir. Dr Graham was in this region four years back. Since then the context has completely changed because of the augmented military aid to Pakistan by virtue of her membership of military pacts sponsored by Britain and the USA. The question of demilitarization does not arise as India has the sovereign right to station her troops anywhere on her soil.

Kashmir endorsed the stand taken by Mr Menon in the Council one hundred per cent, both in regard to the inviolability of Kashmir's accession to India and demilitarization.

Regarding Mr Gunnar Jarring's suggestion to refer, for an advisory opinion, certain legal aspects of the Kashmir question to The Hague Court,³ we have not

1. Comments at a meeting of the Parliamentary Consultative Committee on Foreign Affairs, New Delhi, 15 November 1957. From *The Hindu* and *The Hindustan Times*, 16 November 1957.
2. The non-permanent members of the Security Council at the time were: Cuba, Colombia, Australia, the Philippines, Iraq and Sweden. The representative of Iraq was the President of the Council for November 1957.
3. Gunnar Jarring said on 13 November that the International Court might be asked to give an opinion on two questions: (1) whether Kashmir's accession to India in 1947 was legally valid; and (2) if a plebiscite were needed to confirm the accession, to what extent India and Pakistan had "assumed precise obligations" regarding the manner in which it should be arranged and the pre-requisites for holding it.

rejected it, but our firm reaction will be conveyed when the suggestion comes in a concrete form.

India will keep an open mind on the report of Mr Gunnar Jarring on the Kashmir issue⁴ and examine the report on its merits.

Shri V.K. Krishna Menon has very ably presented India's case before the Security Council and it is India's desire that everything that he wants to say should go on record, so that later it may not be said that a particular point had not been stated.

There is no move for a Second Bandung Conference to be held in the near future.

Perhaps, both Pakistan and Portugal are trying to strengthen the friendship between their two countries with the visit of the Pakistan President to Portugal.⁵

India's policy towards Goa is now conditioned by the fact of the issue being before the World Court at The Hague.⁶ The suggestion to send a delegation of Goans to Europe, America and the United Nations to convince the world that the people of Goa are fully behind India in her determination to remove Portuguese colonialism from India is good and may be considered.

Regarding the settlement of the question of the frontier between India and China, the Chinese Government has informed India that they would send a delegation to discuss the problem. The delegation has not so far arrived and the problem has been pending for quite sometime. Similarly, the Burmese Government has agreed to discuss the question of demarcation of certain areas of the Indo-Burma frontier by talks with the Indian Government.

India needs to improve her external publicity particularly in the Latin American countries.

4. In pursuance of the Security Council's resolution of 21 February 1957, Jarring had visited India and Pakistan from 14 March to 29 April, and although, in his report of 30 April 1957, he made no concrete proposals for settlement of the Kashmir question, he recognized that holding of the plebiscite "could lead to grave problem" and India would not agree to it till Pakistan vacated aggression. He stated that the UNCIP Resolutions could no longer be implemented because of the "changing pattern of power relations in West and South Asia", and concluded that implementation of international agreements of ad hoc character, if not speedily achieved, become progressively more difficult as the "situation they were to cope with tended to change."
5. Pakistan President Iskander Mirza was in Portugal in November 1957 as part of his month-long visit to Britain, Portugal, Spain and Lebanon.
6. On 26 November 1957, the International Court of Justice rejected four of six preliminary objections raised by India to the Portuguese claim to the right of passage between Portuguese possessions in India through Indian territory.

3. Cable to V.K. Krishna Menon¹

Your telegram 632 November 15.

I do not understand the first paragraph.² In any event, neither the Russian Ambassador³ is here nor the UK High Commissioner⁴ and their understudies are not much good. I do not see the necessity of our saying anything here to the Russian Embassy. It is for you to deal with the matter as you think proper at the other end.

2. Our attitude to draft resolution proposed by UK-USA⁵ is that it is totally unacceptable to us. The whole approach of the draft resolution is partisan and misconceived. We can have nothing to do with it. It is not capable of being amended or improved. We should, therefore, oppose it completely.

3. We agree with you about Graham. We do not mind his coming and have no objection to talking to him but you may like to repeat that there could be no talks in continuation of the 1953 discussions.

4. Desai⁶ has seen the American Ambassador⁷ and explained to him our attitude

1. New Delhi, 16 November 1957. JN Collection.

2. Krishna Menon wrote it was not known whether the Soviet Union would veto the upcoming Anglo-US resolution, and suggested that the Soviet Ambassador in New Delhi might be told that the resolution could not be rushed without first hearing the arguments in the light of the Jarring report and "therefore whether the Russians propose to take that line." He added that the UK High Commissioner and the US Ambassador might also be told that India would require time to consider the resolution.

3. Mikhail A. Menshikov.

4. Malcolm MacDonald.

5. The Anglo-US resolution, submitted to the Security Council on 16 November, authorized Dr Graham to visit India and Pakistan in order to make recommendations to the two parties and to work out with them, within three months, "an early agreement on demilitarization procedures". He was asked, in particular, to attempt to reach agreement on "a reduction of forces on each side of the ceasefire line to a specific number, arrived at on the basis of the relevant Security Council resolutions", and having regard to the recommendations contained in his own report of March 1953. The draft resolution also pointed out that both India and Pakistan "recognize and accept" their commitments under the UNCIP Resolutions of 1948 and 1949. The resolution was supported by Australia, the Philippines and Cuba.

6. M.J. Desai, Commonwealth Secretary, MEA.

7. Ellsworth Bunker.

and spoken to him on lines of your paragraph two.⁸

5. You will certainly reply to Noon as you think fit.⁹ I agree with you that we should not give any impression that we are perturbed about the matter going to the Assembly or anything else. If you consider it necessary, you can mention that the matter is not in law or otherwise fit for the General Assembly.¹⁰

6. I do not understand what guidance the Russians want.¹¹ We can certainly tell them that we object to this resolution in toto and there can be no question of agreeing to any part of it.

8. Referring to the intention of the Pakistan delegation to push the Kashmir matter to come up to the General Assembly, Krishna Menon suggested that Nehru might tell the Americans that the so-called veto of any particular resolution or any particular procedure in regard to the solution of a problem of which the Security Council was seized constituted a situation under the Uniting for Peace Resolution. He also wrote, "The Pakistanis would not carry out this business if the US does not encourage them."

9. Krishna Menon wrote he had information that the speech Feroz Khan Noon, the Pakistan Foreign Minister, was to make in the Council was going to contain "attribution of motives and abuse of India."

10. Krishna Menon wanted to "let it be felt that the matter cannot go to the Assembly as indeed it cannot be if any law is being observed and further no Assembly resolution can take away the territories of India."

11. Stating that the "Russians have asked us for our views and what course of conduct they should pursue", Krishna Menon suggested that "the Russians might veto all the objectionable parts and leave some innocuous remainder", if that were procedurally possible.

4. Cable to V.K. Krishna Menon¹

Your telegram 633 November 17th.² I have already told you that we entirely disapprove of UK-US resolution on Kashmir. We do not think any amendments can improve it if the basic approach remains the same. Therefore, we must oppose it completely. So far as we are concerned, we would like others to oppose it completely also on this ground or any other ground, and we would not like them to move amendments or to abstain from voting. Of course, if amendments change the basic character of the resolution, they may move them. But, in any event, abstention from our point of view would be harmful.

2. Nobody has cold feet here on this question and we are not at all afraid of the matter going to the General Assembly or of any other consequence.³ You should, therefore, explain our position to the Russians, Swedes and any others you think can be approached in this way.

3. Commonwealth Secretary will meet Swedish Ambassador and explain to him our position.

1. New Delhi, 18 November 1957. JN Collection.

2. Krishna Menon wrote: "The Russians ask us privately to consider whether their moving of amendments which would clarify their position and partly ours and then abstaining on the resolution was the better course or whether they should move amendments and if they were not carried as they will not be then they should vote against." The Russians also said that they were not afraid of vetoing the resolution, but they cared for India's feelings as she might not like the question going to the General Assembly where catchwords like "self-determination" would determine the vote.

3. Krishna Menon suggested asking the Russians and the Swedes to vote against the resolution rather than abstaining. Noting that Pakistan would anyway take the matter to the General Assembly, he said that if it came there, India would get a minimum of 15 votes and a very large number of abstentions, and not fare like South Africa. "It would seem an error, therefore, to get cold feet now." Krishna Menon also informed Nehru that American policy makers "have put it around both in Washington and here (New York) that either the Indians go out of Kashmir with or without a plebiscite or there would be no American aid."

5. Cable to V.K. Krishna Menon¹

I would suggest that there should be no further speeches from our side on Kashmir resolution². Our case has been fully presented already and repeated answers and rejoinders tend to divert attention from main issues. Short and dignified statement about our not accepting resolution is enough. Also references to “gloves off” and attacks on motives of sponsors might be avoided.³

1. New Delhi, 19 November 1957. JN Collection.
2. Taking part in the debate in the Security Council on 18 November, Krishna Menon declared that India was totally opposed to the Anglo-US resolution because “it goes against the Charter,” and would not honour it if it was approved.
3. In an intervention in the Security Council on 18 November, Krishna Menon said that the UK was mainly responsible for the Anglo-US resolution, and had shown a “totally partisan attitude” over the Kashmir issue because she had not forgiven India for her attitude at the time of the Suez crisis. He added, “So, if they are going to take it out of us—well, there it is.” Krishna Menon also said that Britain was the country which “stole the country of India in the first instance by forgery.” He accused the British representative, Pierson Dixon, of connivance with Pakistan and of having “hatched” the resolution, and said it was “time to pull the gloves off.” When the British representative protested against Krishna Menon’s comments, Krishna Menon replied that he was agreeable to having “any words taken out if they offend Sir Pierson Dixon.” He also asked that any reference he had made to British India be expunged from the record. Krishna Menon, however, stated that he had no wish to hurt Pierson or his country; the feelings he had expressed were those which had been aroused in India in the last few days.

6. Cable to V.K. Krishna Menon¹

I have received telegrams 639² and 641³ November 19.

I cannot guide you from here in day-to-day developments in regard to Kashmir debate. You are in the best position to judge and will exercise your own discretion. Naturally if anything has to be explained, this should be done.

My own impression is that there has been so much discussion in the Security Council that I myself find it difficult to remember the main points. If that is so in regard to me, then others must be even more confused. We should certainly place our position on record, but this need not necessitate repeated long statements. Anyhow, it is for you to judge.

I was unhappy about the discussion in the Security Council descending to the personal level⁴ and references to Clive's⁵ time and other matters.⁶ We have always tried to avoid this approach.

1. New Delhi, 20 November 1957. JN Collection.
2. Krishna Menon wrote that long before Nehru's telegram of 19 November arrived, he had given an undertaking to the Security Council that he would answer Pakistan's contradiction of India's statements. "So unless I am totally prohibited I will have to do so. Besides we must have our position on record." Krishna Menon also said, "It is difficult for you to appreciate the situation as it transpires here", and added, "If you think I am spoiling the situation or not dealing with it properly, you will no doubt let me know."
3. Arthur Lall, India's Permanent Representative to the UN, informed M.J. Desai about Gunnar Jarring having told him that the vote on the Kashmir resolution was likely to be ten to one and that Sweden would have to go along with the other countries.
4. Krishna Menon called Pierson Dixon's speeches as "boring". But immediately he said that in fact Sir Pierson made "very interesting" speeches, and he was "one of the most amiable gentlemen who walk these floors."
5. Robert Clive (1725-74); British soldier and administrator in India; prepared the way for British rule in India by his decisive victory over Siraj-ud-Daula, the Nawab of Bengal, at the battle of Plassey, 1757; virtual ruler of Bengal, 1757-60; Governor and Commander-in-Chief of Bengal, 1765-67.
Clive is known for having forged the treaty whereby Omi Chand, the British Resident's adviser and agent at Murshidabad, was to have been given a sizable portion of the fortune accruing from the Nawab's treasury for not disclosing the British plans to replace the Nawab.
6. See the preceding item.

7. Cable to V.K. Krishna Menon¹

Your telegram 645 November 21.² I have no doubt that in this Kashmir matter the British have behaved very badly. No one here has thought that you were putting forward a policy different from that of our Government. Indeed, no one has suggested this to us.

2. The fact that some things have been taken out of the record does not make much difference when they have been broadcasted to the world and a certain impression created of our functioning in a temper. I can very well understand the great strain in which you have been working and that is one reason why I have been feeling that it would have been better for you not to put so much strain on yourself by delivering long speeches. Thanks to your previous speeches, our position is absolutely clear to everyone who wants to understand. Repetitions after this rather take away from the effect of what has already been said. I find that reaction here.

3. I am not much concerned about the effect on some Western countries or any others of our speeches. Nor do I expect them to change their views or their methods. I am concerned with the larger public opinion in India and elsewhere which forgets the main issues when personal controversies come up. You know that our method of approach has always been to state facts objectively and forcefully but always to avoid offence, whatever the guilt of the other party. It is the opposite of the cold war method.

1. New Delhi, 22 November 1957. JN Collection.

2. Krishna Menon wrote that he was very grieved and nonplussed by the last para of Nehru's telegram of 20 November. He pointed out, "The British are pulling every trick and trying to isolate me and convey the impression that I am putting forward a policy different from that of the Government. Please be wary of this. After all the intrigues they have been carrying on for the past several weeks and... the bland lies they told us, we have exercised enormous patience." Krishna Menon also said that the Kashmir position in the Security Council "should not be judged by votes but by the unhappiness and unsettlement in the minds of people", and added, "We will never get vote of the West whatever sweet speeches may be made but in the years to come it can change."

8. Cable to V.K. Krishna Menon¹

Your telegram 650 November 22. In this and previous telegrams you refer to the possibility of people in India being panicky or having cold feet in regard to Kashmir.² There is absolutely no reason to imagine this. In fact, there is far less excitement here over the Kashmir issue than probably in the United Nations. Nobody is greatly concerned as to whether it goes to the Assembly or not. There is a feeling of anti-climax and tiredness with the whole issue.

2. You are the best judge of reactions in Security Council or UN Assembly.³ But all over India and I think in many other parts of the world reactions have to some extent been adverse. This has nothing to do with any policy matter about which there are no two opinions. Nor does it refer to your argument which is appreciated. I quite agree that allowance should be made for circumstances prevailing in UN. But the world is bigger than the UN and we have to keep in mind this rest of the world also and, more especially, India and Indian way of thinking.

1. New Delhi, 24 November 1957. JN Collection.

2. Pierson Dixon had told Arthur Lall that since the Anglo-US resolution was not acceptable to India and the Russians would vote against it, the only course was for the UK, the US and Pakistan to get together as to the next step. The Australians, the Americans and others had, however, expressed the hope that there could be some conciliatory resolution in the Security Council. Reporting the above developments to Nehru, Krishna Menon stated, "I see no reason for us to be in any panic about it."

3. Stating that he was not worried about the Kashmir question in the UN, "nor even from the reports that we receive in terms of general public reaction", Krishna Menon confessed that Nehru's telegram of 22 November had upset him.

9. Cable to V.K. Krishna Menon¹

Your telegram 660 November 27th.²

2. We have carefully considered Swedish amendments and new draft resolution resulting therefrom. Also your comments. I think we should say, as suggested in your paragraph 6, that we do not accept the resolution and that we think that no real solution can be found till Pakistan vacates its aggression. But we shall offer our hospitality to Graham if he comes here.

3. What we propose to say is clear enough. The question arises as to whether in present circumstances it will be advisable for Russians to veto. In view of what you say in paragraphs 5, 7 and 8 of your telegram, it might be better if there was no veto at present and there was merely abstention.³

4. I should like you to convey to the Soviet delegate our appreciation and gratitude for their support in this matter.⁴

5. This morning I issued an appeal⁵ to America and Russia on disarmament, etc., which you must have seen.

1. New Delhi, 28 November 1957. JN Collection.

2. Krishna Menon informed Nehru that he had been told that the Soviet delegation had instructions to vote according as the Indian delegation desired. He also reported about his meeting with Jarring who had seen him to enquire whether a veto could not be avoided by amendments. Jarring had also discussed with Krishna Menon some amendments to the Anglo-US resolution which Sweden proposed to move (see the next item). According to Jarring, the amendments would be acceptable to the sponsors of the resolution.

3. Krishna Menon thought that a Russian veto on the Swedish amendments "in the present Sputnik atmosphere" might be an even more sensitive matter than otherwise, and Jarring might also feel that his efforts had not been appreciated. He also said that in the circumstances of irritation arising from a veto and rejection by India, the matter might be pushed with American support to the current session of the Assembly, which would be extremely awkward. Krishna Menon was also a little sensitive about the possibility of the military aid and other consequences of the subject being taken away from the Security Council.

4. Krishna Menon had written: "The Russians are a bit browned off by our left-handed attitude towards them. Without giving reasons I can only say I can do no different even though one's position is often very unethical and indefensible."

5. See *post*, pp. 593-594.

10. Cable to V.K. Krishna Menon¹

During my absence from Delhi MacDonald saw Secretary-General and Commonwealth Secretary to convey special message from his Government. He said that UK Government was anxious that Government of India should at least acquiesce in Kashmir resolution as amended by Jarring, even if we could not accept this. In particular, they were anxious to avoid Soviet veto on amended resolution as that would lead to serious complications and it may be difficult to resist Pakistan pressure to take matter to General Assembly.

On being asked what exactly he meant, he said that Government of India may not accept resolution but agree to receive Graham while reserving their own position. In effect, UK Government would want Government of India to adopt attitude which would lead Soviet Delegation to abstain and not veto amended resolution. MacDonald was told that the matter would be put up before me on my return. No assurance was given to him.²

In my last telegram to you on this subject, we have more or less decided to follow this line of action as recommended by you.

1. New Delhi, 1 December 1957. JN Papers, NMML.
2. On 3 December, the Security Council adopted the amended resolution by ten votes to none, with the Soviet Union abstaining. The amendments deleted entirely the operative paragraph of the draft Anglo-US resolution requesting India and Pakistan to cooperate with Dr Frank Graham in order to formulate an early agreement on demilitarization procedure, which should be implemented within three months of such an agreement. The second operative paragraph of the resolution was also amended, and a number of minor changes in the preamble were suggested. Krishna Menon stated in the Council that the resolution was not acceptable to India; however, she would be prepared to talk to Dr Graham if he went there.

II. OTHER MATTERS

1. Undesirability of a Central Ministry for Jammu and Kashmir¹

Yes, I agree to this note being sent to the Lok Sabha Secretariat. I would add, however, at the end something to the following effect.

2. From the political point of view also, it would be undesirable for a special Ministry for Jammu & Kashmir State to be created in Delhi. This would indicate that the State was something much less than an autonomous State of the Union like other States. In Pakistan, such a Ministry has been created because, in fact, the Pakistan-occupied areas have no real autonomy and are governed directly from the Centre.

3. The only special features about the Jammu & Kashmir State are the conflict about it with Pakistan and the reference to the Security Council. These special features can only be dealt with by the External Affairs Ministry, and not by a special Ministry.

4. Therefore, formation of such a Ministry would be undesirable and, indeed, harmful. Even a discussion of this subject in the House is considered undesirable.

1. Note to M.K. Vellodi, Cabinet Secretary, New Delhi, 7 November 1957. JN Collection.

2. To A.B.C. Whipple¹

New Delhi
November 10, 1957

Dear Mr Whipple,²

Thank you for your letter of October 21, 1957.³

I was glad to meet you and to have a talk with you when you came here. I am afraid it is hardly possible for me to write articles for magazines. Apart from being heavily occupied, it will not be easy for me to write such articles when so many demands come to me for them.

I welcome your suggestion that *Life* will help in furthering the cause of better understanding between the United States and India. We are anxious for that good understanding and all efforts to that end are very welcome. Our Ambassador⁴ in Washington will gladly help you in this good cause.

You refer in your letter to an article in *Life International* on the subject of Kashmir. I suppose this article is the one which appeared in the issue of March 4, 1957. I need not tell you that this article is not, according to us, a fair representation of this issue. In fact, there are some statements in it which are factually not correct.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.

2. Addison Beecher Colvin Whipple (b. 1918); historian and journalist; wrote largely about oceanic subjects; worked as a reporter for *Life* during the fifties; executive editor at the Time-Life Books.

3. Whipple thanked Nehru for granting him a lengthy interview on the eve of his departure for Japan in October 1957. He referred to an article on Kashmir in *Life International* and said that it had "brought the largest and most interesting response from our readers all around the world." Whipple also requested Nehru to write for *Life* a short exposition on Kashmir—a statement "that badly needs being made, as only you could make it."

4. G.L. Mehta.

3. To Vishnu Sahay¹

New Delhi

23rd November, 1957

My dear Vishnu Sahay,²

I wanted to tell you something, but I forgot to do so.

I think you should maintain some kind of contact with Maulana Saeed Masoudi.³ I do not mean to say that you should see him frequently and all that, but an occasional informal meeting would be helpful from many points of view. I have considerable respect for him. He has a viewpoint of his own. We may not agree with it, but it is as well to note that in these developing situations in Kashmir to know that viewpoint may be helpful. He is now leading a more or less retired life somewhere near Gandarbal, but I suppose he comes to Srinagar occasionally.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection. Also available in File No. KS-28/57, MHA.

2. Secretary for Kashmir Affairs.

3. Mohammad Saeed Masoudi, Nominated Member of the Lok Sabha from Jammu and Kashmir, 1952-57.

4. Relief for Ladakhi People¹

I have no recollection of having made any promise to Kushak Bakula.² But it is quite possible that two or three years ago he mentioned to me about the hard conditions in Ladakh and suggested that some help should be given. As far as I can remember, I sent some money then, probably from the Prime Minister's Relief Fund, to the Prime Minister of Jammu and Kashmir, earmarking it for relief in Ladakh. No particular village was mentioned.

Shri Mathai is right in saying that it is difficult for the Prime Minister's Relief Fund to be utilized for particular villages because there is no doubt that similar conditions unfortunately exist in many places. However, there is no inherent objection to helping any particular cases if special necessity is felt. I think this case should be considered a special one for a variety of reasons. There will thus be no objection to giving help from the Prime Minister's National Relief Fund or the Discretionary Fund at my disposal which is worked by PPS.

Rs 5000.00 should be given from the Prime Minister's Relief Fund and Rs 5000.00 from the Prime Minister's Discretionary Fund, thus totalling Rs 10,000.00.

It is not quite clear to me how this money is to be spent. I do not like the idea of the money being handed over to Kushak Bakula. On the other hand, if the money is sent to the Prime Minister of Jammu and Kashmir, it may lie there and may not reach Ladakh at all for a long time. In fact it is not money that is wanted but blankets and other articles. In this matter Shri Vishnu Sahay might be consulted as to how to send these articles. This money, though primarily meant for the village mentioned, that is Igu, may be spent in giving similar relief to any neighbouring place in Ladakh also.

While Shri Vishnu Sahay should be consulted, it is obvious that we should not bypass the State Government in this matter. He should mention this to the State Government and consult them. But he should make sure that the articles reach their destination.

1. Note to M.K. Vellodi, Cabinet Secretary, New Delhi, 20 December 1957. JN Collection.

2. Minister of State for Ladakh Affairs and Trade Agencies, Jammu and Kashmir Government, 1957-62.

5. To V.K. Krishna Menon¹

New Delhi
December 21, 1957

My dear Krishna,²

I enclose a note I have received from Mridula Sarabhai.³ Normally, I do not pay much attention to what she writes or says. There is, however, one suggestion in this which might deserve consideration. This is about the Army making separate arrangements for some of its supplies and not buying up things in Kashmir itself, where there is scarcity. I do not know what the facts are and can offer no advice. It is a fact, however, that food supplies in Kashmir are very limited and the position is a difficult one, causing much distress. If our Army can help in any way, it should do so.

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal

1. JN Collection.
2. Minister of Defence.
3. A prominent social worker and a supporter of Shaikh Abdullah.

6. To Bakhshi Ghulam Mohammad¹

New Delhi
December 31, 1957

My dear Bakhshi,²

I returned to Delhi after nine days' absence this evening. I have just seen your letter of the 30th December. I am glad you wrote to me and apprised me of the

1. JN Collection.
2. Prime Minister of Jammu and Kashmir.

present position.³ I suppose we must expect some difficult situations to arise, but I am sure that you will be able to deal with them properly and adequately.⁴

You know, I suppose, that the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom, Mr Harold Macmillan, is coming to Delhi on the 8th January for four days' stay.

My programme is to remain here in Delhi except for a day and a half. I shall be going to Madras on the 6th January morning and returning on the 7th January noon. President Soekarno of Indonesia is arriving here on the 7th about mid-day for two or three days stay. This is a non-official visit for rest.

On the 14th January morning, I shall be going to Gauhati for the Congress session, returning on the 20th January.

Having come back to Delhi after nine or ten days absence, I have been rather cut off from many developments. I am trying to catch up to them now. I shall be seeing Vishnu Sahay tomorrow, and he will no doubt give me further information.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

3. Bakhshi wrote that Shaikh Abdullah, who was under house arrest since August 1953, was planning to bring out a pamphlet containing his correspondence with the national leaders. According to Bakhshi, in an introduction to the pamphlet, whose publication was to coincide with Shaikh Abdullah's impending release, the latter had stated that, threatened by the tribal invasion, the people of Kashmir had "provisionally" acceded to India. Gradually a large section of the people became convinced that they were not getting their due representation in various fields, and the Muslims felt that the State was being treated as a "conquered territory". Shaikh Abdullah brought these "facts" to the notice of Nehru and Azad in 1952 but to no avail. When he discovered that a majority of the members of the National Conference had been bribed by India and the State's constituent assembly had lost its representative character, the only solution that appeared to him was a "fair and impartial plebiscite". As he made a final attempt to secure the rights of the people of Kashmir by a common agreement among "all the four parties to the dispute—India, Pakistan, Kashmir and the UN", a conspiracy was hatched against him and he was removed from office and arrested. Shaikh Abdullah also said that India was holding Kashmir by force and in order to give a semblance of democracy to this "occupation", the State constitution was finalized and "farfical" elections were held. Bakhshi added that after his release, Shaikh Abdullah was likely to lay stress on the following: holding of a plebiscite; enquiry into the events of August 1953; suspension of the constitution; imposition of the President's rule; and holding of elections under UN auspices. Bakhshi further said that Shaikh Abdullah might try and capture the main mosques in Srinagar to keep a permanent platform alive, and also forcibly take possession of Mujahid Manzil, the National Conference headquarters. Bakhshi stated that all the above factors had to be reckoned with and all the moves forestalled.
4. Shaikh Abdullah was released on 8 January 1958. He was rearrested during the night of 29-30 April 1958.

1. Talks with Kazi Lhendup Dorji¹

Kazi Lhendup Dorji,² the President of the State Congress of Sikkim, came to see me today. I think he has already met Joint Secretary Acharya.³

2. He referred to the elections proposed to be held in Sikkim in March next at which twelve Councillors would be elected on the basis of fifty-fifty—Bhutani and Lepchas on the one side and Nepalese on the other.⁴ He referred to the double election, the primary election and the second election,⁵ and said that the primary election served little purpose after seats had been reserved. The effect of it was permanently to separate Nepalese from the others.

3. I myself do not understand this primary election and I spoke about this to Shri Acharya the other day. I can understand reservation on the basis of 50-50. Surely that should be enough.

4. Shri Dorji then referred to the reserved subjects and said that this list might be reduced and only Foreign Affairs, Monasteries and Home and Police should remain reserved.⁶

1. Note to S. Dutt, Foreign Secretary, New Delhi, 27 November 1957. JN Collection.
2. (1904-2007); hailed as the father of democracy in Sikkim; started Sikkim Praja Mandal, 1945; President, Sikkim State Congress, 1953-58; founded Sikkim National Congress Party, 1962; Executive Councillor in Sikkim Council and looked after Transport, Agriculture and Animal Husbandry, 1970-72; Chief Minister of Sikkim, 1975-1979; awarded Padma Vibhushan, 2003.
3. B.K. Acharya, Joint Secretary, MEA.
4. The elections for 14 seats of the 20-member Sikkim State Council were finally held on 17 November 1958. The Sikkim State Congress won eight seats, two factions of the Nationalist Party two seats each, the Swatantra Party one seat and an Independent candidate one. Out of the 14 elected seats, 6 were reserved for Nepalis, 6 for Bhutias and Lepchas, one for the monks and one was a general seat.
5. A candidate securing highest votes from his community was declared elected only if he was able to gather at least fifteen per cent of the total votes of the other community. These primary and second elections were applicable to the Bhutia and Lepcha candidates only.
6. The Constitutional proclamation issued by the Chogyal of Sikkim in 1953 specifically laid down details about the formation of the State Council and the Executive Council, their powers, functions, etc. Areas of administration were divided into Reserved subjects under the prerogative of Chogyal and Transferred subjects under the representative bodies. The reserved subjects included Ecclesiastical Affairs, External Affairs, State enterprises, Home and Police, Finance, Land Revenue, Rationing and Establishment. The transferred subjects included Education, Public Health, Excise, Press and Publicity, Transport, Bazars, Forests and Public Works.

5. Thirdly, he said that the authority of the Executive Councillors was limited only to sanction expenditure up to Rs 100/-. This sum was not enough and should be increased.

6. Fourthly, he pointed out that as elections were organized on the 50-50 basis, persons who were not Bhutanese or Lepchas or Nepalese had no place at all and could not stand from any group, although they could vote. According to him, there were about 2,000 of these persons there and there was no reason to deprive them of the chance of standing. He suggested that the reservation should be five Bhutanese and Lepchas, five Nepalese and two independents.

7. I do not like the idea of all these separate reservations and certainly two for independents is too much. But I feel there is some force in the argument that these others should not be left out of the picture.

8. He further said that the meeting of the Council was held only twice a year for three to five days each time. This is very little. Surely it should meet oftener. I agree with him in this.

9. Another matter he referred to was that all the trade was in the hands of Marwaris. The local people wanted to have some hand in it, and trade with Tibet had much increased.

10. Shri Dorji appeared to be a reasonable man. He is Lepcha, but at the same time, President of the State Congress. He said that he had all along cooperated with the Maharajkumar⁷ and wanted to do so.

7. Palden Thondup Namgyal.

2. To Rajendra Prasad¹

New Delhi

December 4, 1957

My dear Rajendra Babu,

We have got into a bit of a tangle because of a certain unfortunate slip. You may remember meeting a certain gentleman² from Sikkim. The next morning, some of the newspapers announced that you had met His Excellency the Sikkim State President, and a photograph was also given. As soon as the Sikkim Government heard of this, they were very greatly upset, and have protested to us.

The person who met you, had nothing to do with the official apparatus. He was the President of the non-official Sikkim Congress, which, in fact, is not looked upon with great favour by the State authorities. The man himself, I believe, is quite decent. His being described publicly as His Excellency the State President, therefore, was to give him a title and a status which he did not possess and, naturally, the Maharaja³ and the Maharajkumar of Sikkim are much perturbed.

We enquired from the newspaper which published this picture etc. and they said that they had been supplied by some one in Rashtrapati Bhavan with the title etc. of this man. It appears that some Assistant Secretary in Rashtrapati Bhavan did so, without knowing the facts.⁴ I met this Sikkimese gentleman also,⁵ and so did the Vice-President, but we tried to avoid any publicity.

May I suggest that in the case of any foreigner, a reference might be made by your staff to the External Affairs Ministry who could give them the facts about the person concerned?

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.

2. Kazi Lhendup Dorji.

3. Tashi Namgyal.

4. President Rajendra Prasad clarified the next day that the caption that Rashtrapati Bhavan initially gave to the photograph of the occasion of his meeting with Kazi Lhendup Dorji had correctly described the visitor as "President, Sikkim State Congress". However, due to a typing mistake, the word "Congress" was left out, and the photograph was supplied to the Press Information Bureau (PIB) with an erroneous caption. Rajendra Prasad wrote that the PIB further altered the caption and the caption it forwarded to the newspapers used the abbreviation "H.E." before the name of Kazi Lhendup Dorji and described him as the "distinguished visitor" who had called on the President.

5. See the preceding item for Nehru's note on his meeting with Kazi Lhendup Dorji.

3. Transportation of Goods between Kalimpong and Gangtok¹

A deputation from the Kalimpong Traders' Association came to see me today. Among other subjects, they spoke about their difficulties in sending goods to Gangtok. They mentioned that the charge made for carrying loads from Siliguri to Kalimpong was much less than that from Kalimpong to Gangtok, which is the same distance.²

2. In particular, they said they were harassed greatly at the border at Rangpur where large stocks are held up.

3. I do not know anything about this matter. I have referred it to the Chief Secretary of West Bengal. You might also find out if it is a fact that stocks are held up at Rangpur. This cannot be to the advantage of any party and more efficient organization should remove this. Also, you might find out if the charges are heavy.

1. Note to Apa B. Pant, Political Officer in Sikkim, Darjeeling, 27 December 1957. File No. 17(279)/58-63-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

2. The Kalimpong Traders' Association said in a representation that the business community was facing acute hardship in the matter of transportation of goods to and from Gangtok because of lack of proper management, as the sole control over transport affairs between Kalimpong and Sikkim was with the Sikkim State Government. They also said that the charge they had to pay for carrying loads from Kalimpong to Gangtok was nearly five times of what they paid from Siliguri to Kalimpong.

4. India and Sikkim¹

I have come to Gangtok after six years and I have noticed considerable changes that are taking place through development works. I am pleased with the progress because India is always interested in the welfare of the people of Sikkim.

It is India's duty to come to the help of Sikkim and to offer her friendship and cooperation. The Government of India is much interested in helping Sikkim in the proper utilization of its mineral resources. A member of the Planning Commission has recently visited Sikkim to find out what help Sikkim requires particularly in the copper drilling work. The Government of India will study his report and then see what help it can give.

Today India is facing some difficulties especially with regard to foreign exchange. But, nevertheless, we are determined to go ahead.

Sikkim has a great tradition and culture. You should be proud of your religion and culture. You should see that your language and individuality are not spoilt by outside influences. Sikkim is not only a State bordering on China and Tibet but also a cultural link with the neighbouring countries. I hope that this cultural link will be preserved in future.

Great changes are taking place in the world today. The big powers are suspicious of one another. They have discovered great weapons. India's policy is to be friendly with all countries even though they have different ideologies. This is evident in the joint declaration by India and China on Panchsheel. India also wants to approach other countries on the basis of friendship and the principle of non-interference as embodied in Panchsheel. India wants to win the hearts of the people of other countries, not by force but by love. She can give the message of peace. This message of peace was preached by Lord Buddha. Today the preaching of that message has become a great necessity.

1. Speech at a reception given by Tashi Namgyal, the Chogyal of Sikkim, Gangtok, 28 December 1957. From the *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, and the *Hindusthan Standard*, 29 December 1957, and the *National Herald*, 30 December 1957.

5. Construction and Maintenance of Roads¹

I spent a day at Shillong. Five and a half years ago I had been there and gone on the new road to the Nathu La Pass.² Since then some progress has been made but it surprises me that work has been done there so slowly, and the whole road has not been completed yet. I know that the terrain is very difficult and requires high engineering skill. The work already done is, I am told, very creditable to our engineers. But still I am troubled by the slow pace of this work. I hope that it will be completed by autumn next year, that is, 1958.

2. The National Highway to Gangtok is a good road. During the last rainy season it has suffered greatly from landslides. I was told that the cost of maintenance of this road is Rs 25,000/- per mile. Apparently this does not include the landslides. This figure appears to me prodigiously high. I should be glad if you will enquire and find out what the exact figure is and why it is so high.

3. I found other roads in Sikkim built by the local Government. These roads were quite good and were much cheaper, both in construction and maintenance. Why should there be such a great deal of difference between the work of the Central PWD and the State in regard to the cost of construction and maintenance?

4. This difference appears to apply to bridges also. The Sikkim State Chief Engineer is, I am told, a first-class Engineer. He is a retired person, specially engaged. He has constructed some bridges speedily and at much lesser cost than the CPWD estimates.

1. Note to Lal Bahadur Shastri, Union Minister of Transport and Communications, and K.C. Reddy, Union Minister of Works, Housing & Supply, Shillong, 30 December 1957. File No. 17(279)/58-63-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

2. Nehru along with Indira Gandhi visited Shillong on 26 April 1952.

EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

I. INTERNATIONAL SITUATION

1. Continuity in India's Foreign Policy¹

Jawaharlal Nehru: Mr Speaker, at the outset, may I say that I welcome this discussion² as I welcomed a question that was put in this House yesterday in regard to the report of an interview given by the Finance Minister³. So far as the Government is concerned, we do not wish to come in the way of the fullest discussion of this. If it pleases you to extend the time for discussion, we are quite agreeable to it and we do not wish to come in the way. That depends on the convenience of the House and the work before it.

This question raises certain rather important and vital issues, and certain issues which may be considered to be of a personal character although there is nothing personal about what a Minister does in his official capacity. The first point is—I should like to clear that up because some doubt seems to have

1. Statement in the Lok Sabha, 28 November 1957. *Lok Sabha Debates* (Second Series), Vol. IX, cols 2731-2744.
2. It was in continuation of discussion on the previous day on Independent Member M.R. Masani's motion, put forward on behalf of the Independent Parliamentary Group and the Ganatantra Parishad Group in Parliament, asking the House to take into consideration the statement by the Finance Minister, T.T. Krishnamachari, on his visit to the USA, Canada, the UK, and West Germany, laid on the Table of the House on 13 November.
3. On 27 November, 62 MPs had asked whether the statement made by T.T. Krishnamachari in an interview given to the *New York Times* on the eve of his departure for Washington indicated any change in the basic principles of India's foreign policy. Emphasizing the need for more foreign assistance for India's development plans, Krishnamachari had reportedly told the *New York Times* that "the temper about loans and aid is not very good in the USA." Expressing the view that US attitude to India was "based on the strange feeling that New Delhi's policy was pro-Communist", he said that "we have to explain them that the battle here in India is a battle against Communism too". He added, "We lost the State of Kerala to the Communists and the reason behind it was that we could not spend enough money for development there." Krishnamachari also said that Washington's military aid to Pakistan was forcing India to spend more money on her own armed forces, and pointed out, "We have to be strong enough. And it is not just Pakistan. A country is friendly today, perhaps not friendly tomorrow." In his answer to the question put by the MPs, Nehru stated on 27 November that there had been "no change whatever" in the basic principles of India's foreign policy. He added that no such change in the policy of the Government was suggested by the Finance Minister and that this had been made clear both by Krishnamachari and by Nehru himself.

arisen in the mind of the Members—if there was any variation or different emphasis even in regard to our foreign policy. We have said that there is none. But, I should like to state that with greater emphasis that I believe, our Government believes, that this policy is not only the right policy, it is the only policy, it is the policy which has succeeded, not failed, it is a policy, I venture to say, to which inevitably other countries will come. I say there is no alternative to this policy except one and that is, disaster to mankind. Let countries choose which policy they want: the policy that leads inevitably to this disaster to all humanity or the policy which in its broad outlines we endeavour, in all humility, to pursue. Of course that does not mean that in its application there may not be slight variations here and there. But, basically, it is the policy, if I may say so, contrary to the policy of cold war.

At any moment we could perhaps criticize this cold war because it goes counter to the broad approach, I hope, which we have in this country and which we have had. But, at this particular moment in the world's history when all kinds of dreadful weapons are being thrown about, when people are feverishly preparing for even more terrible weapons, to think in terms of cold war is to invite that very disaster against which the countries are supposed to prepare. So, I submit that in regard to our basic foreign policy, let there be no doubt. It is as firm and as strong as India can make it.

But, it is not merely a question of our desire, it is not merely a question of our inheritance from our past thinking, past actions and past conditioning, but it is something which I venture to say is inevitable if one takes a broad view of things in the world. It is a policy which must be adopted by other countries also unless, as I said, they drift, not gradually, but rather rapidly to disaster. But, while keeping to the broad terms of that policy, there are many ways of furthering it here and there. But, in the main, I should like to make it clear that certainly, if there is the slightest variation from that policy, that basic policy, by this Government or any Government, I shall be no member of that Government.

Apart from following a certain policy, that policy itself is one of approach, apart from other things, of holding to certain principles, and yet at the same time approaching in a friendly way other Governments whether one agrees with them or disagrees. We have ventured to do that and I believe that we have done that with a measure of success. There are many people here, Members, who have been abroad and who can perhaps look at this problem in a wider perspective. I am sorry that honourable Member Acharya Kripalani is not here because he has recently returned from a long tour of foreign countries, and I should have asked him to reply to some of his arguments himself from the experiences he has gathered during his tour.

We are criticized for going on begging missions and thereby demeaning ourselves and our self-respect and honour or taking up some other attitude which is offensive, or, as Shri Masani said referring to our Defence Minister, being not agreeable enough to others or being offensive to others. We are criticized for all this on both sides, either being too agreeable or not enough agreeable or being disagreeable.

I shall deal with these matters separately, but what I would like this House to consider, and anyone outside this House, is: how does India stand in the eyes of the world? Do we stand there in the shape of a humble suppliant prepared to give up our basic policies for a mess of pottage, for some money or something? How do we stand? How does the world look at us? Do they look upon us with some respect, do they think we are a self-respecting country, a country with some honour, a country which has a policy which it tries to follow with some integrity? We may make mistakes, of course; we all do.

It is not for me to answer that question. Any person with knowledge can answer it, and I ask and invite Acharya Kripalani to answer it from his own experience of a few months' tour abroad. And I say there is only one answer to it. The answer is that India's head is high, that India is no suppliant to anybody, that so far as we are concerned, we would rather see anything happen, anything to the Second Five year Plan or to any Plan rather than that the honour of India should be sullied, and the self-respect of India should go. Let us be clear about that.

Acharya Kripalani, I regret to say, used some language unworthy of him and unworthy of this House yesterday with his suggestions that we should strut about like proud cocks in the international arena, challenging everybody and cursing everybody. That is neither good politics, nor good sense, nor indeed does it follow from the basic policy that we pursue.

How is it, if the House will think of it, that this country is not allied in a military sense to any country and yet whenever our citizens or nationals go, they are welcome? Whether they happen to go to what is called the Capitalist camp or Western Europe and America, or the Communist camp or the East, our people are welcomed, and not only welcomed but received with affection almost. Why is it if I go abroad to any country, whether it is the United States or the Soviet Union or China or Japan or Scandinavia, that I am welcomed with fervour?—not because I have any virtues, not because of any particular personal reason, but because the policy we have pursued of friendliness with firmness in regard to our own basic policy with integrity about certain ideals has impressed people. And this is not a welcome from Governments only, which, of course, one has to put out anyhow, but it is always a welcome from the people of the country where we go to, because we have touched the hearts of the people,

because we have set something and we follow a policy which finds an echo in the hearts of the people. Therefore, let us be quite clear on this subject.

We go, Shri Mukerjee said, with a begging bowl to other countries. Well, it is true that we have asked, not in a hush-hush way, but openly for the help of other countries. We have asked for it making it clear as everyone knows that we are not bargaining with any policy in regard to it, any basic policy that we pursue. Other countries have also been helped in the past and in the present. I think Shri Masani quoted yesterday Professor Kaldor When he said that he hoped that India would get one-fifth of the help from the United States that China had got from the Soviet Union. Now, China is welcome to that help, and the Soviet Union is welcome to give it, but I am merely pointing out that this business of loans or long credits or help of this kind being given by countries in a position to do so, industrialized countries or more advanced countries, is a common thing, has been and is. There is no abandonment of self-respect involved. Of course, one can do the same thing in a good way or a bad way, that is a different matter. There is no harm in that provided always that we do not barter anything for that help, that is important; and I invite the House to see that we have not done so. Our Finance Minister has not done so.

There is one aspect which I should like to put to this House. I am not here to defend every word that the Finance Minister may say or has said. We are not a regimented school where we speak only with one voice, one tone, one intonation. We speak sometimes in somewhat different languages, but we are together because we have a common purpose, because we are working for common purposes, because we have, broadly speaking, a common approach even though we differ in many other ways. That is the way of democratic government.

Now, there is a certain reflex of the cold war in other countries sometimes in our considering a problem even in our country because maybe of our sympathies, maybe of our inclinations, maybe of our apprehensions and suspicions. The result is that if I go to the Soviet Union and I am received there with the greatest friendship and cordiality which touches my heart and I thank them for it in appropriate language, people in America, or maybe some people here who think that way, think that I have sold my conscience to the Soviet Union. See what I have said when I left the Soviet Union. I think I used the words "I have left a bit of my heart here." I did. I felt as moved by what I saw there, the reception I got there. So everybody wonders there must have been some secret pact there, I am lost to what they consider the right side and all that. Somewhat later, I go to the United States, and I receive a cordial welcome there, and I say how much in common we have with the United States in the democratic traditions, how I have admired Lincoln and Washington and Jefferson and others. Well, people say, 'He has sold himself to the United States' immediately.

The fact of the matter is that I have deliberately conditioned myself, and I think, succeeded in doing so, in seeing as far as possible the good in others, because I find, and I am convinced, that the common points between countries are far greater than the uncommon points, than the points of controversy. Unfortunately, when we get tied up with this cold war business and outlook, every stress is laid on the points of difference, till they are magnified out of all proportion, and everything, even the common humanity of the people, sinks somewhere into the background.

Here you see in the world today these great giants, the United States of America and the Soviet Union facing each other grimly with armed might, and apparently hostile to each other, but I am convinced, and I have said so often enough, that there is far more in common between the Soviet union and the United States than people imagine, in fact, between the people, I say, between the fundamental outlooks of the two countries. We get lost in these old world terms which gradually cease to have much meaning.

Of course, there are differences; I do not deny them, but the similarities are striking and amazing and they are basic, and I have no doubt that they will come together—those two countries; I hope they will, in the sense of ensuring the peace of the world, because the time has come when it is obvious that neither of them can think or can dare to think even of crushing and suppressing the other. It cannot be done without common destruction to all mankind.

Therefore, if that is so, the only other way is to think coolly that while retaining their different outlooks, they have to live together. The only way is the way of coexistence, peaceful coexistence.

So, I say, when I go to countries, I go to Scandinavia, Japan, etc., I am moved. Maybe, I am rather emotionally inclined in this way. But I am moved. Everybody is moved when others are kind to him, when others are affectionate to him. I have no doubt that it is a law, a fundamental law of nature that you get what you give. If you give affection you will get it. If you give hatred, you are likely to get it. So, it has been our good fortune to have the goodwill and even the affection of the people of other countries, even though we did not wholly agree with them, even though we were entirely opposed to each other. But when we say this, when we use this friendly language to one, used as they are, used as some of us even are to the language of cold war, immediately suspicions arise that something is afoot. Now, I beg of you to consider this, that this is not a question of doing anything underhand or behindhand. If at any time we want to do something behind the scenes, how long can we keep it behind the scenes? It will come out sooner or later. That is why I said at the very outset that I welcomed this discussion here. It is far better to discuss things in an open House than whisper them in the lobbies and elsewhere. That is so far as our

major policies are concerned.

May I just say one word, that while the question of foreign assistance is a natural question, if it does not come India does not vanish into the thin air? India carries on with greater difficulties, greater problems. No doubt, we carry on. I am not frightened. I say quite clearly I am not frightened of the prospect of no help coming. I think India is strong enough to bear that burden too; we will suffer; we will slow down, but we will carry on and we will carry on with our head high and bow down to nobody. Of course, I want that help to come in all friendliness, and I hope it will come, because that somewhat eases our process of development.

Shri M.R. Masani said yesterday something about foreign help being needed and being essential for India, foreign exchange or foreign help, for the next half a century. I am no prophet, but it seemed to me a remark which I would not accept at all. I do not accept it.

M.R. Masani: I said, foreign capital; I did not say foreign help.

JN: I stand corrected. He said, foreign capital. I do not even accept that; that is to say, I am not opposed to foreign capital coming, but I am not looking forward to fifty years of, if I may use the word, dependence on foreign capital coming here. There may be foreign capital, but I do not know fifty years later what the state of the world will be. I think the pace of change in the world is so terrific that all our present day ideas will not probably be applicable fifty years later. However, that is something about the future.

Now, may I say quite frankly that when I saw, first of all, a report, a report of the report in *The New York Times* of the interview which the Finance Minister gave,⁴ some passage in it disturbed me, caused me considerable concern? He was not here then; he had gone. I communicated with him about this. I said 'I was concerned at this. Does it mean this?' He sent me a brief telegram saying 'Of course, not. There was complete misunderstanding', and so on and so forth. Well, I was satisfied, except that I regretted that any such misunderstanding should arise in the minds of people who read that. But so far as I was concerned, I was content at that, and all my concern was that this misunderstanding should go, because in all these matters, when we discuss a matter in various hypothetical situations, all kinds of things are said, which, isolated from their context, may mean something quite different.

4. *The Hindustan Times* reported it on 21 September 1957.

Now, questions were asked yesterday or the no time [sic] did he envisage any type of conflict between India and Russia and China. Well, the very idea of asking that question or imagining that such a thing was a remote possibility surprises me. Now, people think, some people, that we adopt a certain policy in India, because we are afraid of Russia or China, that we adopted a certain policy in Tibet because we were afraid of China. Well, it is not for me to present to this House my bona fides in these matters. But so far as I know myself, and so far as I know our Government, I can assure this House that there was not the slightest element of fear or apprehension in regard to our policy in regard to China or Tibet or Russia.

I am absolutely convinced they—not for emotional reasons, not for any reasons of my likes and dislikes or wishful thinking, but for severely practical reasons—there is not the remotest possibility of Russia or China or the United States of America attacking or being aggressive to or having war with India. And, therefore, I fashion my policy accordingly. I admit countries change their policies; countries get excited; things happen; you have a liking for a country or you dislike it; all these things happen. You see today countries that were at war with each other—and the most terrible of wars—ten or twelve years ago—are friends today, military allies against others who were their allies. These things happen. So, I am not basing my judgment on likes and dislikes, but on the realities of the situation. I would not go into that. I am prepared to argue this with anybody.

Other people seem to think that war is bound to come and if war comes India will suffer in this way or that way. Well, my reply to them is that if war comes, war of that kind, it is perfectly clear to me that nobody will escape suffering, and it might indeed end in putting an end to human existence in this world.

So let this be quite clear. Whatever ideology Russia follows or China follows or the United States of America follows, there is no question of our being affected, and allowing it to affect our policy, through fear. What is the position today? There are large numbers of countries in Western Europe, America, etc., which accept, by and large, what might be called a modern version of capitalism tempered by socialistic advances, in some cases, considerable advances. A very large portion of the world is governed by what might be called the communist ideology. There it is. These are facts. But people, more especially the people in these rival camps and blocs, seem to forget that there is a very large part of the world which, though wanting to be, and being in fact, friendly to these countries—both—still is not committed to either this ideology or that, either to the Western capitalist ideology or to the communist ideology of Russia. We are not hostile to either. We may accept something from here and something from there. But

we are not committed to them, and a good part of the world is not so committed.

Now, whatever it may be, it is also clear that you cannot force and compel your ideologies on the other, and we have seen that; whether it is, if I may respectfully say so, in the case of the Western bloc trying to force down its ideology by force of arms or on the side of the communist nations trying to force down their ideology by force of arms, both have failed. And it has been made quite clear that you may convert people, if you like, by peaceful methods, but you cannot ultimately convert a country or a nation by the sword, though you may destroy it by modern arms.

So coming back to a certain personal aspect, the Finance Minister delivered many speeches there. It is for the House or Members to read them—they are in the library of the House and anyone who wants can obtain copies of them—and find out exactly where he said something against our policy, basic policy. You may not like, you may say, 'Oh, he is too friendly to the Americans' or 'too friendly to the British' or 'too friendly to the Germans'. May be, you may not accept that in that way. But when we go to America, it is our business to be friendly to the Americans, when we go to Germany, it is our business to be friendly to the Germans. Are we going there to pick up quarrels with them? When we go to Russia, it is our business to be friendly to the Russians or the Chinese or Japanese, as the case may be. That is not from the point of view of some kind of bargaining diplomacy, trickery and manoeuvre—not that. It is or should be the normal intercourse between nations, because only then can you get the best out of the other and give best that you can and then decide for yourself what you like, because, otherwise, your mind is closed if the approach is hostile.

May I mention here a fact which perhaps may not be relevant? We talk about the Commonwealth connection and some honourable Members on the other side of the House and—I should be quite frank—some honourable Members on this side of the House, do not like that connection. There it is. They say: "Why? Apart from other reasons, see what England does about Kashmir. See what she does about Goa or some other place and so on. And you want to be tied up to them."

I can quite understand and appreciate this strong reaction, because, after all, I have the same reactions often enough. We are made of the same stuff and we react to the same things more or less. Take this Kashmir matter. It has been a matter of deep pain and grief to me—the attitude of the United Kingdom Government in it. I am not going into that, but trying merely to point it out. But that does not lead me to get so excited as to change my basic policies. If my being in the Commonwealth had even in the slightest affected my policies, affected my policies in regard to foreign or domestic matters and made me go

against me in a particular direction, then the case for quitting the Commonwealth was complete, to my mind. If it does not, then I am not going to quit it, because I do not believe in breaking any bond which we have in the world today. There are too many destructive tendencies afoot. I want to keep that bond. It might help; it does help.

In fact, I welcome in a few days' time, the Commonwealth Parliamentary Conference⁵ that is going to be held here, knowing fully well that what happens to us in parts of the Commonwealth, in South Africa, in other places, knowing also that the Commonwealth contains today all kinds of other countries, Malaya, Ghana and others, but, above all, believing that at this time more particularly in the world, what are required are more and more bonds. Let these be of silk, not of iron chains, but let us have this type of bonds so that we may approach and try to understand each other, and even where we differ, we can do so in a friendly way.

Shri M.R. Masani referred to Shri Krishna Menon and the fact—if it is a fact—of, I am using his words—‘his provocative utterances’ in the United States, that it did not go down with the people well there, that he was disliked by some Americans or others. May I say straight off that in the recent debate, Shri Krishna Menon made certain remarks which I regretted very much, which, in fact, he withdrew—he apologised for them. It is clear that the strain on him during this time was...very great. For the moment, he broke down under the strain and said something which was unfortunate.⁶

But having said that, I would like to say that his performance, his putting forward of our case for Kashmir, has been a magnificent one. Let us realize it. I want to make it quite clear to all that in what he said he represented us, he represented us fully and completely.

Let us, therefore, judge of these problems. I do not want anyone of our colleagues or anyone else to say things which irritate people. I am afraid with

5. Held at Delhi from 2 to 10 December 1957. For Nehru's speeches at the conference, see *post*, pp. and pp. 525-537 and pp. 694-696.

6. Krishna Menon spoke at length during the discussion on the Kashmir question in the Security Council on 5 and 11 November; on the latter date he collapsed from exhaustion after speaking for many hours, and was obliged to postpone the conclusion of his speech until 13 November. Leaving the sick-bed, Krishna Menon again took part in the debate on 18 November, when he opposed the draft Anglo-US resolution in strong terms. However, the British representative, Pierson Dixon, took objection to certain remarks of Krishna Menon about the partisan attitude of Britain over the Kashmir issue. Krishna Menon later withdrew the remarks. See also *ante*, p. 493.

all the goodwill in the world sometimes I slip and say such things. I am sorry for it afterwards, but that is a different matter. It may be that is a human failing.

I should like, therefore, this House to approach this question not in a narrow, censorious way of catching a word here or a word there—we all make mistakes, we may make mistakes—but see the broad trends of our activity. Obviously, we function, that is, in our Government, with joint responsibility. That is not only the theory but, I submit, the practice. I am responsible for what my colleague, the Finance Minister, may do—I may not agree with every word he says—just as he is responsible for what I do or for what each one of us does. That is the only way to function, and we have to give each other, naturally, a large measure of freedom to interpret Government's policies. We cannot all the time be sitting together and issuing every letter and every statement to be made. Sometimes the emphasis may be slightly this or slightly that, but basically there is, or can be, no change not only in our foreign policy but, broadly speaking, in our domestic and economic policy.

One thing more. I should like to refer to Acharya Kripalani's remarks yesterday; one remark of his about a friendly country was peculiarly unfortunate.⁷ It is a great country, a country which is faced with grave perils and has faced them bravely and it is our pride and privilege to have been closely associated with that country in its period of trial and difficulty. We hope to be associated with them in this close and intimate way in future. So, it was peculiarly unhappy to learn of the word that he used which was completely unjustified.

7. It was some remark about Egypt which was expunged as ordered by the Chair. Kripalani was making the point that Nasser in "Egypt could touch foreign interests. But we dare not, because we go with a begging bowl and always want them to come and establish factories here and have partnerships and exploit the poor combined with Indian capital."

2. Democratic Approach to International Affairs¹

Mr Chairman and fellow-delegates,

May I say that I feel it a great honour and privilege to address this very distinguished audience? I must also express my regret at not having been present here yesterday when this debate was opened in a very able speech by Mr Gaitskell.² I have tried to make up for that by reading the transcript of what he said and what some other speakers said, though it has been a little difficult to read all that was said yesterday.³

The first thing which I would like to mention right at the beginning is that this subject is so vast and so difficult that I feel a little diffident in saying anything about it with absolute assurance and certainty. We talk, of course, often with a great deal of assurance before the public and even in our parliaments, but the fact, at least so far as I am concerned, is that it is a little difficult for anyone to say that this is the right way and everything else is the wrong way. So what I shall venture to place before you today are various ideas, various approaches to this problem for your consideration.

How does a country approach this question of international affairs? It was mentioned by several speakers yesterday that they are naturally governed by their backgrounds, by geography, by history, by culture and by so many other things naturally, plus also, inevitably, by what that country thinks its national interests are. No country, whether democratic or other, can forget its own national interests in considering this problem. It tries, or ought to try, to reconcile its national interests with the wider causes that it espouses. That is true. But every country thinks of its national interests also.

Now, one of the most powerful factors is geography. Even physically, the world looks rather different from various standpoints. I suppose if you look at the world from the North Pole, it would be different from looking at it from the Equator. From Washington, it will have one look, from Tokyo another, from London a third, from Moscow a fourth and from Peking a fifth. It naturally

1. Speech at the conclusion of the Commonwealth Parliamentary Conference, New Delhi, 10 December 1957. JN Collection. Also available in JN Supplementary Papers, NMML. The nine-day conference was held in New Delhi from 2 to 10 December 1957. For Nehru's speech on the opening day, see *post*, pp. 694-696

2. Hugh Gaitskell, Opposition leader in the House of Commons, UK.

3. The conference discussed international affairs and defence on the last two days.

follows, quite apart from any theory or anything else, that the outlook on the world is different, and depends to some extent on where you are standing, physically standing, and secondly, mentally standing, if I may say so, that is to say, your mind has been conditioned by past events. It is an important factor, because people seem to think that everyone in the world looks at the picture of the world as they see it. It is not so. It is obviously different, physically it is different. If a country like Switzerland considers about foreign or international affairs, it does so in the context of its being in the centre of Europe, the past history of Europe and all kinds of factors, balance of power and other matters. It is a mountainous country. If another country somewhere else does it, it has to consider other factors, apart from its past history.

Now, broadly speaking, one may say that the consideration of international affairs in the last two hundred years, ever since an organized way of considering it has begun, has been based on the European view of the world, for the simple reason that Europe in the last two or three hundred years has been the centre of international and world politics. It was obvious, therefore, that the view of world or international affairs must be governed by the fact that Europe was the centre of international politics dominating the earth's surface and controlling world affairs to a large extent. Therefore, it was the European view which was considered the view of international politics. Within Europe, there may be conflicts, as there were between the great countries of Europe, in regard to the world view, conflicts leading to war even. But the fact remains that it was a common background, which was the European background that was applied to the understanding of world affairs.

Later, of course, the United States of America came in a very big way. But with all deference to the United States, which is a very great country, if I may say so, even that began as a projection of the European view. It was very different, even now the view is different, but it was really an extension of Europe, a projection of Europe plus, of course, much more added to it. So whenever this question is discussed in various world assemblages, somehow it is taken for granted that what might be called the American and European view is the basis from which we start considering this problem. Now, that may not be correct. It was correct in the past two or three centuries in the sense that Europe dominated the world. Therefore, it was correct in that sense only, not that it represented the viewpoint of Asia or Africa or any other part of the world. How far that is correct today becomes doubtful, because conditions have changed. But anyhow, I want this fact to be remembered. Take even historical events. I am not going into history, even recent history, because then you will get lost in it; I would rather deal with the present state of affairs. But take historical incidents. I wonder how many of those present here, let us say,

would agree about the true significance of the Crusades.⁴ There would probably be very marked differences of opinion about the Crusades, and so about many other factors.

Therefore, the first point I would beg of this gathering to remember is that there are various approaches to problems conditioned by all kinds of factors, by geography, above all, by past history, experience, culture, environment and all that.

So far as we are concerned in India, we have been conditioned by all these factors and we have been conditioned, more especially in recent years, in recent decades, by Mr Gandhi and his movement. Here, may I say quite clearly, that our Government or the great majority of our people, to my knowledge, are not pacifists. Let there be no mistake about that. It is true that in some sense of the word Mr Gandhi might be called a pacifist. But he was so much more that to call him a pacifist and to understand him in the sense the word 'pacifism' is normally used in Europe and elsewhere is to narrow him down. Undoubtedly, he was a person absolutely committed in his way of thinking to what he called the non-violent approach in life and in everything.

We have been powerfully influenced by him but in international affairs or, for the matter of that, in national affairs, it would be quite untrue to say that we have been able to adopt, or we have deliberately adopted fully, his line of action. I say so with regret because the fact that we have not been able to follow it is our weakness, not individual weakness but national weakness, or individual, if you like.

It has been said many times in the course of yesterday's debate about our not being visionaries or idealists, about our not losing sight of the reality. I entirely accept that proposition and that approach. I would beg you all to remember that Mr Gandhi was far more than a visionary. He was one of the most practical men that I have ever come across and the test of that is the success he achieved in his methods. He did not fail. He succeeded in it.

Now, not discussing the past or even the recent past, but coming to the present, we see that the old European viewpoint of the world affairs, conditioned and augmented as it were by the United States of America, has obviously changed. The reality behind it has changed.

Unless the appreciation also changes and keeps in step with reality, it will be difficult for a full understanding to take place or for policies to be pursued

4. Military expeditions, beginning in the late 11th century, that were organized by Christians of Western Europe to check the spread of Islam, to retake control of the Holy Land, to conquer pagan areas, and to recapture formerly Christian territories.

which would yield results.

We, all of us here, I take it, represent what is called parliamentary democracy. We represent the freedom of the individual and all that goes with it. It is true however that large parts of the earth's surface—I am not merely referring to the communist parts but large parts of the earth's surface even apart from communism—have no parliamentary democracy or any kind of democracy nor do they respect very much the freedom of the individual. That is a fact, an unfortunate fact, but a fact. That fact was rather overlaid and covered by the other fact that all these parts were not taking any important part in world affairs. So, it could be ignored in discussing these matters. Gradually, they begin to play some kind of part and we realize that the world is constituted very differently from what we thought. Broadly speaking, you may say that even today there is the communist part of the world, there is the democratic part of the world, that is, with parliamentary democracy, but there is also a large part of the world which is neither but which is vaguely groping this way or that way. I am not thinking in terms of war or peace or alliances now but merely the way the countries look.

All these things can be rather covered by the other factors. For instance, many countries allied to, let us say, the United States or the Western Powers, for reasons which they consider adequate, cannot by any stretch of imagination be called democratic or parliamentary. Some of them are absolutely feudal but for various reasons, which may be adequate, they ally themselves. So the line cannot be drawn quite clearly between parliamentary democracy or the rights of individuals and something which suppresses both.

So, the outlook becomes confused. When we talk about these matters, we slur over these difficulties. Mr Gaitskell, while speaking a great deal about the state of affairs in Europe said that when the Western countries were progressively endangered by their having disarmed and by the Soviet power keeping up its armies, they were then compelled in sheer self-defence to set up the NATO. Well, for my part, I can say very little about that. I certainly am not in a position to criticize that. A position had arisen then which led the European powers to take measures for their self-defence and I cannot say, if I had been responsible, what I would have done in the circumstances.

I am more concerned with the present day and with certain subsequent developments. Now, Mr Gaitskell was good enough to say that even though he pleaded for these collective arrangements in defence of the common danger, for these various military alliances and pacts, he did say that it did not apply all over the world. In fact, he was good enough to say, I believe, that he quite understood India's policy of non-alignment in military blocs in the circumstances in which India was situated. By saying that, Mr Gaitskell rather weakened his

broad argument.

As I say, it may be said with great justification that certain conditions automatically led to the formation of the NATO. I would not argue that. I am not competent to argue it. But what has happened since? Any number of other treaties have come into existence—military alliances. In fact, only two days ago, I was reading an article by the editor of *The New York Times* in which he described the recent period and the present tendency as ‘pactomania’—people relying more and more on pacts as if they are going to solve their problems; they say: let us have another pact here.

I am not for the moment talking about the NATO but the subsequent developments of this doctrine of pacts or pactomania. As far as I can see, they have not, to my understanding, produced any adequate results. They have produced certainly unfortunate results by adding to tensions and producing the results which they were actually meant to avoid. Now, if that is so, there is something wrong in our approach. I shall examine this matter a little more a little later.

Mr Gaitskell referred to the UN and spoke about its great virtue in spite of the many failings in the present structure of the UN and its progress. He laid special stress on its Charter. I entirely agree with him, and I agree with him that in spite of every failing that we have noticed there it is by far the only thing which gives us hope for the future.

At the same time, how was the United Nations constituted twelve years ago? Surely, the United Nations was constituted having the then position in view on the basis of coexistence of countries which were opposed to each other ideologically or otherwise. That is the whole basis of the United Nations. It was not the United Nations of a group of countries which agreed with each other ideologically or in other ways. The Soviet Union, which was obviously very different in its political and economic policy, was included and given a very important place in it and shared with some other countries the right of vetoing.

Take the right of veto. Nobody likes that. I certainly do not like it. And yet, I do not quite know at the time of the founding of the United Nations what other different way could have been found, because when you included 50 or 60 countries of various sizes, various strengths, various capacities, it was very difficult for great countries like the United States, or the United Kingdom, or the Soviet Union merely to say that we shall abide by any decision of the majority of this new group. So, recognizing the practical aspects they introduced the veto principle. Whether the veto principle has been misused or not is another matter. Unless it was introduced I rather doubt if they could have got on with the United Nations at that time and I rather doubt even now, things being what they are, whether you can make much progress unless something like this is there.

We should like it removed, but before that is removed many other things may have to be removed also. I mean to say, all this tension, distrust and all that, otherwise the United Nations may well cease to be what it was meant to be.

Then, look at it again. The United Nations was meant to be a representative of all independent nations regardless of their ideological affiliations. Now, it is obvious that the United Nations has not got some countries, notably China, in it. And, looking at it purely, strictly, from the practical point of view, that impairs the United Nations, that weakens it—its authority does not spread over a vast number of people and over a great area of the earth's surface. Whatever it may consider will have a gap in it. Take the question of disarmament. Are you going to have disarmament with, let us say, the United States, the United Kingdom, the Soviet Union, France and some other countries agreeing and leave out China? Manifestly, there will be a big gap. It has to come into the picture. Let us even take it that they are discussing this new Atomic Energy Agency. You leave out not only a big area but a vital area and 600 million people. Does this not appear absolutely unrealistic? I do not understand it. It is not a question of likes or dislikes. It is not a question of ideology. It is just utter lack of realism. It is the absolute opposite of a practical approach to a practical problem. That is what I submit, namely, that the approach which is called so practical has lost all touch with reality, and I would venture to say with great humility that this approach to military pacts has lost all touch with reality, with the modern weapons of today and with the other factors that are influencing international affairs today.

But one thing that is dead clear is this, that there can be no settlement on any problem in the Far East without China being brought into the picture. There can be no settlement in the Middle East without Russia being brought into the picture. These are geographical factors, it is not a question of ideology. There is the huge giant of Russia sitting there, and there is the huge giant of China sitting there. How can it be ignored? Apart from its power aspect, if you want to ignore it, the result is that you are ignoring an essential factor in a settlement of reality which will have to come into the picture of the problem.

And again, in considering these matters, I was just thinking whether what Mr Gaitskell said could have been said with equal effect ten years ago.

Has these ten years made no difference to his speech or to the other events which have happened in this world? A tremendous deal has happened. But we go on repeating the same arguments, expressing the same fears and the same dangers. Well, the world has changed. It may have changed not to our liking possibly—let us try to change it to our liking; but it has changed and it is changing all the time. And, this projection of a certain viewpoint which had fitted possibly a number of years ago to the conditions of today makes us out of touch with the subject that we are dealing with.

Take this question of military pacts. I am no soldier and I do not know anything about it. But I am told by those who know that the whole character of modern warfare has changed utterly since the last great World War. And, therefore, this question has to be considered from an entirely different viewpoint and approach. May I venture to say that that should apply to the political realm also? Even as the character of modern war has changed completely, so our consideration of political and international affairs must also change if we are to be realistic.

In fact, the title of this discussion which you are having since yesterday is 'International Affairs and Defence'. They are intimately allied. If the problems of defence have completely changed by the advent of atomic energy and various atomic weapons, so also has the political approach to these problems necessarily changed.

Apart from other factors we know of, of course, the major factor of the world today is that two enormously powerful countries, the United States of America and the Soviet Union, having at their disposal these mighty weapons of warfare, dominate the world in a military sense, from a military power sense. There are also other great countries which are powerful but not quite so powerful. That is one factor. There is another factor—I am repeating what I said a little while ago in another context—that is, many new countries have come into existence, have become free rather, in the last decade or so—whether it is India, Pakistan, Burma, Ceylon, Indonesia or a number of other countries. Regardless of what in any particular matter their views may be—they may vary, they need not have all the same view—the fact is, the mere existence of all these large number of newly independent countries makes a difference, and a very big difference, to the consideration of all these international problems.

Take Africa. Africa from that point of view has much leeway to make. It has begun and we are very happy about it. But the fact remains that all over Africa, whether free or unfree, there is a tremendous movement afoot which moves people's minds, which make them behave and sometimes misbehave. All that shows powerful forces are at work in the minds of millions of people in Africa as in Asia. All these are new things, new factors which cannot be ignored and which might well make a difference. Anyhow, you cannot understand the world scene by simply sitting in Moscow, London or Washington and laying down the law from there; that is my submission. The opinion of great countries like the United States and the United Kingdom is worthy of great respect, but the fact remains that being great in military power does not necessarily mean that they may always be right; it does not follow. At any rate, the outlook of these eastern countries is to examine these matters themselves. Even accepting the basic approach of parliamentary democracy and the freedom of the individual, how

are we to attain that? How are we to gain our ends? They try to think about it and to come to their own conclusion, they try to discuss it with others. It does not, I repeat, it does not follow naturally that the possession of armed might also means the possession of the right view of things. I submit it need not; it may be so, of course.

Those countries which were recently under foreign rule and which have become independent now are troubled over this. They may be doubtful about this, they may not have clear ideas. But they do think and they rather tend to resist the idea of accepting readymade solutions, more especially when all their logic, all their reasoning faculty tells them that the so-called ready-made solutions have led them nowhere and are leading nowhere. I do not know, I am not a communist and I react very strongly, more particularly to the suppression of individual freedom. One of the delegates, I think from the United Kingdom, referred yesterday to Marx-Leninism as having developed a rather old-fashioned look. I entirely agree with him, but I would add that many others have developed an even more old-fashioned look. Many of the arguments that they go on repeating are so old-fashioned as to have lost all force. In this new world, we have to think anew. In this world of atomic energy and space travel and all that, our conception of politics, especially international politics, has to change. What after all is the objective of any policy? Policy is not merely a projection of our wishes; partly it is but just wishful thinking does not help us. We like many things. We like the world to be completely free, we like democratic institutions, we like individuals to grow, we like poverty to be abolished, we like racialism to be abolished, we like free travel with no passport and all that. But we are compelled and limited by circumstances in a variety of ways.

What, then, are we aiming at at the present moment? Well, security, I suppose; peace, certainly; the development of the underdeveloped areas also. They are all connected in a sense because this great poverty that exists in a great part of the world is a danger from every point of view: for the individual, of course, it is terrible; for a group of nations, it is terrible; from the international point of view, it is a dangerous element. Also, if you talk about democracy, and if you think in terms of democracy being limited, or rather democracy and the welfare being limited to a few countries, obviously that is not a conception which other countries are going to accept at all. They want democracy; they want welfare too naturally and it becomes almost a question as within a nation, so in the world no democratic country can for long keep the good things of life for a selected few, for a minority, or for a section of the community. They cannot, democracy will object to it. So, looked at from the larger world point of view, world democracy does not accept for long the fact that some countries should have all the good things of life and the others not.

They can understand, of course, that this process of change takes time; you cannot do these things by magic. You can argue and you can tell them, it takes a little time. That is true. Therefore, let us work to that end and changes will come. But any argument which ignores the fact that great differences should be removed, whether within a nation or within the international sphere, cannot possibly appeal to vast sections of humanity.

As I was saying, what exactly are we aiming at? Peace, certainly, and it is said that we want to preserve peace by having these tremendous deterrents, the atomic and hydrogen bomb or the military pacts and the rest. All that can be said is another world war has not broken out, but short of that, everything has happened. If that is a comfort, well, I do not feel very happy about it. What exactly is the aim? We want democracy. Are we out by force of arms to impose democracy? Obviously not. It is a rhetorical question.

First of all, democracy cannot be imposed. It has to grow. You can create conditions for democracy to grow, you cannot impose it. But you may say that in order to create conditions for democracy to grow, we have to remove the obstacles to democracy. The obstacle may be, let us say, an authoritarian government. Then, are we out to remove the authoritarian governments of the world or any particular place? Obviously that involves, as things are, a war, and we do not want war. Therefore, we cannot think in terms of changing other countries, their political or economic structure, even though we do not like them at all, through military effort. If you rule that out, what else is there? Through some kind of peaceful persuasion or just allowing things to develop and allowing opportunities for these peaceful reactions to take place. Of course, that may well happen. Indeed, it is happening to some extent.

One honourable member here spoke about looking forward to this gradual change taking place, a huge gulf that separates the two major blocs of countries being gradually bridged. If I may say so, that is the only hope of mankind, there is no other, because an attempt by one bloc to crush and destroy the other is doomed to fail in the sense that it destroys the other, of course, but it destroys itself and destroys the world. So, that is not the way out. The only way, therefore, is to allow these peaceful processes to be encouraged, normalization to come in, certainly throwing your weight against any evil development, but always trying to move away from this atmosphere of war, whether hot war or cold war. I submit that the atmosphere of war is the atmosphere absolutely opposed to the temper and climate of democracy. Democracy goes by the board when war comes; much of it does. Civil liberties go; a great deal of them go when war comes.

If war does not come, we have cold war and in some measure democracy suffers; civil liberties suffer. By that I mean that our minds become so wrapped

up by that powerful idea of the cold war that we cease to have that capacity for calm thinking which statesmen should have, however bad the situation might be. The cold war is the very opposite. It creates an atmosphere, the very opposite of the democratic temper and climate. And further it inhibits the development of those very forces which may ultimately bridge that gulf and bring those who are opposed to you, nearer to you and, especially those who are compelled, who are being coerced, to bring some relief to them.

Take the question of Hungary. A terrible tragedy occurred last year,⁵ a continuing one in many ways. Now, apart from expressing opinions strongly, what exactly can any country do? And, oddly enough, the stronger the expression of opinion, the worse it is, because it becomes just a part of this tremendous cold war, apart from the physical possibilities, that is, the idea that if a change occurs it may give a strategic advantage to the other side and all kinds of considerations come in and the poor people do not count at all. How do we help by this cold war technique? How have we been helped anywhere by the cold war technique, whether in Hungary or elsewhere?

Previous to Hungary many things happened in the year or two before in Europe and elsewhere which were indicative of a lessening of tension—whether it was Austria,⁶ whether it was Finland⁷ or a good number of other countries. And you will remember that rather remarkable meeting that took place, called the summit meeting, at Geneva when President Eisenhower and the Prime Ministers of the United Kingdom, France and the Soviet Union met.⁸ That summit meeting did not do much. It came to no definite practical results. And yet the mere meeting of those four heads of governments created, as if almost by a magic, a new atmosphere in the world. It did not last long, I agree; but it did create it, because the world hungers for that atmosphere—the people of the world in every country—and a weight was lifted off their shoulders.

5. The opposition to the pro-Soviet regime in Hungary which broke out in 1956 was severely suppressed.
6. Austria became a free country on 15 May 1955 with the signing of a treaty by Britain, the United States, France and the Soviet Union. The big powers also agreed to withdraw their occupation forces before 31 December 1955.
7. According to the treaty of assistance and friendship between the USSR and Finland, signed in Moscow on 19 September 1955, the USSR returned to Finland the leased territory of Porkkala on 26 January 1956. Under an armistice signed in Moscow, on 19 September 1944, between Finland on the one hand and the USSR and Britain on the other, Finland had agreed to lease to the Soviet Union for fifty years the Porkkala headland, with a considerable stretch of sea and land, to be used as a military base.
8. From 18 to 23 July 1955.

Unfortunately, other things happened, but that does not matter. That was the approach, not the cold war approach, but the other approach, the opposite of the cold war, which yielded results or tended to yield results.

Then, we reverted to the cold war and I am not going into it as to whose fault it is. But the fact remains that whoever may be guilty of it, it leads you nowhere. It can lead you nowhere. The only justification for a cold war would be if one really wanted a hot war. There is no other justification. If you do not want it, and if you want to achieve results, then it is no good not having the thing like a hot war, ruling that out, and yet preventing yourself from doing something else by having a cold war. You cannot help anyone by it. You can neither adopt the one method nor the other and you hang in mid air and this tension continues, troubles continue. At a time when great countries have this vast power in their hands, these new weapons, apart from the governments which might be presumed to exercise a great deal of restraint, there is always the possibility of a mad general or some mad airman doing something which might simply upset the apple cart and create terrible fears and a war may be launched without any government having really decided to do so. Through sheer fear something may happen. So, living in this way, on this terrible brink of a precipice, does seem a very odd way of giving security or peace. There is no security today of the type that should exist. There can be no security while the cold war lasts. The two terms are self-contradictory and always there is that danger of war.

Now, many of you here are possibly aware of what we call the Panchsheel, the five principles. There is nothing remarkable about them. They are very simple. I have yet to find anyone who disagrees with them. What are they? Recognition of national sovereignty and independence, non-aggression, non-interference, that is, non-internal interference, including ideological interference, mutual respect, mutual benefit, and peaceful coexistence. Now, I am quite sure that no one can disagree with any of these and I am also equally sure that if countries honestly adopted them—I do not say it will create an ideal world, of course not—it would remove, to a very large extent, tensions and fears and apprehensions. Why they do not adopt it I do not know. I think more from the fear that behind this something may lurk which is not obvious. Also to think, "What is the good of our accepting this when we cannot rely upon the word of the other party?" Now, that is a legitimate thing to do. We cannot always rely upon others. But it is not so much a question of relying upon others. To some extent, of course, it is. But by taking the right step one creates an atmosphere which makes it more difficult for the other party to misbehave.

Also, no one suggests that having done this you should, to put it crudely, lay down your arms expecting everyone to live in brotherly love with each other. No country expects it. That will take a long time. All that we can do now is to

go step by step towards that stage. I do not suggest that any country should suddenly disarm itself relying on the other. I do suggest, and very strongly, that the time has come for disarmament and if disarmament does not come soon, the dangers threatening the world will be infinitely greater than they are today because of this nuclear weapon. Today the nuclear weapons are in the hands of two or three countries. I have no doubt that in a year or two they will be in the hands of more countries. In about ten years or fifteen years or twenty years they will be in the hands of more countries, and I think it would be practically impossible then. In fact, they may well be in the hands of not countries only but enterprising groups and I shudder to think of what the position will be when a number of enterprising groups carry hydrogen bombs or can produce them. A very distinguished scientist—I think he came from Australia—told me that the time would come when people will produce the hydrogen bomb in their kitchen gardens,⁹ a terrible thought. Well, he exaggerated, of course. But what he meant was that it would become simpler and simpler to make it, unless you control the situation now. What are you going to do then? You will be at the mercy of any mad man or any criminal in the world.

Therefore, the time for disarmament is here and now. I do not think, obviously, and one cannot expect a full-blooded disarmament suddenly, but surely steps can be taken, so that each step taken can prepare the ground for the next step. For my part, I feel that a suspension of atomic explosions is a valid first step. It is a dramatic step. It will not change the power of any country—the suspension of it for two years. It won't change the power of any country, while it gives a tremendous lead, and a tremendous effect is produced all over the world. I have not the shadow of a doubt that if this was done a sigh of relief will go out from hundreds of millions all over the world, and much greater than may be justified. I am certain we will immediately enter into a new phase, when step by step you can disarm more, always taking care. I am not suggesting unilateral disarmament, but one should approach this with good intentions to disarm and not merely argue about it without limit.

So I do think that with the coming of these tremendous developments in science which are being applied for military uses, there is no choice left but to forget the old approaches, and the old cold war approach is the worst of all, the most unpractical of all, with no justification, logic or reason, far less ethics or

9. Nehru was referring to his meeting with the Australian nuclear scientist, Mark Oliphant, in New Delhi in March 1955. See *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 28, p. 313.

morality. No ethics or morality is going to be based on hatred. I am not preaching, I am a poor specimen of a human being. I think it is obvious that you are not going to convert the world by the approach of hatred, and that is not a democratic approach. I am not saying that you should go unarmed and disarm yourselves. Not at all. Take all the steps you like, but your mental approach should be different, and if your mental approach is different, you undermine your adversary and gradually prepare the ground for all kinds of changes in the present international set-up.

So, I venture to say that this pactomania that we have had is not good enough. It may have been good so far as the NATO is concerned, I do not criticize it; but I have completely failed to understand how the SEATO or the Baghdad Pact has done any good to anybody or towards peace. I would say very precisely and definitely that the Baghdad Pact has been a cause of trouble, continuous trouble and conflict in the Middle East region. It has brought no peace to anybody. It has split up the Arab world. And then exactly what it was meant to avoid it has brought in there, the Soviet Union. It is extraordinary how wrong steps lead to unexpected results. It may be, of course, that the Soviet Union might have come there otherwise too. It is there at the next door, it cannot be ignored. But its advent was hastened certainly by the Baghdad Pact. I do not see how any approach, whether that of the Pact or of military alliances, can push out the Soviet Union from that area. The only approach again will be some understanding that this area should not be used as a pawn in world politics. That is a possible approach. Whether you will be successful or not, I do not know.

I do not criticize it from an ethical point of view or moral point of view but strictly from the practical point of view. We have to change our approaches to these problems and not continue to think and to repeat arguments which, in a slightly different context our friend from the United Kingdom said, had become rather old-fashioned.

3. Statement in the Rajya Sabha—I¹

Jawaharlal Nehru: Sir, I beg to move:

“That the present international situation and the policy of the Government of India in relation thereto be taken into consideration.”

It has become the custom, Sir, to discuss some such motion almost in every session of this House and in the other House and we welcome this occasion because we want the views of the House in regard to various aspects of our foreign policy. We want their advice in many matters and we want their support in the major lines of policy that we have adopted. In fact, this House—and the entire Parliament—has been good enough to support very fully the foreign policy of the Government of India even though there might have been differences in regard to many domestic matters. I do not say that everyone in India completely agrees with everything that we do in the foreign field, but I imagine that the main basis—and the main approach—of our foreign policy has a larger sympathy and adherence in the country than anything else. Even the criticisms that are made are either perhaps through some misunderstanding or in an attempt to give it greater emphasis and not challenging the main issue and the main approach.

I was just looking through a number of amendments which have been proposed to this motion. I looked at them with care and with an attempt to try to understand the viewpoint of the mover of the amendment. Except for the amendment of my honourable friend Mr Sapru,² which in all modesty I will have to accept, I am afraid I cannot accept any other for a variety of reasons. There is a group of amendments by Shri Bhupesh Gupta³ and two other honourable Members opposite which point out what, according to them, have been our failings, though finally they end up by one amendment in which they say, add the following:

“and having considered the same, this House regrets that Government does not take due note of the growing machinations of certain elements who want to undermine and reverse the present foreign policy of India...”

1. 12 December 1957. *Rajya Sabha Debates*, Vol. XIX, cols 2330-2353. Extracts.

2. Prakash Narain Sapru, Congress Member from Uttar Pradesh.

3. CPI Member from West Bengal.

Chairman⁴: Prime Minister, I have disallowed that amendment because it was very vague.

Bhupesh Gupta: Even though you might have ruled out that amendment, the Prime Minister may be allowed to expand on this theme a little because we would very much like to hear him.

JN: Thank you, Sir. I was pointing out the inconsistency of it, to say the least, when having criticized the foreign policy in a variety of ways, they refer in some irritation and annoyance to others who criticize it. In other words, by this amendment, the honourable Members stand up as the champions of our foreign policy, defending it against all attackers.

The fact, Sir, is that the honourable Member's own doxy is orthodoxy, everything else is heterodoxy, and that probably is the case with others too who criticize our foreign policy from any other point of view.

Now, normally speaking, in a debate on foreign policy specific issues of interest, of topical interest, are considered, and I shall no doubt refer to them, which are of peculiar interest to India. Yet all these specific issues, important as they are, are very secondary in importance to the major issue in the world today, of the drift towards war or the approach towards peace, because that will govern all the other issues. And there is no doubt that the situation in the world today, while it is not without some hope, is nevertheless a very serious one, and a very grave one, and many thinkers in the world are very much perturbed at this trend of events. I should like this House to pay some attention to these broad aspects and not confine itself to some narrow issue which may temporarily be of interest to us. It is our good fortune or misfortune to live at a time of great change, of tremendous developments, which may bring good or evil to humanity. Living at this exciting period of human history, I would suggest to this House that we should take a view, in some perspective, of what has happened, what the position is today and what is likely to happen, and not confine itself to narrow issues. Then perhaps we might understand this tremendous theme.

Now, before I say much about this broader aspect, I shall refer to some of the special issues that will no doubt interest this House. Again, I should like to say that in considering any issue, we have to decide what method of approach we should adopt. It is easy for any honourable Member of this House or for me to express our opinions boldly about any issue if we do not care for the

consequences. It is very easy to lay down high principles, but the difficulty comes in the application of those high principles, as we all know, because human beings are not governed by rigid rules, and each human being is different from the other, and to lay down certain rigid principles and expect everybody to follow them is perhaps not very wise. Now, the point is: what are we aiming at in the debate, in the speech that I deliver or any honourable Member does? Is it merely the repetition of those high principles which we pretend that we stand for or is it something which is meant to lead to something else, whether it is peace, whether it is a lessening of passions, whether it is a solution of a problem or whether it is a step in the right direction? It is important because we must know whether we are actively trying to achieve some result however small it may be or just trying to lighten our minds by giving expression in strong or moderate language to our views about the world in general. Now, surely, a Government, which is responsible or considers itself so or a body like this House, which obviously is responsible, has to consider these matters from this very practical point of view of trying to achieve results. I do not say that even this House or our Parliament can achieve major results in world policy because nobody can pretend that our influence is such as to mould world opinion or world actions, but all of us count for a little and in all humility we try to influence it to that little extent in certain directions.

Now, why I am emphasizing this matter is because some of the amendments show, and others too, that we are criticized sometimes for not taking up a bold and a gallant attitude in regard to some matters in jumping into the field and so on and so forth. Well, that may be a very gallant thing, but it has no relation to reality. That period of Rajput chivalry does not apply to modern politics, brilliant as it may be. The other alternative, of course, is being drawn into the controversy of the cold war, that is to say, casting all the blame on the other party for the lack of success of efforts made towards peace. Now, the argument may be perfectly justified or not—I am not going into that—but if you seek to get an agreement with the other party, if you seek to win over the other party, it is not the best way to approach it to make a facet of it to begin with and to criticize it. That way, you will make it more difficult to get on with. I am not dealing with the merits of any question, but with the other thing, making an approach to the broad problems of the world. We are either making an approach with the intention of lessening the gaps, bringing these gaps together, winning over the other party, if not completely at least to some extent, or we are merely wanting to declare something that we have in mind loudly because we believe in it regardless of how it affects the main issue. Now, I do submit that there has been too much of this, what I venture to call, the cold-war mentality approach which, of course, is much more than what I have said because it is normally based on fear and apprehension, passion and prejudices as well as a desire not to appear to be

cowed down by what the other party says, and a strange amalgam is produced out of all this which makes even relatively easy problems very difficult of solution. We have to deal here really not only with political, economic, military and like problems which are there practically, but we have to deal with something intangible in the minds of men—which comes in the way—fear and anger and dislike and all that and which is a dangerous thing in this background of hatred. Now, obviously, one cannot get over that major difficulty merely by going on criticizing the other party even though that criticism might appear to be justified. You do not get over it; you may satisfy yourselves but I do submit that by pursuing that policy we will not help ourselves or anyone else.

I do not pretend to say that this Parliament or our country is superior in the sense that we are above passion, prejudice, hatred and fury. I do not say that in the least. As the House knows, we have fallen very low indeed in our passionate approaches to questions even amongst ourselves in the country but, as things are, there are a certain number of factors which help us. One factor is that we are geographically so situated that we are not drawn into this controversy with that passionate fury that other countries not so favourably situated may be. That is a major fact of geography, not of our goodness or of badness. The other thing is that the past years, not only since Independence, but previously too, have, under the inspiration of the Father of the Nation, trained us to some extent to think in a certain way and not to lose ourselves in a policy based merely on fear and passion. We might be swept away occasionally by fear or by passion but we have tried to pull ourselves up. Therefore, because of these geographical and other factors we sometimes are in a position to help a little, not because of any special virtue on our part. I want to make that very clear because some people imagine that we consider ourselves very virtuous. I do not, and I speak in all honesty, consider my country more virtuous than the other countries. Some of our friends in our country appear to lay great stress on our high virtue and our spirituality in dealing with problems. Well, nobody can deny our great inheritance but that great inheritance of ours and the spirituality and other things are often shrouded up in something which is the very reverse of spirituality, and the gentlemen who generally repeat about this spirituality normally possess the least of it.

So, situated as we are, we have endeavoured, wherever we may function, whether it is the United Nations or bilaterally with other countries, to place our viewpoint as fairly and as clearly as possible but always in a context of emphasizing the common points and not emphasizing the differences. Differences have to be pointed out, of course, wherever they are, but it does make a difference as to what you emphasize. The other party knows what our viewpoints are and by emphasizing the common points you produce a certain favourable reaction in

the other party and it is easier to discuss matters even though you may disagree. Recently, within the last few days, we have had a Conference here, the Commonwealth Parliamentary Conference, and there were discussions on various subjects including foreign affairs. Now, it is obvious that there was a great deal of difference in the viewpoints represented by the delegations to that Conference. If I may mention, take the delegation from South Africa. The House knows how we differ completely and how our policy is different from that of the South African Government, but the South African delegation came here and we welcomed it as individuals, as our guests, regardless of our differences. So also in other cases. Here is this Conference consisting of a strange variety of people. The newest arrivals in it are from Ghana and Malaya. There were representatives from Nigeria, from the West Indies and so on. There was this great variety representing an equal variety of nations and approaches and yet we met, discussed matters and expressed our viewpoints, with some force, differed with each other and yet kept our temper, spoke in a restrained way trying to appreciate what the other has said and trying to make the other understand what we feel. I do submit that if there is no other virtue in our meeting, then that we had met and spoken and discussed these matters in that calm and relatively objective way, this kind of thing is a great purpose. I wish that this particular temper of approach to problems and to differences could be applied in many other places also.

I should like to place before the House some other instances of how we endeavour to function. We do not always succeed, we do not function by ourselves, naturally. Recently, a resolution was passed in the United Nations on Algeria. Now, Algeria has become one of the major problems of the day. A terrible war has been going on there. The House knows that we in India, all of us naturally and inevitably, are in favour of the freedom and independence of Algeria, of the Algerian people. We have always said at the same time that this question should be settled by peaceful methods. Unfortunately, war has gone on there and terrible things have happened, and continue to happen. Now, passions have been excited, and it is not an easy matter for any approach to be made to the Algerian problem which would bring people nearer to each other. Normally, every approach separates men. The United Nations, constituted as it is, can help but cannot force down any kind of solution. It has often failed. Take the South African issue, and India and Pakistan. The advice of the United Nations has not gone very far, and yet it would be wrong to say that the advice or the resolutions of the United Nations have failed. They have made a difference not only to world opinion but I am sure even in South Africa—maybe not among the Government, but among the people.

However, here is this question of Algeria, a most difficult question. Yet, in cooperation with some other countries, India prepared a resolution which was passed unanimously by the Assembly. An extraordinary thing. Now, the resolution

itself may not go very very far. It is a simple resolution, but it is an extraordinary thing that over an issue, which has roused so much passion as Algeria, a simple resolution should pass. The only country that did not vote was France. It did not vote against it, I mean it abstained from voting and all the others voted. Now, the wording of the resolution may or may not be important. But the passing of a resolution of that type itself created or was meant to create a temper which leads to peaceful negotiations, leads to lessening of tension, leads to an attempt to appreciate the reality of the problem, and so forth.

I gave this example of Algeria where very recently this step was taken by the United Nations, as showing how we feel about these matters.

H.N. Kunzru:⁵ Will the Prime Minister tell us what resolution has been passed by the United Nations on the Algerian question? The papers announce only the fact that a resolution has been passed.

JN: I am not quite sure if I have got it. If I have not got it, I shall get it. I know I have not got it now....

I thought it must have appeared in the press, and therefore I did not bring it. Just at present I do not know where it is. Anyway it is a resolution calling upon the parties concerned to deal with it and arrive at a settlement peacefully. However, I shall endeavour to place it on the Table of the House today.⁶

Now, we are entangled in other problems. There is the problem of Goa. Then there is a different type entirely, the question of Ceylon, the people of Indian descent in Ceylon, a problem affecting many hundreds of thousands of persons in Ceylon, essentially a problem for the Ceylon Government and for the people of Indian descent there, but we are naturally interested in it and we should like to help in solving it. We treat it as a human problem, not as a political one, and in spite of the fact that much progress has not been made towards a solution, it is an advantage that we discuss it with Ceylon in the friendliest manner, and if we do not solve it today, there is hope of solving it tomorrow. At present I confess we are nowhere near solving it, and things remain where they are. I had a very friendly talk with the Prime Minister of Ceylon who was here,⁷ long discussions we had, and we understood each other, I think, fairly thoroughly, each other's difficulties, each other's problems....

5. Hriday Nath Kunzru, Independent Member from Uttar Pradesh.

6. Nehru read out the resolution in the Lok Sabha the next day. See *post*, p. 558

7. Nehru had talks on 5 December with the Sri Lanka Prime Minister, S.W.R.D. Bandaranaike, who was on a visit to New Delhi in connection with the Commonwealth Parliamentary Conference.

In Ceylon there are of course Indian nationals. There is no great problem about them, except that we should like Indian nationals to be treated as other foreign nationals with the same privileges, and not to be pushed out suddenly and in large numbers. But that is not the problem. The problem is of a large number of people of Indian descent who have lived in Ceylon, many of whom have been born in Ceylon, most of whom work in the plantations there, and who according to us should be Ceylon nationals—unless any of them choose Indian nationality—and about whom the Ceylon Government has not been very encouraging in making them its own nationals. There are these many hundreds of thousands of persons who in a sense are stateless, although they are in Ceylon. They are not Indian nationals, and the Ceylon Government has not made them yet its own nationals, and they remain in that fluid state. A few have become Indian nationals; a few, relatively few, I forget what the total number is, have been registered as Ceylon nationals, but most of the applications for registration as Ceylon nationals have been rejected by the Ceylon Government. So, they remain in that fluid state. As I said, it is not really our problem except sentimentally. It is a problem of our people living there. It is up to the Ceylon Government and those people to adjust and solve it, we can help in that. If any of those want to become Indian nationals and satisfy the qualifications for being Indian nationals laid down in our Constitution, of course we shall accept them. But we do not accept any persons who come under compulsion, who are compelled. We object to that. If they decide freely without any compulsion, we take them.

Then there is the question of Goa, again a subject which has caused all of us much trouble, many headaches and may cause us many headaches in the future because of the extraordinary attitude of the Portuguese Government which, as I have said earlier, lives so apart from the modern world and modern thinking that it is difficult even to talk to them. Now, of course, we do not talk because our contacts have been cut off. But when we did try to talk to them, it was like talking to somebody in the middle ages. However ancient India may be, India thinks in the modern age and acts in the modern age. However, as some of the questions of today indicated, Portugal has discovered some kind of a penfriend in the President of Pakistan who has recently been visiting it and they are supporting each other in various matters.⁸ So, in spite of all this, in spite of the

8. Francisco Craveiro Lopes, President of Portugal, gave a State banquet to the Pakistan President, Iskander Mirza, in Lisbon on 11 November 1957. In the speeches made by the two Presidents at the banquet, as reported in the press, there was no direct condemnation of the policy followed by India but both speeches conveyed the idea that Pakistan and Portugal had come closer together because of Indian policy towards them.

amazing anachronism of Goa being still a colonial possession, Goa is not something separate, but is right in the middle of India. The House knows how we have patiently tried to find a way to a solution and found great difficulties. The difficulties are still there, but we refused to talk of forcible or military methods. Many Members in this House have thought—and may still so think—that we have been acting weakly and that we must be much more positive and aggressive. Well, I will not go into that matter, but at the present moment, what I am pointing out is that we have to follow a policy which we pride to be an integrated one. We cannot do something which, in fact, goes against our policy somewhere else. We will spoil our policy in both places when we venture to say in the United Nations and elsewhere that all problems should be solved peacefully. We cannot at the same time talk of military measures because it happens to be to our interest to do so. Every one knows that, from a military point of view, Goa is not a problem and if the President of Portugal has said that, of course, India can take Goa in a day or two or whatever may be the period, but we have not.

Then, Portugal went, on a slightly allied issue, to the International Court of Justice at the Hague. This is about Nagar Haveli and Portugal is asking for a right of passage through India, to cross Indian territory, to those enclaves which used to be in the Portuguese possession, but which liberated themselves about three years ago and which are now, well, more or less independent. They are not parts of the Union of India. No doubt, they want to be parts of the Union of India, but we have not accepted them because we want them to come through some normal processes, through some agreement and the like. Now, this matter...

V.K. Dhage:⁹ Agreements with whom—the people of Nagar Haveli or somebody else?

JN: No, agreement over the whole Goa question. I say, we do not wish to isolate this separately.

V.K. Dhage: No, Sir. The Prime Minister said that the people of Nagar Haveli had liberated themselves and had become more or less independent.

9. Venkat Krishna Dhage was Independent Member representing Bombay in the Rajya Sabha.

H.D. Rajah:¹⁰ No 'more or less'.

V.K. Dhage: They have become independent and that has not been integrated with India because the Prime Minister wanted some sort of an agreement.

JN: I said, there is no difficulty about our agreeing with the people of Nagar Haveli. I said that I did not wish to isolate this problem from the problem of the other Portuguese territories in India. When that problem is settled, then we take the normal steps about Nagar Haveli, because it produces a certain complication. One can proceed in these matters with some...

Bhupesh Gupta: What are the complications?

JN: Well, the complications are that I may do something which may be to the liking of the honourable Member opposite, but which is quite wrong.

Bhupesh Gupta: What I want to know from the honourable Prime Minister is this. Suppose Nagar Haveli came to India, what will be the complication? I will be happy and the Prime Minister will also be happy. Portugal may be unhappy about it.

JN: Nagar Haveli is in India. There is no difficulty about it. It is only constitutional. We do not wish to take a step because that step should apply not to Nagar Haveli separately, but to Goa and other places also. When the time comes, it will comprise all of them. Meanwhile, we carry on. There is no difficulty about Nagar Haveli.

But, this matter about the right of passage, as the House knows, was taken by the Portuguese Government to the International Court of Justice and we are contesting their claim there. We put forward six preliminary objections to the hearing of the Portuguese claim in the International Court of Justice. About a week or ten days ago, the International Court of Justice gave their decision in regard to four of these preliminary objections, rejecting them and decided that in regard to two of the preliminary objections, they would consider them further at the time of the final hearing of this case, which will probably take place some time next year. Well, naturally, we cannot—and I do not wish to discuss the judgment of the International Court of Justice. There it is and we shall proceed

10. Member of the Republican Party of India from Madras.

to take other steps with regard to it.

Gopikrishna Vijaivargiya:¹¹ Does the decision go against our whole case?

JN: How can a decision on preliminary points go against the case? It does not deal with the merits of the case; it deals with the right of the International Court of Justice to hear the case. They said, we have a right to hear it, even that they have not fully said. There, two objections still remain, which they will consider on the merits. It is open to them to hold on those objections even at this stage, that the suit does not apply.

In regard to Pondicherry, I should like to tell the House—we have been told, in fact, that in the course of a few weeks—maybe a month or two—the French Parliament will presumably take the final steps, final legal steps. Practically, of course, steps were taken long ago. We have been expecting them for a considerable time past. But I do not think the delay has been due really to any basic objection there, but to the French Parliament's and the French Government's being entangled in their own internal affairs and controversies. In this connection, I should like to repeat what we said long ago about these French enclaves. The House may remember that, when this Treaty with France was signed and even before that, we had laid a great stress and made it clear that we would not change the status of Pondicherry without consulting its people.¹² We declared this and I want to repeat that, lest some people may think that we are going to impose any change on them. There are other various matters included in that Treaty. We are preserving the French language there. We have also preserved many things, because we do not want to change them which Pondicherry and the like enclaves inherited in the past without their consenting to it and having the chance. So far as the French language is concerned, we welcome it, we welcome the idea of having a centre in India where French will not only be taught as a foreign language but something in a better and deeper way, and which could be claimed to be a centre of French culture.

Recently, the Kashmir issue has been before the Security Council and our position was stated there with fullness and clarity by the Leader of our Delegation, Shri Krishna Menon. His exposition of our case was a fine one and I should like to pay a tribute to him. But a resolution was brought forward by a number of countries represented there which we thought was very wrong and which ignored and bypassed what we considered the main issue in the case. We made

11. Congress Member from Madhya Pradesh.

12. For details of the treaty, see *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 27, pp. 220 and 224.

our position perfectly clear in regard to this matter.¹³

Jaswant Singh:¹⁴ If the exposition was so good and if the advocacy was so fine, why could he not convince the other countries?

JN: Sometimes when the case is good and the advocacy is good too, even then I am unable to convince my honourable friends opposite. I have no doubt in many cases....

V.K. Dhage: The point is that there were certain statements made by Shri Krishna Menon in the Security Council, which he withdrew later. If the advocacy was so good and the argument was good, there was no reason for him to withdraw what he had said there.

JN: I suppose the honourable Member is not referring to any advocacy but to certain remarks, sentences and phrases which Shri Krishna Menon used, for which he expressed regret.¹⁵ It was not part of his advocacy. It was really the result of the great strain and illness that he made those remarks and it was a question of lack of courtesy, not of advocacy. Under the great strain and illness he said something which he regretted and we regretted. So, he has rightly withdrawn those remarks.

H.D. Rajah: The statements made by Shri Krishna Menon, were they true?

JN: Discourtesy is never right even though it may be true!

So, after that, a resolution was put forward and we expressed ourselves clearly that we could not accept it. Thereupon, the Soviet Union made it known that they would, if this was put to the vote, vote against it, which meant that they vetoed it. Thereafter the sponsors of that resolution decided not to put it to the vote and after some further consideration brought forward a very different type of resolution, which ultimately was passed. So far as we are concerned, we do not accept even this resolution although I must say that it does not contain most of the objectionable features of the first one. This resolution invites or requests Dr Graham to come to India. Well, Dr Graham, of course, can always come to India. He is welcome to India as he was previously; he is welcome now also. But we have made it clear that this visit should not be considered as some kind of continuation of talks on the old lines with Dr Graham

13. See *ante*, pp. 487-498.

14. Independent Member from Rajasthan.

15. See *ante*, p. 493 and p. 523.

as regards demilitarization, etc. So, that is the position.

One matter that is causing us a great deal of concern is the developments, recent developments in Indonesia. The House knows that we have been of the opinion and we have expressed it clearly in the United Nations and elsewhere that the claim of Indonesia for West Irian is a right one, is a legitimate one and it flows from the circumstances of the case and even from the various treaties made by Indonesia and the Government of the Netherlands, and I am not going into the legalities of it. That is our view. The Netherlands Government has a different interpretation of those treaties. So, I am not going into the legalities, but apart from strict law, the fact remains that all over Asia and elsewhere too, there is no approval left of foreign colonial possession. The time is long past when these conditions could be tolerated and from that standpoint alone, it is clear that such a continuation of colonial authority would only be an irritant and would continue to be an irritant and we hope that this matter would be settled peacefully between the Government of the Netherlands and the Indonesian Government. Many efforts have been made thus far without success. Only a short while ago a resolution was moved in the UN—I think it was about a fortnight ago.¹⁶ The resolution was a very simple one:

“The General Assembly, having considered the Question of West Irian (West New Guinea), viewing with deep concern that the prolongation of this political dispute is likely to endanger the peaceful development of that area, realizing that a peaceful solution of this problem should be obtained without further delay:

1. Invites both parties to pursue their endeavours to find a solution of the dispute in conformity with the principles of the United Nations Charter;
2. Requests the Secretary General to assist the parties concerned as he deems it appropriate in the implementation of this resolution and submit a report of the progress to the thirteenth session of the General Assembly.”

The House will notice that this resolution is very carefully worded, avoiding any offence to anybody. Purposefully it was so worded. Yet, it was nevertheless opposed by the Netherlands Government and by some other governments. Voting on it was ultimately 41 in favour, 29 against and 11 abstentions, that is to say, many more voted in favour of it than against. But it had to be passed by a two-

16. The question of West Irian was debated in the UN General Assembly between 20-29 November 1957. A resolution calling for negotiations between Indonesia and the Netherlands to resolve the dispute was presented in the Political Committee by 18 Asian-African countries (including Indonesia) and Bolivia.

thirds majority and because it did not get a two-thirds majority, it failed.

Now, this was a great blow to the Indonesian Government and their people, that even this very moderate approach, which had been supported by so many countries—so far as I remember the USA abstained on this resolution, they did not oppose it, in spite of their great friendship for the Netherlands they did not oppose the resolution but abstained from voting which, if I may say so, meant half approval of the case, if not more—did not succeed. However, it was so. Now, this has led to certain happenings in Indonesia which it is a little difficult for us to understand or to appreciate. We hear about the happenings, we read in the newspapers and we also get some other accounts and all this has caused us great concern. Well, our sympathy is with the Government of Indonesia and the people of Indonesia in this matter, but we do hope earnestly that these matters will not be allowed to drift in such a way that a peaceful settlement is ruled out, that is in accordance with our own approach to these questions anywhere, and apart from that if conflicts occur on a different plane, no one knows where they would stop. There as elsewhere the attempted approach was one of conciliation, but unfortunately it has failed thus far.

Now, I should like to say a few words about this particular problem to which I referred, the old problem of war and peace. In one of the amendments something is stated about India's voice being listened to less and less in the world.¹⁷ Well, we do not I hope shout, and I hope we will never shout. But I do believe that what India says has some importance in the minds of people outside India, and that there has been a progressive appreciation and realization of India's policy of non-alignment. And I am sure if those members who have any doubt about this fact could have an opportunity of themselves finding out what people in other countries think of India and her policy, they will be surprised, and they have to change many of their fast-held opinions. Now, in considering the world problem we come up against this business of cold war which has become now, whatever virtue it might have had in the past, completely illogical and leading nowhere. This business of people talking that we must be tough and we must speak from strength becomes rather unmeaning when strength is matched by strength and toughness can be matched by toughness and when the ultimate recourse to put an end to one toughness by war is ruled out, because everybody proceeds on the assumption that we must have no war. Why? Because war will

17. An amendment moved by Kishen Chand, PSP Member from Andhra Pradesh, stated that wrong handling of the country's foreign policy and incorrect understanding of the international situation had resulted, inter alia, "in the weakening of our voice in the councils of the world for helping the cause of peace and disarmament."

not only destroy your adversary, but it will destroy yourself and the rest of the world. Now, that was the position even before certain recent advances were made in weapons like these ballistic weapons, and although this Sputnik and others are new weapons, they open out a prospect of other weapons of the most dangerous kind coming up. Obviously, no one country is going to have a monopoly. At the present moment the United States has some weapons which the Soviet Union has not got. No doubt the Soviet Union will get them and develop them. The Soviet Union has got the Sputnik and something else which the United States has thus far not got. No doubt the United States will have it in a month or two or in three months. It is always a question of delay of a little time between the scientists and others of one country and the other. And what is more, not only the United States of America and the Soviet Union, but gradually other countries will also possess these weapons, as they are beginning to possess them. The United Kingdom has the hydrogen bomb. So, whether one country is a little ahead of the other or not, the fact is that either of these giants has got enough material and bombs to destroy the other completely. And therefore any attempt by any one power, howsoever powerful it is, to coerce the other through military means involves destruction of both. Having arrived at that conclusion the natural result is that only a mad man will indulge in such an act. How then are you to solve these problems? If you rule out coercion by war or threat of war, how do you solve these problems? Well, cold war is not a method of conciliation. That is obvious, and you are ruling out war. So you hang between the two with no possibility of finding a way out of that deadlock. So, it becomes more and more obvious that these policies of toughness and threats and brandishing of the sword do not lead anywhere.

The other day, Sir, a very eminent American expert on Soviet and Russian matters—I think his name is Mr George Kennan¹⁸—delivered a series of lectures in some university in which he made certain suggestions. The suggestions are not novel. They have been made by others also. But the point was that this very considerable expert in these matters had arrived at these conclusions. He said, as many people now say and as was said here in the Commonwealth Parliamentary

18. George Frost Kennan (1904-2005); academic and US diplomat; studied at Princeton; joined the foreign service; appointed director of policy planning, 1947; advocated the policy of 'containment' of the Soviet Union; US Ambassador in Moscow, 1952-53, and Yugoslavia, 1961-63; professor of history at the Institute of Advanced Study, Princeton, 1956-74; revised his strategic views and called for US 'disengagement' from Europe; author of several books including *American Diplomacy, 1900-1950*, *Realities of American Foreign Policy*, and *Russia Leaves the War*; was awarded Pulitzer Prize, 1957.

Conference by Mr Gaitskell, that an attempt should be made at disengagement. This grappling together all the time like two wrestlers is not good enough. So, gradually one must disengage. And what the method of disengagement may be is a different matter. Mr Kennan suggested, as a first step towards disengagement, that the various foreign armies in Europe should gradually be withdrawn. That is to say, the Soviet armies from other countries where they are stationed should be withdrawn, and the other armies of the Western countries from Germany and wherever else they may be should be withdrawn. That is to say, both should simultaneously agree to withdraw. Now, in our own small way we have often suggested that the keeping of foreign forces in other countries is bad, and whatever virtue it might have had in the past, in the present day it does not help at all. So, it was suggested that they should be withdrawn, whether they are the Soviet forces or the forces of the Western allies. It is interesting therefore that a very eminent American expert has come to that view and has advocated it. But it is not only Mr Kennan. This realization is coming more and more to people's minds, even though many of them may not say so because they have a feeling that "if we say this, we might perhaps be weakening our country's policy and making the other country think that we are weakening." This is an inhibiting factor. But the fact remains that people are driven inevitably to the conclusion that there is no hope in pursuing the policies at present pursued. This constant wrestling, cold war, piling up of armaments and this frantic search for a more powerful weapon, the ultimate weapon and so on—and as one ultimate weapon comes, it is succeeded by another which is more ultimate still—where does it all lead to? Obviously, it does not lead anywhere except ultimately to destruction.

So, when I said in the beginning that there were some elements of hope, I was referring to this gradual opening out of people's minds to these basic facts of the situation. But apart from this, the situation is bad enough. There is no doubt about it, and it has not been made easier by these latest discoveries like the Sputnik and others. Not that the Sputnik can do much. It has no military value. But, as I said, it opens out the possibilities of greater and more destructive weapons which can destroy even the whole world. It was these thoughts which weighed with me and which made me issue a respectful appeal to the leaders of the United States and the Soviet Union,¹⁹ and I was not presumptuous enough to think that I could advise them in this very difficult situation, because it is no good thinking that it is an easy situation to deal with and we have only to lay down a principle or repeat a slogan and the problem will be solved. It is a very difficult situation. Nevertheless, the burden on my mind was so great that I had the presumption to issue this appeal

19. See *post*, pp. 593-594.

to them. It was not any particular thing in the appeal that counted so much as the basic fact that a new approach should be made to these problems, and a new approach can only be made by people coming together, and I do hope that it will take place.

Now, war today, it is said and rightly said, is likely to be completely different from even the last World War. The weapons are different. Any General who thinks in the terms of the last World War and prepares for the next war on that basis, well, he is not at all good and he will have the surprise of his life when the next war comes. In other words, a General has to think on different lines. I do submit that in international affairs which are so intimately connected with defence and war potentials and the like—in international affairs also—we have to think on different lines and get out of our old rut. Nothing preserves that rut so much as the cold war mentality. In fact, the cold war mentality is no mentality at all. It is cold war. Thinking does not come in so much, because it is suppressed by passion and anger, and therefore the most dangerous part of the situation is this mentality going on and befogging people's minds and filling them with dislike and hatred and thereby possibly leading to some kind of incident which even Governments may not know—any odd General may do something in a fit of madness, in a fit of excitement, in a fit of loss of nerves, and that may bring all this catastrophe without even the knowledge of the Government concerned, because once somebody lets loose these terrible weapons, others will follow step by step.

Therefore, our approach in this matter is not that we do not like this country or like the other country and so we run it down and say it is at fault and others are not at fault, even though some of our arguments may be occasionally justified. It is a bad approach. The new approach that can help is the approach of not laying stress on differences but rather laying stress on similarities, on common points and on common dangers. That is the approach of reconciliation, and I do hope that progressively people in other countries will adopt that approach. The people in every country, I believe, do think in that way, but the leaders who have to shoulder these heavy responsibilities naturally have to consider every aspect of the question, and it is very easy for us, sitting or standing at a distance, to criticize them without realizing all the difficulties they have to face. So, I issued that appeal and day before yesterday, I received a reply from Mr Bulganin, Prime Minister of the Soviet Union. The reply, I believe, is in today's press. I do not know whether the whole of it is there but at least most of it is there, and naturally it deserves the fullest consideration. I am grateful to Mr Bulganin for dealing with this matter at such length and suggesting that this kind of atomic tests should be suspended. That is what we have been saying for a long time. It is not so much the actual suspension of the tests that is good and will help in

clearing the atmosphere but the avoidance of the spirit of the atomic tests being applied to people's mental processes, Governments' mental processes, that is, it is the approach to each other in anger and trying to run each other down which is coming in the way more than even the atom bomb today. I earnestly hope that this new approach will be made by the great leaders. We are small fry in this matter, we have no presumption that we can play an important part, but we do wish to play an independent part, because that is the only way we can serve our country and the rest of the world. Sir, I move.

4. Statement in the Rajya Sabha—II¹

Jawaharlal Nehru: Mr Chairman, this debate has shown, as such a debate has previously shown also, how little basic difference there is in this matter of foreign policy between the Governmental side and the Opposition. The basic factor is accepted, the basic approach is accepted, broadly speaking, and not referring to every individual Member, and then a search is made to find something to criticize or more emphasis is placed on some matter. It is a question of emphasis. But I must exclude from this the remark that was made by one honourable Member who boldly and gallantly said that the foreign policy pursued by the Government of India is cowardly and effeminate.² I do not know whom, what group or what ideology that honourable Member represents. Evidently he lives in some age which has nothing to do with the present. There are some organizations which still live in some age which was about a thousand or two thousand or three thousand years ago, and who try to apply their thinking of this

1. 13 December 1957. *Rajya Sabha Debates*, Vol XIX, cols 2465-2479.

2. Jaswant Singh regretted "the helplessness of our Prime Minister in all matters where our national interests are concerned, because cowards die many times before their death and the valiant never die but once." He said that India was being frequently insulted by Pakistan and Portugal, but the country was doing nothing and just pocketing the insults. The Government was not considering Kashmir "as our own" and had allowed the State to have its own constitution. As regards Tibet, Jaswant Singh said, "We have ignominiously surrendered our interests because we had no guts to stand up."

past age to modern conditions. It is a very interesting subject to study, this reaction of a person living in the middle of the twentieth century, but whose mind has not moved from the tenth or eleventh century and who tries to judge of conditions today on that basis. It is difficult to answer that. I suppose he might find his opposite numbers in this matter in Portugal, who also think in terms of many hundreds of years ago. They would not agree no doubt, but they will be able to understand each other's thinking.

Therefore, I need not say anything about such criticisms which have no meaning and which apparently expect us to be always in shining armour and sword in hand and attack anybody who dares to criticize us or lift his little finger against what are considered our interests. I should like to make it perfectly clear that our policy is the exact opposite of that. It is not a question of variation. It is the exact opposite of that, both basically and as it works out. It is the opposite of that because we do not think that policy would anyhow be right. But in the present state of affairs of the world that would be grievously wrong and wholly and absolutely impractical. If some people think that we are—and some Members have apparently said that—too idealistic, I would beg to tell them it is they who live in the realm of imagination divorced from facts. Our policy is strictly practical, the only practical policy that would be pursued which might bring results. The results may be delayed occasionally, but certainly it avoids ill results and that is something certainly to our advantage. In the broader sense of the word, of the subjects, I would venture to say that other countries, great countries and small, are bound to come to a closest policy of non-alignment, because the only alternative to that policy is, well, what is being done today, the cold war. But the real alternative is deliberately expecting war and having it. If you once rule that out, then you come back to this policy either of non-alignment or putting an end to cold war.

I suppose the honourable Member who referred to our policy as cowardly was probably thinking and was obsessed by the idea of Pakistan and thinks that we are weak, appeasing—these are the words sometimes used towards Pakistan. Well, let me make it perfectly clear to him and to everybody that holding to our principles and to our vital interests, we want to appease everybody. I am not afraid of the word appeasement, provided appeasement does not involve any loss of any principle or any vital interests of our country. I do want to appease because I want to win over their people. I want to make friends with them, I want to make friends with Pakistan. Why should I be afraid of people who are with us? Always subject to this I am not going to give in on any vital principle or vital interest of our country, of our people. Subject to that, let there be full appeasement. It is a big exception, I admit, that I have made, but even so it does, I hope, indicate the mental approach to the problem because the mental

approach to the problem even of Pakistan—with whom unfortunately our relations are none too good—our mental approach is a friendly approach and it will continue to be a friendly approach even though we do not agree to many things that they say, even though we hold to some things that we consider most important in spite of Pakistan's pressure and sometimes threats. Nevertheless, the mental approach of the Government of India and, I believe, of the people of India is a friendly approach to the people of Pakistan, because we realize that in the nature of things Pakistan and India both—because of geography, and nobody can change that geography, nor can anybody change past history, past culture, past traditions, past so many things which have joined India and Pakistan, nobody can change those in spite of political differences and tensions—should be friendly countries. We do believe that in such circumstances it is inevitable that India and Pakistan should be friendly countries, to cooperate with each other. It is unfortunate that partly or largely as a result of the Partition and subsequently what happened, we have not yet got over those difficulties and a trail of suspicion and bitterness pursues us, not so much, I believe, in India, but a little more in Pakistan, where it is so frequently said that India, or the Government of India, are conspiring or intriguing to put an end to Pakistan or to do injury to Pakistan because we have not reconciled ourselves to the Partition and we want to annul it—and these things are frequently said. And I wish to repeat that nothing could be farther from the truth and this is not a matter of sentiment, it is just a matter of hard fact, that any such going back on that decision would be extraordinarily harmful for us. It is a purely opportunist way of looking at it, nothing idealistic. There is, of course, the idealistic point of view, but purely from the point of view of opportunism, it would be almost fatal for us to try to go back or to be pushed back into that position. We do not want it. Far from trying for it, we shall try stoutly against it. Yes, we want friendly relations with Pakistan, cooperative relations. It is absurd as things are—leave out the major problems—that even in regard to trade Pakistan should get something from ten thousand miles away at a higher price which it can get at a cheaper price from India. It is patently absurd. It is not good for Pakistan, it is not good for ourselves, it is not good in so many other things. Even today as honourable Members will know that if one puts aside for the moment the political conflict, the political controversies between us and Pakistan, if Pakistanis and Indians meet together, they meet on an extraordinarily friendly level. They may argue. There are no deep barriers. There are no deep animosities. There are superficial animosities with certainly some fears and apprehensions and I do think that they can get removed and they will be removed. They are not removed by the attitude of the sword and the shining armour being displayed everywhere. That attitude ended more or less with Don Quixote and Sancho Panza.

I do not think it is very relevant to go about like the Spanish hero, Cervantes.³ Some people apparently think that it is a suitable point of view for India. The Government of India does not agree with that. There is one thing about Pakistan which I should like to say which is important and which shows the mental approach of the Pakistan Government, not the people. I am sure that in their dislike of India, in their dislike of what we do, they go and combine and even enter into unholy marriages, they go and make friends, make alliances with the Portuguese, with Goa. It is not for me, of course, to limit the choice of their friends and companions and bedfellows. They can do what they like. It is an independent nation. I am merely referring to show to what extent their animosity to India carries them. No Eastern country, I say, or for the matter of that, no liberal Western country, can have today two opinions about the colonial regimes. Even the colonial countries today say and admit the fact that colonialism has gone, is going and will go. They do not justify it. The most they say is, it will take a little time; we are taking steps. The United Kingdom has made a considerable advance in Africa and elsewhere and they are making it clear that the rest of their colonial territories will also soon be free.

Now, the whole world has rejected the idea of colonialism—well, perhaps, not the whole world, but at any rate, a great part of the world. Of course, so far as the countries of Asia are concerned, they are wholly and absolutely opposed to this idea of colonialism. And at such a moment for the Government of Pakistan not only to be friendly—I have no objection to their being friendly—but in a sense lining up with the Portuguese colonial authority in Goa does indicate a frame of mind which is rather extraordinary, which does not take into consideration what the Asian thought is on this subject, or African thought or liberal European thought or liberal American thought, which I am quite certain does not take into consideration the Pakistani thought on this subject. It shows how far they have drifted away from any normal policy which an Asian country inevitably follows, simply because of their animosity to India.

Of course, I need not point out to this House that the Portuguese Government is not normally reckoned among the liberal or advanced Governments of the world today. It is not my function to criticize it. But I am merely pointing out this fact that it is an authoritarian Government. It is a Government where we had recently seen a very strange kind of election and a Government where nobody dare raise his voice against the ruling authority. That is the close friend of the Pakistan Government, not the people. It shows that the real differences

3. Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra, famous Spanish novelist, poet and playwright and the author of *Don Quixote*.

between Pakistan and India—I am not talking about the people, but about Governments, the governing apparatus—are not really related to Kashmir or the canal waters or this or that. They are deeper and these things come up. They are important, of course. The question of Kashmir is important, the question of canal waters is important. But the real differences stem from something else. They are deeper and, therefore, it becomes more difficult to solve the Kashmir problem or the canal waters problem or other problems which could otherwise have been dealt with on a different level.

Yesterday, Dr Kunzru asked me to place the Resolution on Algeria before this House.⁴ At that time, I thought that we must have received it. But, later, I found that we had not got it. We had got a telegram about it, but not the Resolution itself. Now, I have received it. I shall read it out:

“The following Resolution on Algeria was adopted by the General Assembly of the United Nations on the 10th December 1957 by 80 votes to none.⁵ South Africa was absent and France did not participate in the voting.”

This is the Resolution:

“The General Assembly, having discussed the question of Algeria and recalling its Resolution of February 15, 1957,

- (1) expresses again its concern over the situation in Algeria;
- (2) takes note of the offer of good offices made by His Majesty the King of Morocco⁶ and His Excellency the President of Tunisia⁷;
- (3) expresses the wish that in the spirit of effective cooperation parleys will be entered into and other appropriate means utilized with a view to reaching a solution in connection with the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations.”

Probably, there is some mistake in this word ‘connection’. That is the word we received by telegram. It might be a mistake.

Chairman: It should be ‘consistent with’.

A.K. Sen: ‘In consonance’.

4. See *ante*, p. 543

5. India and fourteen other countries had sponsored the resolution.

6. Sultan Sidi Mohammed ben Youssef.

7. Habib Bourguiba.

JN: Maybe, 'in consonance' perhaps.⁸ Now, the meaning is clear.

Well, this Resolution does not go very far, but the point is this. From the super-heated atmosphere where it has tended to become a cold war matter, it was drawn out by this Resolution into an atmosphere which should lead to more effective approaches. That itself is a great gain and I am very glad that our delegation in the United Nations played an important part, together with others, in bringing about this approach of some kind of reconciliation. I use the word 'reconciliation' and I do feel that that should be the governing approach now, wherever possible. Certainly, so far as we are concerned, we shall always try to have that approach to world problems like those with Pakistan, with any country. But I was thinking more specially of this approach of reconciliation in contrast to the approach to the cold war generally.

I pointed out yesterday the dangers of this cold war. Even when the Governments concerned do not want war, even so, it produces risks which might lead to a war bursting out or something happens which might lead to war. Today one reads that atomic bombs are carried by aircraft on patrol duties in various parts of the world. When this is done, there is always a danger of accidents happening, quite apart from any deliberate attempt to do so. Now, when this is pointed out, it is said, "But in the nature of things, we cannot go about without bombs because the whole purpose is to be ready, instantaneously ready, for action, if something happens. The purpose of patrolling is not served without being armed." On the other hand if you are armed for that purpose, a person armed may mistake something—may be misled—and may think that somebody is attacking him when he is not, may go off his head, may get excited and anything may happen. He may start using the bomb. Is the future of the world going to depend on the sanity and calmness and composure of every one of the hundreds of thousands of persons on the aircraft or other places who have bombs? It seems to me too risky.

Then again, leave out the individual, I speak as a layman. I do not know but suppose there is some failure of the engine of that aircraft and it falls down with those bombs on the wrong territory. Well, I do not know what the consequences will be, they may burst and immediately, the other country might think it is a deliberate thing and react. When I really come to think of these, the prospects of danger are so many, even apart from a Government deciding on aggressive operations. So, there is no way out that way.

As I came in, I heard Mr Shiva Rao talking about new thoughts in regard to

8. The words in the resolution were: "in conformity".

these military alliances.⁹ I myself mentioned yesterday something to that effect, because it is being realized that these military alliances now at any rate do not serve very much useful purpose from the military point of view. From other points of view they might. Even the new types of weapons are such that they can be used over the heads of the alliances and the areas where the alliances function. Anyhow, I am not a military man to say how useful they are. But the military alliances at best can only keep the cold war going. They cannot take these countries away from the cold war. That is quite obvious. And the cold war leads nowhere today except to the possibility of a more destructive hot war. Therefore, people are thinking on these lines. Yesterday, Sir, I quoted that distinguished American expert who was suggesting that foreign armies should be withdrawn both by the Western Powers and by the Soviet Union and other countries. There can be no doubt that if that is done, it would bring relief to many countries and it would bring relief not only to the countries affected but to the world. It will be such an effective way of showing that we are going away from the conception of having a war in the near future. I earnestly hope that the Great Powers will think about it. It is very presumptuous for me to go on offering advice to those Powers who have to shoulder tremendous responsibilities. It is always easy for those who have no responsibility to advise those who are responsible for something being done. It becomes very easy for one country to advise another which has to shoulder that heavy responsibility. Therefore, I am reluctant to suggest any such thing. At the same time when one feels strongly about some matter, to remain quiet and silent would also be a wrong thing. Perhaps even a small and thin voice might make a difference occasionally. So we advance our small voice occasionally and make some submissions to other countries and put forward some of our ideas for their consideration.

There is one thing about these military alliances. The major one is the NATO. And for my part, quite frankly, I find it a little difficult to express an opinion as to whether, when the NATO came into existence, circumstances justified it or not. There was great fear on one side, and you have to recognize that. But this was ten years ago. Much has happened since then. The point is not what should have been done in the past or what should not have been done, but what is desirable and necessary today. But take even the NATO. It was started as a

9. B. Shiva Rao, Congress Member from Mysore, said that there was growing disillusionment all over the world, especially in Europe and the USA, as to the efficacy of military pacts and alliances because in spite of the colossal efforts by the NATO and other pacts, the Soviet Union had not been contained as was evident from recent events in West Asia.

defence organization for defence purposes. But it has been used not in the military sense, but used otherwise to some extent, as a defender of colonial territories. It has spread from being an Atlantic alliance to the other seas and other areas of the world. It goes on spreading. I am not criticizing anybody, but I am just pointing out the inevitable tendency of such alliances. The House may well remember that the Portuguese Government invoked it even in connection with Goa. Now where does Goa come in? It is not in the North Atlantic, nor is there any question of defending Goa against a Soviet attack, and yet it was extended. So it goes on extending because the thing is there. And as far as the SEATO and the Baghdad Pacts are concerned, the possible justifications which apply to the NATO do not apply there at all. The fact is that the world has changed so rapidly ever since the last War that our thinking has become out-of-date just as sometimes, if I may say so with all respect, the thinking of honourable Members on the other side is quite out-of-date and it has no relevancy to facts. And whoever may be right or wrong will not help in saving the world from disaster. Whichever of the two big blocs, I mean, is right or wrong, will not help in saving the world from disaster, if we suddenly plunge into a war. Therefore the approach to all these questions cannot be merely expressing your approval of something and your denunciation of something else. That is exactly the cold war approach, because if you go on denouncing each other, then there is no way to come together, no bridge. And I would submit therefore to this House, and more especially to the Members sitting opposite, that whatever their views might be on a particular subject those views of course can be put forward with force and cogency, but it helps nobody today merely to denounce any country even though you may dislike that country or its policies. If your policy is to bring them together to have some kind of a bridge, then let us work towards that bridge and not put difficulties and obstacles in the way of that process.

Now sometimes I find in the press of foreign countries, and sometimes some reference is made here in India—in Parliament also once or twice—to the effect that India's policy towards China or towards the Soviet Union is dictated by fear; China has become a great and powerful country, and it has a long border with us, and therefore we are conditioned by this major fact in changing our policies and not doing what we might otherwise have done. Now I think that that outlook is not an Indian outlook. It is a western outlook which proceeds from the assumption that conditions being what they are, we ought to be afraid of China, but facts are not seen whether we are or not. But the presumption is that every country, and more especially countries bordering the Communist countries, should be afraid of the Communist countries, and therefore should line up with the anti-Communist countries. That is one presumption. And a similar presumption is there on the other side too. And that presumption is shared by some of the honourable Members

opposite. That presumption is that every other country which is not in the Communist circle of countries is in danger all the time—all kinds of dangers—from the imperialistic countries, and therefore the way to preserve its independence is to attack the so-called imperialist countries and to line up with the Communist countries. Both proceed on the assumption that the other is attacking or is on the point of attacking, and therefore defend yourself. Both have developed a certain war mentality with which they look at all their problems, which makes them quite oblivious of the facts of life and the facts prevailing in the world today.

Now take this question of Russia, China and India. I can say with complete honesty that I am convinced that there is not the remotest chance or, if I may put it even more strongly, the remotest chance of India being afraid of Russia or China or India having any kind of conflict, military conflict, with Russia or China. I am not saying that on any kind of sentimental or even an idealist basis but purely on practical grounds. Even if we differ, even if we are opposed in various policies, nevertheless there will be none. First of all, there is geography. It is true that no country today can be free from risk of attack because mountains and seas do not protect a country. It is true, but apart from that we are fortunately situated geographically. It is not easy to attack us; it can be done, of course, but it is not particularly easy to attack us, and if any person indulges in that attack, he will have very considerable difficulties to face. It will be a hornet's nest for that country. I am not for the moment referring to the fact that India will not be a great military power. We have no intention of trying to develop as such. Nevertheless, India is such a place that, if any person wants to attack it, he will have to face enormous difficulties; let other people realize that fact. Apart from the Himalayas, apart from the seas the Indian people are not people to be played with by any aggressor, whoever he may be. The real geographical advantage of India is that India is not in the way of the Great Powers' conflict. That is the advantage geographically. That does not apply to so many countries of Europe, it may not apply to some of the countries of Asia, but it does apply to us. We are away from the main road of conflict. It is true that if a conflict of the Great Powers takes place resulting in a great war, well, the whole world is affected, but that is a different matter. Even so, India will not be in the direct line of fighting. We are thus outside it. Therefore, for these and so many other factors, it is not conceivable for me that there is any danger of attack on India from any country and none from the other Great Powers obviously. Maybe we may have our local troubles, but that is a different matter. And even if there was danger, some remote danger, I think we are completely equipped to face that danger. We may be weak militarily, from the war point of view as we are in a major war, but it is a completely different proposition to defend one's country against an aggressor, and we are completely strong enough for that. I have no doubt about that.

I put it to the House that two major factors came up last year or one and a half years ago in Europe or Africa or both. Two major things happened there. One was the Anglo-French invasion of Egypt, as also the Israeli invasion of Egypt. The other was what happened in Hungary. Both these indicated some lessons which we should keep in mind. The Anglo-French invasion of Egypt showed that it is no longer possible, normally speaking, for any attempt to be made to go back, to revert, to colonialism, even for the Great Powers. A great power may be stronger, as it is, than a small country, but there are so many factors, world opinion and all that, which prevent a country from adopting, in an open brazen way, the old style colonial methods. In an insidious way it may be done, and it is done, but the whole situation in the world has changed so much that it cannot be done. The two Great Powers failed for a variety of reasons.

In Hungary what apparently came up was that communism cannot be imposed by foreign forces, by a foreign authority; it may grow, but it is a different matter. After long years, ten years of a certain regime, it was obvious that there was a very great deal of opposition to it on nationalist grounds, not against communism, against whatever it was, against certain foreign elements imposing their authority.

These two lessons came to us last year. In other words, in both cases, we say that nationalism is still a very strong force like other things too—social changes—but basically nationalism, and that it is no longer easy for the biggest powers of the world to impose their authority by force of arms for long. It may conquer territory, but it cannot win the hearts of the people. These events, in spite of the tragedies involved in these, are hopeful signs. If it is so about small countries, it is much more so about a country like India, and I may assure this House that whatever other failings we in this Government may have, no single policy of ours has been based on the slightest fear of Russia, China, America or England or any other power. Our friendly approach to these countries is a friendly approach based on friendly feelings and not that type of friendly approach which is based on fear.

Before I end, I should like to express the hope—I am sure the House will join in it—that President Eisenhower who has been unfortunately rather unwell but who has fortunately recovered fast from his illness, will be wholly well again.¹⁰ Of course, Mr Eisenhower, everyone admits, even the opponents of America in the cold war admit, has played a great part in this controversy between war and peace, because, although a very eminent man in war, he is even more important as a man of peace. He has worked for it, and it would be most unfortunate for

10. Eisenhower suffered an attack of cerebral occlusion on 25 November 1957.

humanity if at this stage this great force was not available for purposes of world peace.

I move this Resolution, Sir. As I said yesterday, I am unable to accept any amendment except the amendment moved by Mr Sapru.¹¹

11. P.N. Sapru's amendment suggested approval of the Government policy by the House.

5. Statement in the Lok Sabha—I¹

Jawaharlal Nehru: Mr Speaker, Sir, I beg to move:

“That the present international situation and the policy of the Government of India in relation thereto be taken into consideration.”

Normally, on such occasions, this House is interested in the problems which directly affect India, problems of our neighbour countries, of our neighbouring areas such as Pakistan, Goa and, to some extent, Ceylon, as well as other problems. No doubt, we are interested in those problems. But if you will permit me, I shall not refer to them much or at all at this stage. If necessity arises, I shall say a few words about them in the course of my reply, that is, if honourable Members opposite draw my attention to any particular aspect of them which needs reply.

In opening this debate on international affairs, I have both an advantage and a disadvantage. The advantage is that I believe that in so far as the Government of India's foreign policy is concerned, there is such a very wide measure of agreement all over the country and in this House that, to some extent, it becomes for me a question of shadow boxing—so far as our country and this House is concerned. Because the Members not only on my side of the House but those on the other side have been good enough, in spite of occasional criticism, in

1. 17 December 1957. *Lok Sabha Debates* (Second Series), Vol. X, cols 5879-5895.

spite of laying some emphasis on some matter which, according to them, deserves greater emphasis than has been given. But, by and large, they have accepted and approved all the broad policies that we pursue in the international sphere. Indeed, so far as our Government is concerned and so far as I am concerned, I have become more and more convinced of the rightness of that broad international policy after all the experience of the last few years.

I would like to refer briefly to one or two matters which are not in the context of this major international policy but which deserve attention and which of course cause much concern. One is in regard to the situation in Indonesia. The House knows our views about this controversy that has gone on now for many years in regard to West Irian. We have held that both on larger consideration and even, I would say, in regard to the interpretation of the agreements arrived at between the parties, West Irian should become part of Indonesia.²

We have also held in regard to that, as in regard to other matters wherever they occur, that it is always better, it is always desirable, to settle these matters peacefully by negotiation, even though that might take some considerable time. Therefore, we viewed with concern these recent developments there which followed—I should like the House to remember—the failure of a resolution put forward in the United Nations. That resolution,³ which I thought, and many of us thought, was a very moderate and statesmanlike resolution, unfortunately, not defeated exactly, because it got a majority of votes, but failed to get the two-thirds majority which is necessary in such cases. As a matter of fact, it got 41 votes in favour to 29 against, a considerable number abstaining.

The defeat of that resolution was unfortunate because it was a moderate, conciliatory approach to the problem so that the problem might be discussed further by the countries concerned. But because it did not get the two-thirds majority, it failed, according to the rules of the United Nations. I am afraid this failure had a very strong reaction in Indonesia, and many things happened there which have tended to make the situation even more difficult than it was.

Recently, I believe, the situation has improved to some extent, in the sense that it is fairly well under control of the Indonesian Government, and it is hoped that the improvement will continue. I can only repeat that this question can only be solved satisfactorily by the two Governments concerned, that is, the Indonesian Government and the Government of the Netherlands, taking it up and discussing and considering it, because it is obvious that unless it is solved this kind of sore will continue, poisoning not only their relations but, to some extent, the relations of Asia and Europe.

2. See also *post*, pp. 629-635.

3. For the text of the resolution, see *ante*, p. 549.

One basic fact has to be remembered, regardless of the particular problems that exist in parts of Asia, that in the new Asia that has arisen, it is very difficult for that Asia to stomach or to digest any foreign occupation anywhere. That is regardless of the justification of any particular problem; it just goes against the spirit of the times, the spirit of Asia as it is. Such foreign occupation may continue for some time, a short time or a long time, but it will always be resented, it will always create difficulties and will undoubtedly ultimately have to be given up.

If that is so, then surely it is the path of wisdom to do that in a friendly cooperative way now rather than later when passions have been roused much more intensely and feelings are much bitter. So I earnestly hope that this problem of Indonesia, instead of both those countries involved getting more and more angry with each other, whatever the occasion for the anger may be, should be dealt with directly by them by discussing it by negotiation. In fact, that was the resolution which was put forward before the United Nations, which, unfortunately, did not get the concurrence of the majority.

There is another country very near to us, very close to us, viz., Nepal, where the King has recently made a statement about elections.⁴ We welcome any statement which indicates that elections will be held there for we feel that the holding of elections, although that may offer some difficulties, is the only proper course to bring about some kind of a Government responsible to a legislature. We hope, therefore, that the recent difficulties which the Government and the people in Nepal had to face will now end for the time being and all their energies will be directed towards the preparation for these elections and the other schemes that they have to improve the condition of the people of Nepal.

Now, coming to the big and broad issue, the major issue in the world which today dominates everything else, the issue of war and peace—I do not mean to say that war is round the corner and suddenly might appear and yet it is, in another sense not round the corner but almost above our heads all the time now—although we have referred to this matter many times here in this House and elsewhere, I do speak about this in terms of greater urgency today than I have ever done before.

The other day, I ventured to make an appeal which was addressed to the other great countries and more especially to the United States of America and

4. King Mahendra announced on 17 December that elections in Nepal would take place in February 1959. The Nepal Government had postponed on 30 September 1957 the first general elections, scheduled to be held on 8 October, on the grounds that the previous Government had neglected to obtain ballot boxes, paper for the electoral rolls, and other necessities.

the Soviet Union because, after all, it is on those who hold the reins of authority in these two countries that the question of peace and war depends. I ventured to address an appeal to them and I have had replies from both, the heads of both those countries. They have appeared in the public press and so I need not refer to them in any detail. I am very grateful for the trouble Mr Bulganin and President Eisenhower have taken to reply at considerable length.

I should like honourable Members to consider those replies because, while there appear to be some differences in approach, some criticism of each other, basically, it will be noticed how strong the desire for peace and for some arrangements to ensure peace is evident from both those replies. It may be that some people may lay stress on the differences; but I think it would be right for us here as it would be right anywhere else for us, rather to lay stress on the similarities, on the common urges, on the common desires and the common objectives than on the differences. There are differences, of course; otherwise, there would be no question of this crisis having arisen. I think the time has come when this issue has ceased to be completely a theoretical issue and is an issue of the highest practical importance.

It is an issue which does not merely demand a moral and ethical approach. I hope the moral and ethical approach is always there, but sometimes the purely moral and ethical approach is called an impractical one. There appears to be some strange presumption that everything practical should be immoral and unethical. However, today I would certainly lay stress on the moral and ethical approach because morality and ethics are involved when there is a question of extermination of the human species in a general way, when there is the question of war weapons being used for mass slaughter. There can be no doubt that from any approach moral and ethical questions are involved. But there is something much more perhaps which may be appreciated by many people and that is a very definite, practical, and if you like, the opportunist approach to this problem.

And, all the arguments in the world, blaming one party or the other, will not help us or will not save us or humanity unless there is some solution of this problem. The time has gone by, I submit, when any of these great countries, opposed to each other in military alliances and blocs, can morally justify their attitude or their policy by criticizing the other party even though that criticism might be justified and might be right. It will not help at all because what the world seeks to achieve is not some self-justification of one's action but survival, freedom from the daily fear that oppresses humanity today.

In Europe, and maybe elsewhere, aircrafts fly about with hydrogen bombs on them all the time. Why? Because they must be ever ready to, they say, defend themselves. What an extraordinary state of affairs! Every country does

the most aggressive things in the name of defence. But, even if that was necessary in the name of defence, it is obvious that even a very slight accident might let loose all the horrors of war to prevent which all this is being done.

Now, a little while ago, there were some resolutions put forward in the United Nations; and I should like to refer to them because they represent an approach which though it may not be considered very satisfactory by honourable Members here—many of them—nevertheless is the only reasonable approach left today to deal with highly controversial problems. One was the resolution on Algeria and the other was the resolution which, unfortunately, did not succeed; and that was the Indonesia resolution which I referred to. If it was accepted nothing much would have happened except that it would have opened the door to talk, for a consideration of the problem without finally committing anybody to anything. Naturally, the time will have to come sometime—however early or late. However, that did not get the two-thirds majority.

Now, Algeria has been a terribly frustrating problem, frustrating to everybody, to Algerians, to the French and the others. There has been a horrible war going on and the accounts we read of that war and of the large-scale killing of people are very bad. How is one to deal with that problem? Our reaction, the reaction of this House, obviously is that Algeria should be independent. True, we agree. How are we to help Algeria to become independent? By passing a resolution in this House? Perhaps, this is an expression of the will of this Parliament but that does not go far. In the United Nations also the same difficulty comes.

Therefore, the attitude we have endeavoured to take up there in such problems, where our views are completely well known, is nevertheless, not merely to be the protagonists of one set of views, loudly proclaiming them and condemning those who oppose us; but rather we have always endeavoured to try to bring about a method of conciliation. It may fail, it may not succeed, but even an attempt to do that is helpful. In this Algerian affair, a resolution was passed, it did not go terribly far. But it is a remarkable thing, where such passions are involved, that the resolution was passed almost unanimously in the UN. It is a remarkable thing. Only France did not vote for it. Even France did not oppose it. That itself shows that the resolution did not go very far. True, but it helped.

The honourable Members smile. They are welcome to smile. But honourable Members will not smile and may not smile when they have to deal with the problems themselves: as to what exactly has to be done in regard to it. Just taking up a brave attitude, the attitude of Don Quixote and Sancho Panza, charging at windmills thinking that they were the brave knights in armour—that is past except that occasionally it appears in the Opposition Benches.

We have to deal with tremendously difficult problems, which apart from the difficulties involved in them, are on the verge of other major problems of the

world. The hydrogen bomb and other ballistic weapons and the like are there to warn you of what would be the fate of the world if a false step is taken. Today, the United States of America and the Soviet Union are the big powers with the biggest, longest and most dangerous weapons. The United Kingdom has also joined with the Hydrogen Bomb Club though, presumably, it is weaker, comparatively, than those two. I have no doubt that, within a relatively short time, France will also be experimenting with its test hydrogen bomb explosions.

So, you see how the world drifts on and I have no doubt that other countries will do so in another year or six months. It will go on and it will become absolutely impossible to control this deterioration and decline. Therefore, we are today at a rather critical moment in history—not only in our country but the world. If we fail to take advantage of this moment the results may be very bad.

Recently, only two or three days ago, a resolution was passed, also unanimously, by the UN—a resolution sponsored by India, Yugoslavia and Sweden, three countries which are not aligned with any bloc of nations. Although they have different ways, they have this in common that they are not in military alliances with any bloc of nations. This resolution was on peaceful coexistence. The resolution referred in actual terms to the so-called five principles which are well known and which were originally drafted and placed before the public in a document signed by India and China. Since then, these principles have been adopted by a number of countries. It is, I think, a great gain that even in the form they have been put up before the UN, they should have been accepted unanimously.

I do not attach too much importance to this fact. But, I do wish to point out that all these efforts in which India has played a considerable part together with other countries, who are equally motivated with a desire for peace, do not suddenly take us out of the danger zone. They are all intended to help create an atmosphere where one can consider the problems of today in a very objective way without this terrible oppression of fear.

There was a resolution proposed by the Soviet Delegation on peaceful coexistence in the Political Committee of the UN. So far as the resolution went, it was undoubtedly one with which we agreed. Nonetheless, it was not a resolution which, as worded, was acceptable to some other countries. Then, some other countries, notably India, Yugoslavia and Sweden as well as others, conferred and placed a different draft which embodied the substance of the other resolution but tried to avoid anything said in it which might just possibly irritate any country. It was totally unnecessary. Fortunately, we were successful in this. This resolution obtained the approval of the great countries.⁵ The USA

5. On 14 December 1957. See also *post*, p. 601.

supported it warmly. The Soviet Delegation were not only good enough to support this but withdrew their own resolution so that it might not come in the way. I am very grateful to them for this, because in effect, they had priority for their resolution, but they withdrew it.

This may mean little but it means a lot too because it shows that once the approach of mutual recrimination and mutual criticism goes, it is much easier for countries to come together because, in the final analysis, there is tremendous deal in common between these apparently rival Great Powers. Above all, there is the common desire to survive.

I believe, in the speech that President Eisenhower delivered at the NATO Conference yesterday—it appears in this morning's papers—he says that the time has gone by when there can be any victory of one side over another. I do not remember his exact words. I am giving the sense. The time has come when any right solution can only be a victory for all, he has said.⁶

Those are pregnant words, they are very right indeed. If that is true, it is not only in the case of war. This is applied presumably to the possibility of war; there could be no victory for any one. The only real victory for everybody is to put an end to this fear of war.

If that is so, that approach also applies and should apply to the cold war. I cannot understand how people talk about peace and the necessity for avoidance of war but at the same time indulge in cold war which precipitates or adds to or increases our passions and brings about a situation which progressively is more dangerous and may burst at any moment.

I would again beg the honourable Members to read carefully what Premier Bulganin and President Eisenhower have said in their replies to me and to observe how much there is in common in the approach although they criticize each other. If I may say so, with a great deal of respect, it has become the habit to criticize the other party, although criticism may be needed occasionally. Let us at least lay greater stress on the common bonds than on the points of difference.

Now, it is often said that all this is done for the sake of security, to ensure security. It is a strange way to ensure security, to add to every conceivable danger. But, anyhow, it is in the name of security that all these various steps are justified. In the name of security atomic tests should go on, in the name of security hydrogen bombs should be flown all over the place, in the name of

6. At the 'Heads of Governments' meeting of the NATO Council in Paris on 16 December 1957, President Eisenhower said, "There lies before the free nations a clear possibility of peaceful triumph. There is a noble strategy of victory—not victory over any peoples, but victory for all peoples."

security all kinds of tremendous weapons should be evolved, and in the name of security each party should slang the other and thereby create an atmosphere where danger becomes more acute. I do not myself find it easy to follow these arguments. Of course, I must and everyone must recognize the argument for security. No country and no government can risk the future of itself, or can accept a position when another country can impose its will upon it. I accept that. But, in order to attain security, if measures are to be taken which really endanger it still further, then you fail in getting that security.

I do not propose to discuss the various subjects that have come up in disarmament conferences and in the United Nations in regard to disarmament, because it is a complicated subject. But it did seem to us some months ago, last summer, that for the first time an agreement became conceivable, that means an agreement principally between two, three or four great powers. We may vote and we may pass a resolution about it, but it is a little difficult when the people who possess hydrogen bombs do not agree not to use them. Therefore, last summer, five or six months ago, there was some hope of this agreement, but a little later various things happened which almost put disarmament into the shade, it hardly remained a live issue, it was put aside, there was a complete dead pause and that continues still. It is very unfortunate and very dangerous. The Soviet Government withdrew from the conference—not permanently, of course, I hope, but, nevertheless, for the time being withdrew—and, therefore, at the present moment, there are not even talks going on on that subject, and that is a dangerous position.

So, it is not for me here, and especially for us here, to argue the details of disarmament. It is a fact that the differences at one time were very limited, but something else happened which widened them. That 'something else' has little to do, I think, with the actual proposals made by this side or that side; that 'something else' is the mental approach to the problem, the approach of fear, the approach of anger, the approach of not being made to appear that one is weak. It is the approach which uses the words: "Let us have a tough policy, let us speak from strength."

We have been hearing these words of "speaking from strength" for many years now. The result is not the accretion of strength to one side; when one side grows a little stronger the other side grows stronger also, so that merely any reference of strength induces the other party to build up its strength as rapidly as possible, and you are where you were, perhaps in a worse condition.

It is extraordinary how old slogans, old phrases and old pious platitudes go on being repeated without any real attempt being made to grapple and wrestle with this problem and put an end to it, because the time is gone by for resolutions, the time is gone by for just wishful thinking, and we have to, and these Great

Powers have to, come to grips with the actual reality, that any slight slip not even on the part of their governments but in individual gentlemen or commanders or somebody might precipitate a world war. Surely, the first thing necessary for the sake of security is to prevent this odd slip which might occur on the part of tens of thousands of persons who are in command here and there whereby a war will be precipitated.

I should, just to refresh your memory, like to read to you this resolution on coexistence, that was passed by the United Nations a few days ago, which represents an approach, an outlook, which does not solve any problem. I was beginning to feel more and more that the basic difficulty that we have is this mental approach that is so wrong. There are difficulties apart from that. I do not say that a change of mental approach will solve the problems of the world. Of course, not. But it will change the nature of those problems, it will make them easier of solution, and it will certainly give some security and peace to the minds of men and women. This was the resolution on coexistence:

“The General Assembly, considering the urgency and the importance of strengthening international peace and of developing peaceful and neighbourly relations among States irrespective of their divergences or the relative stages and nature of their political, economic and social development,

Recalling that among the fundamental objectives of the Charter are the maintenance of international peace and security and friendly cooperation among States,

Realizing the need to promote these objectives and to develop peaceful and tolerant relations among States in conformity with the Charter, based on mutual respect and benefit, non-aggression, respect for each other's sovereignty, equality and territorial integrity and non-intervention in one another's internal affairs, and to fulfil the purposes and principles of the Charter,

Recognizing the need to broaden international cooperation, to reduce tensions, and to settle differences and disputes among States by peaceful means,

Calls upon all States to make every effort to strengthen international peace, and to develop friendly and cooperative relations and settle disputes by peaceful means as enjoined in the Charter and as set forth in this Resolution.”

If the spirit underlying this resolution actuated the Governments concerned, well, a very great deal of progress would be made.

People seem to think today, some people, that the conflicts, the differences that

separate nations are almost unbridgeable; that either war comes with whatever it may bring or else rival and armed camps continue glaring at each other, at the most with some kind of uneasy coexistence. Only eleven years ago—or is it twelve now?—the last Great War ended, and if honourable Members can take back their minds to the date of the War, when the War was occurring, they will remember the bitter passions and hatred that were aroused between the enemies, and now we see that those countries that were enemies are closely allied today; they are allies today in military alliances and also ideological and other alliances. And, we see those countries that were allies, poles apart today, afraid of each other, threatening each other. Is that not extraordinary? But is it not still more extraordinary that people should think that the present bitter differences should continue for ever? All history shows us that friends and allies sometimes become enemies and enemies become friends, and even the history of the last ten years has shown us this. Why then persist in a policy which perpetuates these enmities? Even a bitter and bloody war comes to an end and there is peace at the end of it, after a terrible slaughter and killing and destruction. Why wait for a war before you seek peace?

Surely it should be wiser to have peace before a war comes or to work for it and not to allow yourselves to be driven into a war. That of course would be so at any time, but now when we have reached the age of these tremendous ballistic weapons, hydrogen bombs and space travel, we have reached an age where all old conceptions do not apply. Nobody knows what the future might be. It is said by people who know something about military and defence matters that in a war that may come things will be completely different, that all the tactics and the strategy learnt previously, even in the last Great War, would not apply, because conditions are completely different. That is so.

May I suggest that conditions of thinking, of political and international thinking, are also completely different now? And merely repeating old slogans, old phrases and the old mental approaches does not help today. The problems are different. The way the problems have arisen, the way these big, enormous weapons have come into being—great forces are being released—require entirely a different order of thinking.

I would add, with great humility and great respect, that they also demand some consideration on a different plane than the purely military plane; some consideration which I cannot describe properly perhaps, say, some consideration on an ethical plane; but quite apart from that, even on the strictest material, defence and military plane, which is so alike, on a political plane, because international affairs and defence are closely allied to each other. If defence thinking has got to be on a very, very different line, then surely political thinking on the international plane must also be equally different, and it is not good

enough to think in the same old way.

And the full realization must come—if I may repeat President Eisenhower's statement—that there can be no settlement and no real peace unless it is a victory for all. If any group or country thinks that it is going to score in the cold war it is mistaken, much less in the hot war. In either hot war or cold war you can go on till you destroy each other.

Therefore, the only way is to approach it differently and realize that war can no longer solve these problems, cold or hot, and also realize, which is a fact, that the people of every country, barring none, passionately desire peace. There is no doubt about it; whether it is the people of the United States or the Soviet Union or any other country, they desire passionately peace. Why not then allow this tremendous urge for peace to have full play and to help in reaching agreements between these countries which ensure their peace?

I would like just to mention one matter. Today, the NATO Council is meeting in Paris. It is not for me to advise them, because, as I have indicated previously, we are not very much in favour of these military alliances today; we do not think they create that atmosphere which will lead to a settlement. As I said previously, it is not for me to say, and I am only talking about the position today. Every step of this kind is met by a counter-step on the other side; there you are, where you were. Anyhow they are meeting and they consist of Great Powers, and I do earnestly hope that their deliberations will lead to a peaceful approach and not to this attempt at continued rivalry.

No one knows—I do not at any rate—which power today is stronger. Today, in the realm of these new types of weapons, maybe in some the United States may be stronger and in some other matters the Soviet Union might be stronger. But the point is that both are strong enough to destroy the other and the world. So, it matters very little who has got a little edge on the other or is a little stronger than the other. If that is so, then this rivalry in weapons ceases to have much meaning, because, even if you get some slightly better weapon, you will be destroyed nevertheless.

One thing more, just to clarify a matter which sometimes people may not be sure of. It is about Kashmir and the recent resolution in the Security Council and the fact that Dr Graham has been invited in that resolution to visit India and Pakistan.⁷ Our position has been stated with such clarity and force by our representative, Shri Krishna Menon, that it is not necessary for me to say anything about it except to say that what our representative has said there is precisely our position. Let there be no mistake about it. He has stated our position and the

7. See *ante*, p. 490 and p. 498.

whole history of this Kashmir case with great lucidity.

This problem of Kashmir, according to us, cannot be solved till the whole approach is not a different one, till the whole approach is not one of the vacation of aggression which Pakistan has committed. If that is admitted then other things flow from it. If that is not admitted, then no step forward can be taken about this. Dr Graham has been invited by the Security Council to visit here. Dr Graham is of course welcome to come here. He is an estimable gentleman as many of us know. The other people also, if they wish to come here, can come here. But we have made clear, our representative in the Security Council made it perfectly clear, that we are not prepared to consider this visit of Dr Graham as some kind of continuation of his previous visits or a continuation of the previous talks which he had with us. Conditions have changed completely and we are not prepared to continue those talks in that context. Otherwise, he is welcome as all others are welcome.

6. Statement in the Lok Sabha—II¹

Jawaharlal Nehru: Mr Speaker, Sir, I ventured to bring forward before the House a motion for the consideration of international affairs.² An honourable Member opposite criticized the fact that I spent about 7 ½ minutes in discussing various matters more intimately connected with India and about 30 minutes more in discussing broad issues of war and peace.³ His criticism may or may not be justified, but his facts are correct. In fact, I stated this morning that I would deal with this broad issue and if necessary deal with other matters in my reply.

1. 17 December 1957. *Lok Sabha Debates* (Second Series), Vol. X, cols 5998-6018.
2. See the preceding item for Nehru's speech while presenting the motion earlier the same day.
3. Surendra Mahanty, Ganatantra Parishad Member from Orissa, said that Nehru devoted seven minutes in all to Goa, Kashmir, Nepal and Indonesia and "the rest of the 38 minutes were devoted to a discourse on international peace... to the platitudinous question of war and peace." He added it was a fallacy to say that the outstanding problem of India's foreign policy was peace.

I should like this House again, to bear in mind what we are discussing and I say so because, towards the end of this debate, a certain measure of levity has been introduced into it.⁴ It is customary—it used to be, I do not know what the practice is now—in the Indian theatre, even in the case of a tragedy, to end up with a farce so as perhaps to lighten the burden and the tension in the audience. So we have had something in that nature perhaps to lighten the burden of the tremendously difficult situation that the world has to face.

It is true that we in India, or in this House, are hardly responsible, are not responsible for this, and perhaps it may be true that what we do or do not do does not have too great an effect on world affairs. Let us recognize that our capacity to affect world opinion is limited. That is so. Nevertheless, whether we can affect world opinion or alter in the slightest the course of events, undoubtedly we shall suffer by the course of events if things go wrong. So, I ventured to place these major considerations of war and peace and what is happening before this House.

I referred to an appeal which I addressed in all humility to the two most powerful countries of the present age because the future of war and peace and, indeed, of the world itself, the survival of humanity at present rests with them more than with any other country. That is a fact. They were good enough to reply at length and argue with some reason and logic their respective positions. I think that itself, the very approach and the answer, is something for which I personally am grateful and I think this House should be grateful.

Anyhow, I ventured to draw the attention of this House to what might be considered the grand theme of the history of today. We in this House, in our own way, make the history of India and the history of India is so intimately related, as the history of every country today, to the world history that is taking shape, that we cannot escape responsibility, we cannot take refuge in imaginary approaches to this question. We cannot, like Shri Brajeshwar Prasad,⁵ either dig

4. Mahendra Pratap, Independent Member from Mathura, Uttar Pradesh, gave his suggestions for a foreign policy for India: "Sir, my foreign policy is this, that we approach the small States of Europe, especially Germany, and Japan, and we approach Latin America, and we also approach the independent States of Africa and Asia and have a big following for India. So we can defeat the Soviets and America in UNO with our following and outside we make such a following that war between United States and USSR will become impossible." He further said that 'S' in 'US' and 'USSR' could imply 'ass'.
5. Brajeshwar Prasad, Congress Member from Gaya, Bihar, said that India should accept the suggestion made in a Soviet newspaper that it was feasible to construct a tunnel across the Himalayas, reducing the distance between India and Russia by many hundreds of miles, and that it could be completed in three or four years if work began, at the same time, from the Indian side also.

deep underground or vanish about in thin air and have little relation to the facts of today, or act like the honourable Member⁶ who spoke after him—he is not present here—who lives in a world entirely his own and, on the strength of having wandered about various countries about 30 years ago, tries to understand the world of today. We live today and not in yesterdays, and we are trying to affect the tomorrows of this world. Let us, therefore, have some perspective. Let us forget that many a thing that we do not like, many a thing that affects us intimately is, unfortunately, important as it may be to us, only a part of this big picture, and may be powerfully affected by this big picture. And I want this House to realize not only the clichés that are sometimes used about our policies, but the basic reason that underlies them.

I do not claim that every step that we take is always the correct step, that we do not make mistakes, but I do submit that we have endeavoured during these past ten years, and indeed, if I may say so, more than that, even before we became a Government, to think along certain lines and, in so far as possible, to try to act up to that thinking.

I would further say with all humility that neither our thinking, nor our action, has been wholly without effect. It has made a difference to events in the world, a difference which it is difficult to measure or calculate, because we try not to shout and we try not to bully—indeed, we cannot bully; how can we bully, we have not got the strength to bully, we have no desire to do so. We have always to appeal, sometimes to criticize. Even when we criticize, it is in a soft language, it is in gentle language, it is in appealing language, because our objective always is to promote a spirit, an atmosphere of conciliation, of people coming together, and not going apart from each other.

That I say is a right attitude. It naturally follows from what might be considered the Indian approach, not every Indian's but the broad Indian approach to problems. But the present stage of the world, I would like to say, is one of extreme gravity, not immediately here and now, but broadly speaking, it is one of extreme danger and gravity if present trends continue. We have to take note of them, and we have to consider how we can possibly lessen that tension, or help in reducing those trends, reversing those trends. Hence the time I took over that, and hence my reference to these matters again, because everything else is relatively unimportant compared to that now.

Many honourable Members seem to think that what we have done perhaps has not made much difference, and they cite as examples our own problems:

6. The reference was to Mahendra Pratap.

see what has happened to Kashmir, what have you gained by your policy for Kashmir? Well, probably they are right. We may not have gained anything for Kashmir, we may have lost something, but nevertheless, we have followed a policy which has gained us a good deal in the larger perspectives of the world—and I am not talking in terms of gain or loss for our country, but some causes that we hold dear, some methods that we consider important which we followed, we try, feebly perhaps, to follow even now. We deal with very grave issues and hence it is perhaps not very becoming to treat them with levity.

An honourable Member asked me, almost challenged me, to deal with the replies we have received, especially from President Eisenhower, and to indicate what I agree with, what I did not agree with. As I said, this is ultimately a question of disarmament, because the whole question revolves round disarmament. I have laid stress in my appeal to Russia and America not on any particular thing, but rather on a *détente* but certainly I had mentioned as a first step to that end this stoppage of nuclear tests. We have been saying that not today, but for the last two or three years. If the honourable Members will look back, in this very House we have stated our approach to this question of disarmament, step by step, not in very great detail, but nevertheless, a comprehensive approach. Our approach is much the same. But whatever our approach may be, it is no good my being or our country being hundred per cent in the right in what it says but saying it in a way which produces no effect on current events. I may have a certain satisfaction that I am so right; I may become rather sanctimonious about it. But it has no effect. Therefore, the question is not of saying just what logically you might consider correct, but what in the circumstances of today is helpful towards the objectives that we aim at. Obviously that is the only test, not some kind of individual satisfaction being derived.

Therefore, we have often to tone down, we have often to suggest one step instead of half a dozen that we would like people to adopt, we have often to change the language. As an example of that, I placed before this House that resolution on coexistence which was passed unanimously by the Political Committee of the United Nations two or three days ago. I admit that the passing of a resolution by the United Nations does not bring peace nearer. But I do submit that it was a very considerable step for the United Nations unanimously to pass that resolution on coexistence embodying those principles about which we have talked as *Panchsheel*. The word *Panchsheel* was not there, nor was the word 'coexistence' there. I would have liked those words to be there, but we did not attach value to a particular word. When we found that without those words the substance was there, we put that forward and it was accepted and accepted unanimously.

That was a very considerable achievement for the sponsors of that resolution. Apart from India, as you know, there were Yugoslavia and Sweden. Others

could, of course, have sponsored it too. But deliberately, we did not want any sponsoring of that from any country which was associated with the various military alliances on both sides. So, they went out. They supported the resolution certainly, but we wanted it to be the unallied countries, as they are called.

Now, that resolution that was passed, although it does not perhaps suddenly change the atmosphere of the world, certainly does tend to clarify it, certainly gives a direction to people's thinking, and even if the governments in their fear or apprehension or in their thinking along certain grooves or lines of thought may not be much affected, the broad masses of public opinion in the world are affected by it. People are made to think that way, and in all countries today, whether you call them democratic or not, the opinion of large numbers of human beings counts; certainly, in democratic societies, it ultimately counts; it may not immediately, it makes a difference.

At the present moment, which is rather a psychological moment in world affairs, such a resolution, I think, has played a very considerable part, because public opinion in every country—and I would not exclude any country except countries which have no public opinion and no thinking done, if there are such—is greatly agitated as to how to find a way out of this impasse. They are afraid of war, afraid not in a personal sense, but afraid of this tremendous holocaust that a possible war might bring. They see all these tendencies in one direction.

I referred this morning to aircraft carrying about hydrogen bombs, hundreds of aircraft all the time, during their patrols. Think of that. Think of two things. The first is the state of mind which thinks that something may happen and it has to be countered then and there with the hydrogen bomb. Otherwise, how can they send? If something happens, how can they send them from their country? No, there will be no time to save them. That is the way the mind goes. So, it must be there and then it could be dropped. And who is going to decide the dropping of that hydrogen bomb? Naturally who else but the captain or the commander of the aircraft? So it is a tremendous responsibility on the poor man.

The second thing is that obviously this kind of thing is not the prerogative of one side. There is a competition in doing the same, in doing the same thing that the other party does, so that one may not be left behind.

Some little time ago, I think the Government of Poland issued some kind of, call it notice, call it warning, call it what you like, that if this is going to be done in Western Europe, they consider themselves entitled to have aircraft flying about with nuclear bombs too. You see how the evil spreads. They can justify it, 'Why should we not', as the Western side can justify it. They can say: 'We are doing what somebody else is doing'.

So step by step they go along to ultimate danger, copying each other so as not to be outbid or outdone by the other party. It is a position of extreme

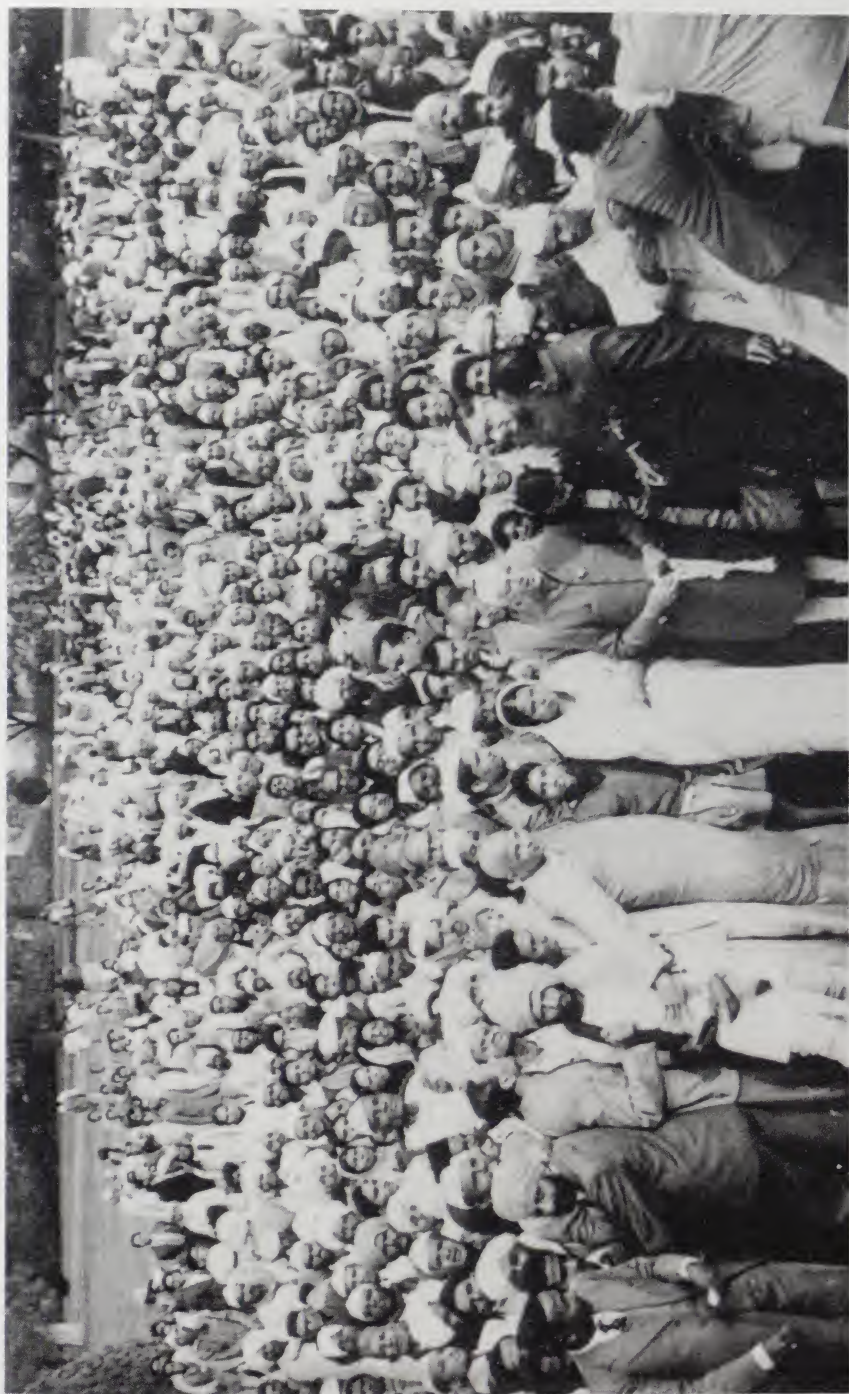
gravity. That is why we have to give thought to it, and we have to give thought not in a long-range way that gradually something may happen, and let us—as Shri Brajeshwar Prasad said—get nuclear bombs ourselves! I do not know what conception he has of a nuclear bomb. He does not want industry to grow, but he only wants nuclear bombs. I do submit that a little more intelligence be exercised in considering these grave problems. I do submit that it is not fair to this House to be treated to these light-hearted jests without any meaning, without any logical sequence, just repeating some idea when we are considering a matter of extreme gravity.

So this is the position. There are three or four positions that India can occupy. One is, of course, line up with this party or that. No doubt, if India so chose, it could possibly be among the candidates for receiving nuclear bombs. What we will do with the nuclear bombs, I do not know. I take it there is hardly anyone in this House who approves of that type of line-up. They may criticize our policy here and there, but so far as I know, no one here would approve of our lining up in this way in these military blocs and military alliances.

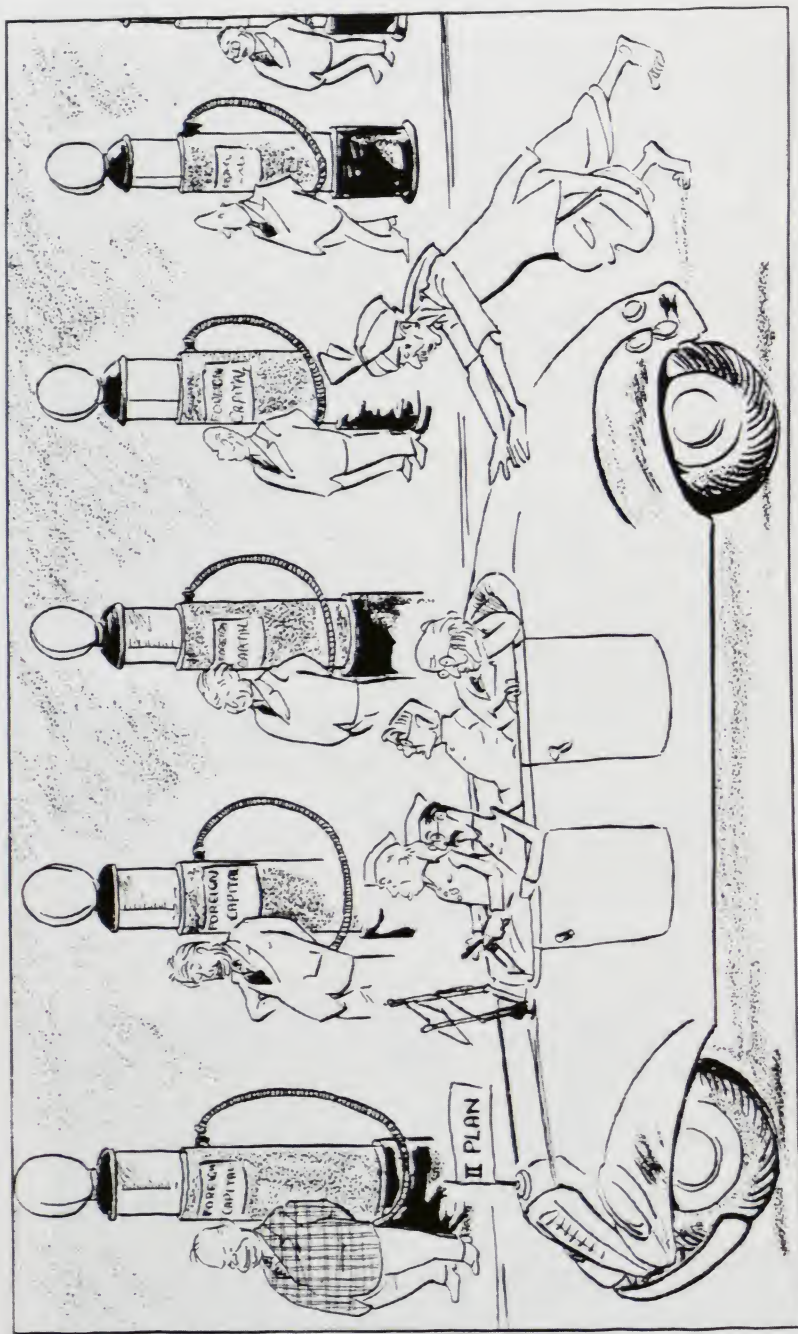
If we do not line up, what do we do? An honourable Member on the other side—I believe belonging to the Socialist Party—said that our policy is ridiculous; we should stand for a third force. He said something to that effect. A third force is being talked about for some time. What the third force means, I have been wholly unable to understand. I think any idea, any conception of putting forward a third force has absolutely no relation to reality. It has no meaning, not only no meaning, but if it does have some meaning, it would be a wrong meaning. It would be a wrong step. It would in fact be ourselves coming into the arena of power politics and possibly with that so-called third force trying sometimes to join this group and sometimes the other obviously or sometimes keeping apart.

Today how is force measured? By armed strength, nuclear strength, ballistic strength, money strength—call it what you like. India has none of these, nor has any country, which is likely to be a member of the so-called third force, any pretensions to armed might or financial power. I do not know what exactly this collection of countries together would do, apart from the fact that they will not collect together—they think differently, they think in different directions.

So let us give up these rather fanciful ideas which have no particular meaning or sense. We have to deal with a situation in which there are two giant powers with enormous military might, afraid of each other—let us be clear about it—afraid of each other's might, afraid of what the other would do, and at the same time more afraid of the other party getting a certain lead and, therefore, trying passionately to catch up to the lead or going ahead; sometimes one is a little ahead, sometimes the other is a little ahead. As I said, it really matters very little now who has got the lead because both have passed that mark which gives them enough



WITH VISITORS ON HIS BIRTHDAY, PRIME MINISTER'S HOUSE, NEW DELHI, 14 NOVEMBER 1957



The Prime Minister has reiterated that aid or no aid, the Plan will be implemented in all essentials.

"WHERE THERE'S A WILL...." A CARTOON FROM SHANKAR'S WEEKLY, 10 NOVEMBER 1957



WITH NGO DINH DIEM, PRESIDENT OF SOUTH VIETNAM, NEW DELHI, 4 NOVEMBER 1957



WITH THE SOVIET AMBASSADOR, P.K. PONOMARENKO, NEW DELHI, 18 DECEMBER 1957

power to destroy. If they have passed that mark it does not really make too much difference whether the world is destroyed completely once or twice over. If you are dead you are dead. It is no good trying to make you 'deader'. Dead are dead so that there is no escape from it when these policies are going on.

We have suggested a stoppage of nuclear tests. The stoppage of nuclear tests is a very very small thing in the present context. But it is a good thing, a right thing and a dramatic thing. And the moment one does that, one is compelled by circumstances to take up other matters. But I want a comprehensive disarmament agreement, not only stoppage of nuclear tests. I realize that it is not enough. I do submit that stoppage of tests does not mean stoppage; it does not change the balance of power. If you will, I won't use the word stoppage; I will use the word "suspension" so that you may consider the question, the other aspects of the question in the course of the next six months or next year, and evolve something more. If you do not, if the world wants to go to perdition, it will go to perdition in spite of everything. But anyhow, let us make an effort to stop it going down that way. That is our proposal.

President Eisenhower in the course of his reply⁷ to me which he was gracious enough to send refers to this matter and then says:

"To stop these tests at this time, in the absence of knowledge that we can go on and achieve effective limitations on nuclear weapons production and on other elements of armed strength as well as a measure of assurance against surprise attack, is a sacrifice which we could not in prudence accept.

To do so would increase rather than diminish the threat of aggression and war. I believe that bolder and more far-reaching measures are required. Specifically, I believe that any Government which declares its desire to agree not to use nuclear weapons should, if they are sincere, be prepared to agree to bring to an end their production.

Agreement to devote all future production of fissionable material to peaceful uses is, as I see it, the most important step that can be taken."

You see the fear is a surprise attack. The fear is that there is no assurance that something might not happen unawares. I quite recognize that fear and it is for that reason that it has been suggested all along that there should be all kinds of control and inspection and all that. Nevertheless, before control comes in there might be

7. The reference is to Eisenhower's reply to Nehru's appeal to the leaders of the USA and the Soviet Union. For Nehru's appeal, see *post*, pp. 593-594.

a surprise attack. Personally, I do not see how a surprise attack becomes more likely by the stoppage of nuclear tests. I do not see myself the connection. But for my part I am in entire agreement, if I may say so with all respect, with President Eisenhower that this is not enough; other things should be done also. There should be a bolder and more far-reaching measure, and that production of nuclear weapons should stop. I entirely and respectfully agree with him. I go still further in many ways, but it will serve little purpose. So I say let us go as far as possible.

But my immediate appeal is that one step should be taken, to be followed by the next. If we wait for the whole thing to come, the whole agreement to emerge in this atmosphere of tremendous fear and suspicion, it does not come although people want it. That is the unfortunate part. Therefore, we have to go as far as stopping the tests.

I personally believe, and I think most people who have studied this problem believe, that no country and no country's people want war at the present moment or in the foreseeable future. And, I say this because most eminent people say that of the hostile country—leave out their own country; everybody will say that in respect of themselves. If that is so, then any possible element of risk from surprise attack is presumably absent within that period apart from what I just mentioned that the surprise attack can take place, test or no test. Stopping of tests does not stop the possibility of surprise attack. Therefore, I would submit that the time has come when this matter should be dealt with—I cannot deal with it, I can only appeal—by the countries and deal with directly speaking to each other and not at each other, as they have got into the habit of doing.

We have arrived at a stage where you cannot solve the problems in the world by armed might. It has often been said that bread is important but we do not achieve human progress by bread alone. You may well say now that armed might is not enough, it has in fact become a tremendous danger. If I may repeat some pregnant words to which I referred this morning—I think they were from President Eisenhower's speech—victory for any party is out of the question. A solution should be found in which there is no defeat and no victory. It has reminded me of the words of a great son of India, Buddha, who said that true victory is that in which no one is defeated.

If that is the approach to this question, there may be no difficulty in finding a solution or hundred solutions. But if the approach is to injure and humiliate the other party, then of course the other reacts with the same suspicion, to injure and humiliate, and nothing is done. Because we have got outside the range of one party solving the problem by defeating the other party, if you are outside that range, the only alternative to complete destruction of everything is finding solutions, if not quickly, step by step.

Now, I shall refer briefly to one or two matters that have been raised. The

honourable Member, Shri Chaudhuri,⁸ spoke with emotion about the conditions in Goa. Other Members also talked about Goa. Some have asked me if I do not feel concerned about this. Some ask me why I do not allow the people to act in Goa. Others have made other proposals about Goa. Shri Mahanty has said that I show great concern about Algeria but not much about Goa.

I do not think, if I may say so, that honourable Member has been quite just if he thinks that I did not feel concerned about the difficulties in Goa or the problem in Goa. I did not say much about Goa because I did not have much to say and it is no good my repeating what I have said. Goa is a matter not only of grave concern—not in the larger sense of a world event—but it is a matter of deep concern, deep national concern and human concern. Well, the problem of Goa is something that hurts us all the time. The problem of 300 or 400 prisoners remaining there all this time in these horrible conditions which have been described by the honourable Member who himself has suffered this kind of imprisonment and prison life there is a continuous pain and an affront to us. I honestly do not see my way to do anything dramatic to put an end to it and I do not wish to do anything which merely is brave talk without bringing relief to them or going near towards the solution of the problem.

Shri Dange said: "Why not allow the people to act?" Well, the answer is that we cannot allow the people to act without being in the picture ourselves. I cannot understand how an organized State can function, if we sit tight and allow our people to be shot down and butchered there. It cannot happen. We do not want our people to be butchered in this way. Either we should be prepared to follow it up with our army—that is a different matter—and if we are not prepared to do that, then we cannot allow our people to act. It is bad enough, what has happened, all this suffering of brave people who have gone there for the sake of freeing Goa, and we do not feel that it would be right to encourage more sacrifices of this kind of our brave young men and young women. I do not know about the future. A time may come when some other steps may be taken, that is a different matter, I am merely talking about the present.

Unfortunately, all these things are tied up. We cannot take a step in Goa, a military step or a like step, without upsetting all our approaches in their places, all our policies, all our assurances and pledges, and all that goes down without really our helping ourselves in Goa very much. I am sure the Goa problem will be solved, and solved to the advantage of the people of Goa and our advantage, because there is no other way. But I confess that it would be wrong for me to

8. Tridib Kumar Chaudhuri, General Secretary of the Revolutionary Socialist Party, and Member of the Lok Sabha from Berhampore, West Bengal.

say that I expect something to happen very suddenly or quickly.

Several Members referred to our publicity. Before that, may I first refer to what Shri Dange said about African people?⁹ I was rather surprised to hear what he said because our policy in regard to Indians in Africa or indeed in any part of the world has been repeatedly stated and clearly stated. We have to be naturally, and we are interested, deeply interested, in the Indians abroad being able to live their lives there with self-respect and with decency. Certainly, we do not like any country in the wide world to ill-treat Indian citizens, Indian nationals, or to give them a place which is lower than that of others.

We know what is happening in South Africa where they are so ill-treated. And, they are not Indian nationals, remember. They are not Indian nationals but they are people of Indian descent. Not only we, not only countries in Africa and Asia, but most other countries too have declared themselves in the United Nations and elsewhere, against South Africa's racial policy. But the fact remains that in spite of their declaration there has been no change there; in fact, things are a little worse.

Now, honourable Members may well ask us: "Well, what are you going to do?" Frankly, I am not doing anything at present. I cannot do anything. I cannot declare war on South Africa. And, I simply have to carry on such work in the

9. In the course of the debate earlier in the day, S.A. Dange referred, among other things, to the struggle of the African people, and wondered whether "we are yet decided as to the attitude that the Indians in Africa must take." He said that when the African problem was first raised in India, the Congress had decided against the participation of Indians in the struggle between Negroes and the Governments of the imperialist powers there. Dange hoped that that decision was now changed. Nehru intervened to say: "I am surprised the honourable Member has not followed this policy during the last thirty years. I am not saying that we did not support the struggle of the Negro people. I have not at all said a word that our country or our Government has not supported the Kenyan people or Uganda or Ghana. I know, I have heard some accounts from our Ambassador or Councillor who was there in Ghana himself. I am not charging the Congress at all of not siding or not supporting the ambitions of the Negro people. What I am saying is that if a proper emphasis is not yet being laid, let us make it very clear for our people over there, because there are splits in the Congress organization in Africa on this question. You cannot say that the split does not exist. It does exist. A difference of opinion does exist. Therefore, I am saying: let us give clear instructions to those who abide by the foreign policy of this country that—there are quarrels, competitions on account of trade, investments and so on—whatever the quarrels, the Indians must side unequivocally with the African people in their struggle against the colonialists who are there. That is all I am submitting. I am not saying that our Government is not supporting the struggle of the Negro people. I never said that."

United Nations and other countries as we can and build up our own strength. What else can I do?

But, generally our policy has been clearly stated, that Indians abroad—I am not talking of South Africa, but of people who go to East Africa or other places—should always consider the interest of the people of that country as first; they should never allow themselves to be placed in a position where they are exploiting the people of that country, they should be friendly to the people of those countries, cooperate with them and help them, maintaining their own dignity and self-respect. That is not only a policy which I consider the right one, but the only practical policy, because if Indians do not do that abroad they will be ground between the two milestones of the local population there and the foreign element from Europe and elsewhere there because their interests come into conflict with the foreign settlers' interests. Because, normally, the Indians are the only persons in some of those countries who work more or less on the level of foreign settlers—I mean, trade, commerce, etc., the local inhabitants not having, generally speaking, reached that standard. So, they are constantly coming into conflict with foreign settlers. Now, if we come into conflict with the local people too, where are they? They simply get crushed and pushed out. So, from the purely opportunist point of view, that is the only policy they can pursue.

But it is not for opportunism alone that we said it, because we think in the long run or in the short run, that is the only right policy for them, to associate themselves as closely as possible with the interests of the people of that country and never to make it appear to function in a way that they become an exploiting agency there. In fact, we have gone thus far, and said, "If you cannot be and if you are not friendly to those people, in that country, come back to India and not spoil the fair name of India elsewhere."

Then our publicity has been criticized by various Members. I am not satisfied with our publicity apparatus and we are constantly trying to improve it. But I do think that the type of criticism one gets is not, if I may say so with all respect, very informed. Honourable Members seem to imagine that we have merely to state India's case and everybody says, "How right you are?" Well, that is not so in the wide world. Peoples, first of all, in most countries are just not interested in what India's case is or anybody else's case is. They are far too involved in their own local problems and otherwise to take the trouble to study it. People who make policies sit in chancelleries, in foreign offices, and the like or, if you like, the newspapers and others. These are the main organs in those countries.

Now, it so happens that our broad policy, not in regard to any particular subject but our broad world policy, is a policy which though it is often approved by the peoples of the world is not often approved by the chancelleries of the world, by the foreign offices, because we do not often fall in line—and that is

apart from the content of that policy—and because of the fact that we presume to have our say when we should remain quite. We presume to express our viewpoints or sometimes Asia's viewpoint with some force and energy and this rather upsets those who are so used always to consider the matter from the point of view of Europe, as if Europe was the centre of things.

The fact that Asia has emerged in world affairs is sometimes mentioned, but it is not fully realized that for hundreds of years Europe was the centre of international affairs. Europe disposed of large tracts of Asia, Africa, etc. If there was a war, the war was between two European countries to divide the soils. So, Asia and Africa were looked upon as an area which was to be considered disposed of by Europe. Later, the United States came in, in effect, in this country. And the United States of America, being a great country has, of course, a very big say in matters.

Now, when I say Europe, I am including in that term Russia and those countries too because they were very much more Europe in the past than now. So, these countries have got into the habit of thinking that they are the protectors, deciders of the future of Asia and Africa. I do not say that they have not at all changed their opinion, they have, they are gradually changing it. But still they have not changed it adequately. When the people in a part of Asia express their opinions rather strongly and they are not in line with European or American or Russian thinking, there is a feeling created that there is an outsider coming in. It is a nuisance; he makes a nuisance of himself. He should remain quiet and behave as the low orders are supposed to behave before their superiors and present a memorial or representation. That is a basic thing. I am perhaps exaggerating my language but I am trying to put it to you dramatically. That is the feeling and it is this. By a certain course of events, it has so happened that India has played a more direct role in this matter than some other Asian countries.

Then, this Asian-African group of nations in the United Nations was formed. It is not a formal group, it is an informal group. That was resented by the countries of Europe, America and other places. Of course, they said, here again is a group trying to come out of its proper position and trying to lecture to us as to what we should do. It may be that the Asian-African group is all wrong. It may make a wrong decision. I do not say that countries of Asia and Africa are always right. They are often wrong and they often put forward things without thinking. That is not the point. But the point is that Asia and Africa certainly represent an entity or entities which do not take orders from others as a rule. And, India having played some important part in this process, the chancelleries of the Great Powers do not look with favour on this upstart behaving in this way. That is a fact. That is the basic thing.

You talk about policies and all that. All your propaganda and all your

propagandists will not help unless your propaganda and your propagandists fall into line with their policy. That is the basic issue. If you fall in line, you do not require all this propaganda. What do you want all this propaganda for? So, I would submit that this matter should be kept in mind.

Mr Anthony¹⁰ referred to what you call the marathon speeches of our colleague, Mr Krishna Menon, in the Security Council, in regard to Kashmir. I do not know if he has taken the trouble, because it is not an easy matter, to read through all those speeches. But I would commend him to read them through, because it became important for us to place before the Security Council—and the Security Council is not the American public or the world public, it is the public which is interested, the individuals who are interested. It became important that we should place our case there fully in detail, step by step, so that nothing should be lacking in our placing of that case and the record should be full. Not only the record, but the members of the Security Council and the chancelleries and foreign offices who do read these things should know exactly where we stand about it, they should have no doubt.

If I may say so, it was because we placed an unanswerable case that there was anger against us, and in the subsequent steps taken, no attempt was made to answer that case, not the slightest attempt. The whole thing was swept away by saying, "Oh! These people are going back. We are in the year 1956 or 1957 and not five or six years ago. Why go back?" Not a single attempt was made to meet a single point, valid point, raised on behalf of India, because there was no answer to that. People criticized these so-called marathon speeches, because they did not like that. They had no answer for it. What they would like is for India or our representative to have slurred over those basic points and having slurred over them, to make an appeal to all, that "for the sake of peace and goodwill, help us and we shall help you" and then patronizingly they might say, "We had been helped. All right; we will see that your interests are not injured" and so on and so forth. We have taken up that attitude long enough and it was time we placed our case firmly and clearly before the world. That was done and there we stand in regard to it.

May I say just one thing more? Reference was made to Pakistan and our troubles with Pakistan. First of all, may I send my good wishes to the new Government of Pakistan that has been formed?¹¹ Because let us recognize a basic patent fact—I do not think perhaps everybody does so—that it is to our

10. Frank Anthony, Nominated Member.

11. Feroz Khan Noon formed a new Government on 16 December following the resignation, on 11 December, of the coalition Government of I.I. Chundrigar.

grave disadvantage if there is any kind of instability in Pakistan, political or economic. It is to our great disadvantage. It is utterly wrong for any person to imagine that we desire instability there. We want a stable Government, a stable economy with which we can cooperate in the measure we can. We are prepared to go far to cooperate with it.

I should like to put to you a thought which I have had in my mind, no doubt, many of you may have had it too, in regard to our relations with Pakistan. People talk about Kashmir. People talk about canal waters and the like. They are important questions no doubt. But, where people go completely wrong, especially foreign people, is in thinking that Kashmir is the cause of the trouble between India and Pakistan, or canal waters is the cause of the trouble. That is not so. Kashmir and canal waters are the result of the trouble between India and Pakistan, the consequence and not the cause of it. They would not have happened at all if our relations had been reasonably good.

We have inherited since the Partition, before that and since the Partition especially, ill-feelings, fear, suspicions and all that. It is because of this that we cannot easily settle these problems. I say, if by any chance, the Kashmir problem was completely out of the way, the canal water problem was completely out of the way, yet the trouble will continue till it goes out. It won't continue for ever. That is the basic thing. We are constituted differently, as an honourable Member opposite, I think, reminded us, or someone on this side.

Take the Kashmir problem. It is not a question of a patch of territory, valuable as that territory is to us or to Pakistan, important as it is in a hundred ways. It is not even a question, although it is so, of human beings because it is a human problem of 4 million inhabitants. But, even apart from all these, it is a basic question of the whole structure of our Government, the whole secular democracy that we have sought to build up in India. The Kashmir problem is a challenge to that. Pakistan has built itself up with something which, with all respect to it, I might say, is neither secular nor democratic. So that we come up against these basic difficulties, basic ways of thinking, and out of them other difficulties arise. And by any kind of Security Council resolution or some kind of balm laid on, if we try to solve this question without that basic thing, that is not a cure of the trouble or the disease. It will erupt somewhere else in some other form. It erupts in East Pakistan. These huge migrations, what are they due to? After all, is it due to Kashmir? Is it due to canal water? It is due to that basic difficulty between India and Pakistan.

You cannot get rid of the basic difficulty if you go on encouraging the wrong kind of thing in Pakistan as some countries have encouraged. The Kashmir issue has been used as a plaything by the Pakistan Government and others there just to hide other issues, other difficulties. That is the basic trouble. But the fact

must always be remembered that there is no way. There is no sensible or even other way as between India and Pakistan except for them to find a way of cooperating and living in a friendly way. Because geography insists upon it. We cannot run away from each other apart from history, tradition, culture and so many common things, apart from the fact that tens of thousands of families are split up between India and Pakistan. Therefore, in spite of all these difficulties, we have to aim at friendly relations with Pakistan. And we have always to remember that so far as the people of Pakistan and the people of India are concerned, there is, or should be, no trouble between them, no conflict between them. We are of the same stock, we fought for independence, though the leaders of Pakistan did not; if I may say so, they opposed it, or many of them, at any rate.

So, it is this broad approach that we should follow with Pakistan, and it is this broad approach that we should follow in the rest of the world. And in this particular matter which is dominant today, that is, this question of world tension, it has become urgent and important that in the near future some step should be taken towards a detente. As I said in that appeal I made to President Eisenhower and Mr Bulganin, our earth has become too small for the weapons of the atomic age, and unless we control them, they will liquidate the lot of us.

And so we come back to what the Buddha said: Let us try for a victory in which no one is defeated.

About the amendments I do not wish to go into each amendment, but if I may say so, I would be happy to accept the amendment moved by Shri Radha Raman,¹² and not the others.

12. Congress Member from Delhi. His amendment suggested approval of the Government policy by the House.

II. DISARMAMENT AND PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE

1. Stopping Nuclear Weapons Tests the First Priority¹

Two days ago I sent you a cable received by me from Mr Philip Isely.² I think I should send him a reply. I give below a draft of this reply. Should this be sent directly or through our Ambassador?

“I thank you for your telegram. I entirely agree with you that the latest developments of scientific weapons and devices have added greatly to the dangers facing the world. It is with this in view that we have been laying stress on some effective steps towards disarmament. If even such a step is considered not feasible at present, it seems to me that to ask for a World Constitutional Convention would be still less feasible or practical. So long as present tensions and fears last, no major step can be taken towards peace or world cooperation. We feel that the first step should be in favour of substantial disarmament and to begin with to stop test explosions of nuclear weapons.

It would be presumptuous for me, under present circumstances, to address Governments and request them to meet in a World Convention.”

1. Note to S. Dutt, Foreign Secretary, New Delhi, 13 November 1957. JN Collection.
2. Henry Philip Isely (b.1915); American peace activist and crusader for setting up a World Government; organizer, North American Council for People's World Convention, 1954-58; associated with the World Commission for World Constitutional Convention, since 1958; organizer of Provisional World Parliament; wrote several books including *The People must write the peace*, *Outline for the debate and drafting of a World Constitution*, *Call to Provisional World Parliament* and *Manifesto for the Inauguration of World Government*.

2. To S. Radhakrishnan¹

New Delhi
November 22, 1957

My dear Radhakrishnan,²

Thank you for your letter of today with which you have sent me Professor Burt's³ letter.⁴ I feel somewhat overwhelmed by the expectations that people have of me.⁵ I really do not think that the kind of appeal suggested would make much difference to the world, certainly not to Governments. Yet, perhaps, they have some value as affecting the people and, indirectly, Governments.

I can hardly address America and Russia in the way suggested. But I shall endeavour to say something on a suitable opportunity.

I am returning to you Professor Burt's letter.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.

2. Vice-President of India.

3. Edwin Arthur Burt (1892-1989); American philosopher; joined the Cornell University faculty, 1932, became the Susan Linn Sage Professor of Philosophy, 1941, retired in 1960; author of *The Metaphysical Foundations of Modern Physical Science*, *Religion In An Age of Science*, *The Teachings of the Compassionate Buddha*, *Man Seeks the Divine: A Study in the History and Comparison of Religions*, *In Search of Philosophic Understanding*.

4. Burt wrote to Radhakrishnan on 16 November that there was a fearful prospect of American reaction to the Russian satellites leading to an intensified armament race, and thought that someone with the requisite stature should speak with moral authority to the world to restore balance. He saw the only ray of hope in Nehru: "He alone of all living statesmen could do it. He is not only respected in his own right, and as India's leader, something of the mantle of Gandhi rests on his shoulders." Burt felt that if Nehru spoke with unflinching forthrightness, there was a real chance that both the USA and the Soviet Union would be willing to follow his leadership. A draft statement sent by Burt for Nehru's consideration suggested, inter alia, "the appointment of a UN disarmament commission, composed largely from the neutral peoples and chaired by one of their representatives."

5. Forwarding Burt's letter to Nehru, Radhakrishnan wrote, "Look at the faith which people have in you. Great things are expected from you. We are all proud to work under your leadership. Let it become firm and courageous."

3. To Norman Cousins¹

New Delhi

27 November, 1957

Dear Norman Cousins,²

Thank you for your letter of the 18th November³ and the other papers that you have sent. It is good of you to keep me in touch with your talks with Dr Schweitzer.⁴ I quite agree with you that we cannot retire into our shells because the response is not adequate and the prospect not good. Dr Schweitzer should certainly continue to press his views before the public and, I am sure that they will affect people's thinking.

I am inclined to think that large numbers of people all over the world have begun to realize the dangers inherent in the Cold War approach allied to modern developments in the production of weapons of mass destruction. But all these people function rather as individuals without much direction and their fears can be played upon. If a little twist was given to their thinking which removed this element of fear, then progress in the right direction would be rapid.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.
2. Editor, *The Saturday Review* (New York), and Co-Chairman, National Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy.
3. Norman Cousins wrote about the appearance, in major US newspapers, of a statement describing "the general policies of a group of Americans cutting across party lines on the general question of peace with strong emphasis on nuclear energy and guided missiles." The statement advocated the interests and concerns of the overwhelming majority of the world's peoples, he pointed out.
4. Cousins wrote that sometime back when he met Albert Schweitzer, the Nobel laureate who spearheaded a movement to alert the people worldwide of the dangers of nuclear weapons tests, he found him deeply apprehensive about the world drift and reluctant to make any further effort because the world press was defaulting in its responsibility to acquaint the people with important news and issues like the discussions at the London disarmament conference and the dangers of radioactive fallout from the nuclear tests, and also because the Western governments were not releasing the basic facts to help people make judgements and form opinion. Cousins also wrote about the tremendous public response to Schweitzer's statement entitled "Declaration of Conscience", published in *The Saturday Review* of 18 May 1957, wherein he had pleaded that individuals accept the responsibility for taking a full part in the big decisions of the age.

4. Resolve the Crisis in Civilization¹

I venture to appeal to the great leaders of the United States of America and the Soviet Union. I do so in all humility, but with great earnestness. We in India have grave problems to face. But I am overwhelmed by the thought of the crisis in civilization which the world is facing today, the like of which it has not known ever before. I believe that it is in the power of America and Russia to solve this crisis and save humanity from the ultimate disaster which faces it.

Our earth has become too small for the new weapons of the atomic age. While man, in the pride of his intellect and knowledge, forces his way into space and pierces the heavens, the very existence of the human race is threatened. There are enough weapons of mass destruction already to put an end to life on earth. Today, America and Russia possess them in abundance, and England also has them. Tomorrow, it may be that other countries will possess them, and even the capacity to control them will become outside the range of human power. Nuclear test explosions take place, contaminating air and water and food, as well as directly injuring the present and future generations of mankind.

No country, no people, however powerful they might be, are safe from destruction if this competition in weapons of mass destruction and cold war continues.

Apart from these dangers ahead, the civilization which thousands of years of human effort have built up, is being corroded and undermined by fear and hatred, and will progressively wither away if these trends continue. All the peoples of the world have a right to life and progress and fulfilment of their destiny. They have the right to peace and security. They can only preserve these rights now by living peacefully together and by solving their problems by peaceful methods. They differ in their creeds and beliefs and ideologies. They cannot convert each other by force or threats of force, for any such attempt will lead to catastrophe for all. The only way is to exist peacefully together in spite of differences, and to give up the policy of hatred and violence.

The moral and the ethical approaches demand this. But, even more so, practical common sense points this way.

1. Appeal to the leaders of the USA and the USSR, New Delhi, 27 November 1957, JN Collection. Also available in File No. 43(73)/56-58-PMS. Nehru read out this appeal at a press conference in New Delhi on 28 November 1957. See post, p. 716.

I have no doubt that this can be done. I have no doubt that America and Russia have it in their power to put an end to this horror that is enveloping the world and darkening our minds and our future.

Millions of people believe in what is called Western capitalism; millions also believe in communism. But there are many millions who are not committed to either of these ideologies, and yet seek, in friendship with others, a better life and a more hopeful future.

I speak for myself, but I believe that I echo the thoughts of vast numbers of people in my country as well as in other countries of the world. I venture, therefore, to make this appeal to the great leaders, more especially of America and Russia, in whose hands fate and destiny have placed such tremendous power today to mould this world and either to raise it to undreamt heights or to hurl it to the pit of disaster. I appeal to them to stop all nuclear test explosions and thus to show to the world that they are determined to end this menace, and to proceed also to bring about effective disarmament. The moment this is done, a great weight will be lifted from the mind of man. But it is not merely a physical change that is necessary, but an attempt to remove fear and reverse the perilous trend which threatens the continued existence of the human race. It is only by direct approaches and agreements through peaceful methods that these problems can be solved.²

2. Marshal Bulganin and President Eisenhower replied to Nehru's appeal on 10 December and 15 December 1957 respectively. For their replies, see *post*, p. 599 and p. 602.

5. To Alfred G. Fisk¹

New Delhi

November 28, 1957

Dear Professor Fisk,²

I have today received your letter of November 20th,³ and I thank you for it. I need not tell you how strongly I feel about this deadlock over the disarmament issue⁴ and, even more so, the background of fear and hatred. This morning I issued an appeal, more especially to the leaders of America and Russia, on this subject. You may possibly see it, but I enclose a copy.

My mind is not clear about the proposal you make for total and simultaneous disarmament of all nations. That, of course, would be excellent, but I doubt very much if it is possible at all in the present state of affairs. However, the time may come as that is the right way.

With all good wishes,

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.

2. (1905-1959); American philosopher; began his career as a minister in a Presbyterian Church, 1930-35; taught philosophy at San Francisco State College since 1932; served again as a minister in church, 1941-43; co-founder of a new church dedicated to racial integration, the Fellowship Church of All Peoples, 1943; travelled extensively, lecturing on the themes of world peace and unity of mankind; visited India several times; his principal philosophical concern was the relation between theism and science; author of *The Search for Life's Meaning*.

3. Fisk requested Nehru to make an appeal to all nations for the abolition of all armament. Arguing that the so-called disarmament conferences were incapable of producing results, for it was impossible to find a formula for partial disarmament acceptable to all, Fisk suggested that the proposal for total, simultaneous disarmament, including disbanding of all defence forces, by all the nations of the world would avoid all contentious questions. He said that such a proposal could be made only by a spokesman of an unaligned power whose motives would not be questioned and whose voice would command world attention, and thought that only Nehru could most effectively make such a proposal. Although he himself was an American, Fisk stated, he was appealing to Nehru in this matter, for it was in vain to look for leadership toward real peace from the leaders of his own Government who, he said, were exclusively bent on building up armaments.

4. The Political Committee of the UN General Assembly debated the disarmament question from 10 to 25 November. The Soviet demand was for a broad-based "Permanent Disarmament Commission." The General Assembly approved a resolution enlarging the Disarmament Commission from 11 to 25 members, which was to be effective from 1 January 1958. However, the Soviet delegation refused to serve on the Commission unless it was further extended to 32 members, drawn in equal proportions from the "Western", the "Socialist" and "uncommitted" countries.

6. To Jean Frederic Joliot-Curie¹

New Delhi
December 2, 1957

Dear Professor Curie,²

Thank you for your message of good wishes on the occasion of my birthday anniversary. I agree with you that the greatest question today is that of peace in the world and we can devote ourselves to no higher purpose than the cause of peace and harmony.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.

2. Winner of the Nobel Prize for physics in 1935 and member of the French Communist Party.

7. Cable to V.K. Krishna Menon¹

Your telegram No. 665 December 1st. Also Lall's² telegram 670.

2. It seems to me that discussions on disarmament, Algeria, Syria and Soviet resolution on coexistence³ are likely to take a long time. It is difficult for us to judge from here what future prospects are and what good one can do. It might even be possible that there are more chances of progress after present passions cool down.

1. New Delhi, 3 December 1957. JN Collection. V.K. Krishna Menon, Minister of Defence, was at the time leading the Indian delegation to the UN.

2. Arthur Samuel Lall, India's Permanent Representative to the UN.

3. The draft Soviet resolution entitled "Declaration Concerning the Peaceful Coexistence of States", which was scheduled to be considered by the Political Committee between 12 to 14 December, noted with satisfaction that many States had begun to base their relations with others upon the Five Principles of international conduct, and proposed that the General Assembly should call upon the States to be guided by these principles in their mutual relations and to settle any disputes that might arise between them solely by peaceful means.

3. But in view of Kuznetsov's special desire that you should stay for resolution on coexistence,⁴ I am reluctant to advise you to return immediately.⁵ Could you let us know when this coexistence resolution is likely to be dealt with?

4. There is nothing in this coexistence resolution with which we disagree. Indeed it represents our own attitude. The only question is whether some minor amendments could not make it a little more acceptable to others. Thus, in Soviet draft it is implied that some States accept Five Principles and others do not. It might be helpful if this implication was removed.

5. Further, you will remember that there was argument at Bandung as to whether Five Principles should be mentioned or reference to UN Charter would be sufficient. Ultimately ten principles were formulated in Bandung declaration.⁶ In order to gain wider support it may be desirable to mention the UN Charter and Bandung.

6. But the Five Principles should, I think, remain as they are the crux of the resolution.

4. The Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister, Kuznetsov, had conveyed to Krishna Menon Moscow's expectation that, in view of the joint communiqué of Nehru and Bulganin, the declaration of the Bandung Conference and the Five Principles, India would support the Soviet resolution on coexistence. He also insisted that Krishna Menon should personally take the initiative in the debate.
5. Krishna Menon wrote that in view of Nehru's telegram of 26 November, "my intention is to return by the next available plane after the Kashmir debate [in the Security Council], well or unwell..." Asking him when he was likely to return to India, Nehru had written to Krishna Menon, "For a Minister to be away for a long period from his work in his Ministry and from a session of Parliament creates difficulties and complications."
6. The joint communiqué adopted by the Asian-African Conference at Bandung on 24 April 1955 mentioned ten principles for developing friendship and cooperation among nations. See *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 28, p. 137.

8. Cable to V.K. Krishna Menon¹

Your telegram 678 December 8.²

2. Present session of Parliament will probably end on 22nd December. I shall be absent from Delhi on 14th, 15th and 16th December. Again, on 22nd I shall leave for Santiniketan, Calcutta, Darjeeling, Shillong, returning 30th afternoon.

3. About resolution for coexistence,³ it is clear that we have to stand by any resolution mentioning Five Principles. We cannot go back on our own declarations which have been so often repeated. How best to word this so as to make it more acceptable, it is for you to consider.⁴

1. New Delhi, 9 December 1957. JN Collection.

2. Krishna Menon wanted to know what the last day of Parliament Session was likely to be.

3. Krishna Menon informed Nehru that the "coexistence" item appeared to be accentuating the cold war in the General Assembly and it was out of the question that the US would permit "any Russian resolution whatever to be carried irrespective of the contents." He also wrote that the "Russians will not only look unkindly but unforgivable if we do not stand by the 'Five Principles' and speak effectively." Krishna Menon thought, "We may (only may) be able to shift the Russians from wanting to move resolutions themselves if USA will not oppose conciliatory moves which would enable a group of smaller countries to find an acceptable solution which does not involve ourselves abandoning our basic principles. We may phrase things suitably." He suggested that it might be helpful if the American Ambassador were told immediately that "the Government of India stands committed to certain general principles and cannot repudiate them by silence or adverse votes. Equally they are opposed to making this a cold war controversy or to participate in allocation of blame."

4. The same day Nehru sent a note to N.R. Pillai, Secretary General, MEA, asking him to see the American Ambassador (Ellsworth Bunker) and point out to him that "we are very anxious to avoid doing anything which adds to the cold war controversy. But if the question of Five Principles comes up, we have necessarily to support it as these Principles were originally suggested by us and we have stood by them firmly throughout this long period."

9. To N.A. Bulganin¹

New Delhi

11 December 1957

Dear Mr Chairman,

Your Ambassador in New Delhi communicated to me yesterday your reply to my appeal.² I am deeply grateful to you for this reply and greatly appreciate it.

The Soviet Delegation to the United Nations has proposed a resolution on coexistence embodying Five Principles. We entirely agree with this resolution. But I fear that in the circumstances it will be opposed by large majority in UN and is likely to be defeated. Our delegate, Krishna Menon, has anxiously tried to frame a resolution embodying Five Principles in such a way that it may win the approval of General Assembly.³ We understand that this has been communicated to you. Knowing your earnest desire for peace and lessening of tension, as well as for effective steps in disarmament, I earnestly commend this resolution for your approval and support in General Assembly. It is our belief that if Soviet Delegation supports this, it will be passed in General Assembly by large majority, thus committing nations of the world, even though they might differ from each other in other matters, to these Principles and to cause of peace. If, as I earnestly hope, you are agreeable to supporting this resolution, then it need not be necessary to press your own resolution on coexistence.

As my appeal to you, to which you have so generously responded, will indicate, we are very greatly concerned that at this critical stage in the world's history some effective steps should be taken to lessen tensions and promote cause of peace. We feel that the resolution we are proposing will help this cause greatly without emphasizing differences. It will thus help the cause of coexistence to which you are committed as we are. May I beg of you, therefore, for your approval and support for this resolution which we are proposing in the UN.

With kind regards,

Your sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.

2. In his reply to Nehru's appeal, Bulganin wrote to Nehru on 10 December that the Soviet Government was ready to declare solemnly that the Soviet Union would not carry out any nuclear explosions from 1 January 1958 if the US and the UK also agreed to stop from the same date the tests they were preparing to conduct.

3. A draft resolution entitled "Peaceful and Neighbourly Relations among States", submitted jointly by India, Sweden and Yugoslavia, was circulated on 11 December for consideration of the General Assembly. For the text of the resolution, see *ante*, p. 572.

10. Cable to K.P.S. Menon¹

I received yesterday Bulganin's long reply to my appeal.

2. Russians have put forward resolution on coexistence in UN General Assembly. This repeats our Five Principles and naturally we are in full agreement with it. This resolution, as it is, will be opposed by US and most other countries and will be badly defeated if pressed. Krishna Menon has therefore tried hard in consultation with Russians, Americans and Yugoslavs to produce resolution embodying substance of Five Principles but in such form that it might be generally accepted. This draft resolution has already been sent by Russian Delegation to Moscow. If, as we hope, Soviet Government agrees to it, then there is every chance of its being adopted by large majority by General Assembly. This would be great triumph for cause of peace and the very thing Soviet is asking for, though language may be different. If adopted, it will make future of disarmament issue easier. I would add it is not possible to amend our resolution in any way.

3. Therefore I would like you immediately to approach Bulganin and convey my personal message² given below to him. In your talk please clarify it further and point out that this would be great gain for Soviet as well as our position and substance of their resolution would be adopted. Merely to press for their resolution would result in defeat in General Assembly and no gain at all. We earnestly hope therefore that they will not press their own resolution, but will instruct their Delegation to support our resolution which will be sponsored by India and Yugoslavia and perhaps Sweden but not by any military allies of either side. I have no doubt that if Soviet agrees to this, it will be a triumph for cause of peace and lessening of tension.³

1. New Delhi, 11 December 1957. JN Collection. K.P.S. Menon was India's Ambassador in Moscow.

2. See the preceding item.

3. Nehru stated in a note to N.R. Pillai the same day: "A very important personal telegram from Shri Krishna Menon came to me this evening. I wanted to consult you and Dutt about it, but this has not been possible as I had some people to dinner. Shri Krishna Menon suggested in his telegram that I should immediately communicate with Bulganin. This had to be done immediately or it would serve little purpose. On full consideration, I decided to send a message to Bulganin through our Ambassador in Moscow. I enclose a copy of this." Nehru wanted the circulation of Krishna Menon's telegram to be restricted to Secretary General, Foreign Secretary and Commonwealth Secretary, MEA.

11. To N.A. Bulganin¹

New Delhi

18 December 1957

Dear Mr Chairman,

I have just seen your message² which your Ambassador³ has transmitted to me.

I deeply appreciate your courtesy in letting me know that your Government have agreed to accept the resolution on coexistence which was sponsored by the Indian Delegation. Please accept our thanks for this immediate response to our request. I am sure that the Soviet Government will share our satisfaction at the fact that this important resolution received almost unanimous support in the General Assembly.⁴

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.
2. Bulganin wrote that the Indian draft resolution was close to the Soviet draft declaration on peaceful coexistence of States, and added that the Soviet Government had instructed their delegation to come to agreement with the Indian delegation about joint actions to facilitate the adoption by the Assembly of a mutually acceptable resolution on the basis of the Indian draft resolution.
3. The Ambassador designate of the USSR, P.K. Ponomarenko, met Nehru on 18 December.
4. On 14 December, the draft resolution submitted by India, Sweden and Yugoslavia was adopted by the First Committee by 75 votes to none, with China abstaining. It was adopted at the plenary meeting of the General Assembly the same day by 77 votes to none, with China abstaining. The USSR did not press for a vote on its draft resolution.

12. To Dwight D. Eisenhower¹

New Delhi

19 December 1957

Dear Mr President,

I thank you for your letter of December 15.²

I greatly appreciate your courtesy in writing to me so fully on the question of nuclear test explosions. I shall continue to hope that the leaders of the countries on whose decision hangs the whole future of mankind will in their combined wisdom reach an understanding and thereby relieve the anxiety of millions of common people all over the world.

Kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.

2. In his reply to Nehru's appeal (see *ante*, pp. 593-594), Eisenhower wrote to him that cessation of nuclear bomb tests should be linked with a ban on the production of nuclear weapons. He also said that an agreement to devote all further production of fissionable material to peaceful uses was the most important step that could be taken. See also *ante*, p. 581.

13. To S. Radhakrishnan¹

New Delhi

19 December 1957

My dear Radhakrishnan,

Thank you for sending me the letter from Professor Burt.² I am returning it.

I do not think that we can take any new step in this matter now. One can overdo these things and then it has no importance. I can very well understand the anxiety of people like Professor Burt. The situation is a very serious one and there is always danger of some accident or incident happening which will set fire to everything.

As for a Bandung Conference, I really do not see how we can arrange it. Indonesia itself is in a bad way. However this can be kept in mind for the future. But much may happen before that future materializes.

The proposal to take steps to protect some residue of the population after a nuclear war is hardly one that India can give effect to.

Thank you for Gopal's³ book on *The Viceroyalty of Lord Irwin*.⁴

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.

2. Burt's letter is not available.

3. Sarvepalli Gopal (1923-2002); renowned historian and biographer; son of S. Radhakrishnan; taught at Andhra University, 1948-52; Assistant Director, National Archives of India, 1952-54; Deputy Director and later Director, Historical Division, MEA, 1954-66; taught at Oxford University, 1966-71; Professor, Centre for Historical Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University, 1971-83, and Emeritus Professor thereafter; Fellow, St Antony's College, Oxford, and the Royal Historical Society; Chairman, National Book Trust of India, 1973-76; Member of Executive Board, Unesco, 1976-80; General President, Indian History Congress, 1978; Chairman, Indian Institute of Advanced Studies, Shimla, 1992-98; wrote several books including, *British Policy in India, 1858-1905*, *Jawaharlal Nehru: A Biography* (in three volumes) and *Radhakrishnan: A Biography*; General Editor, *Selected Works of Jawaharlal Nehru, 1968-2002*; Editor-in-Chief, *Towards Freedom* (ICHR); (ed) *Anatomy of a Confrontation: Babri Masjid-Ramjanmabhumii Issue*; received Sahitya Akademi award, 1976, and Padma Vibhushan, 1999.

4. *The Viceroyalty of Lord Irwin, 1926-1931* was published in 1957.

14. Implications of NATO Decisions¹

The Minister of Defence made a brief reference to the position regarding disarmament and said that it remained still semi-deadlocked. The Disarmament Commission had broken up and there was no machinery through which discussions could be resumed. He added that while the United States was not opposed to disarmament talks with the USSR, the real opposition came from France and England.

2. Prime Minister observed that the international situation had explosive possibilities. Numerous American bombers, equipped with hydrogen bombs, were hovering night and day over the Atlantic and the Western European countries with the avowed object of striking back in the event of a surprise attack by the USSR. The decision recently taken at the NATO Conference to install atomic missiles in England, France and other NATO countries² was bound to provoke similar retaliatory action by Russia in the countries covered by the Warsaw Pact. If France supplied these dangerous weapons to Israel, Russia might carry them to Egypt. The very thought of so many planes equipped with hydrogen bombs flying night and day was absolutely dreadful and if any of the American commanders lost his nerve and dropped one of these bombs, it would devastate the very population for whose safety the bombers were being kept in the air. These dangerous developments could be halted only if behind the facade of the NATO Conference decisions, talks could take place between the United States and the USSR with a view to work towards disarmament and prevent a world conflagration.

1. Minutes of Cabinet meeting, 20 December 1957. JN Collection. Also available in File No. 5(9)-UN II/57, Vol. III, MEA.
2. The NATO Council decided, in its session held in Paris from 16 to 19 December 1957, that intermediate-range ballistic missiles should be made available to all European member-countries desiring them, as part of the collective defence effort. The US Secretary of State, Dulles, had, on 16 December, offered US participation in a NATO atomic stockpile. Within this stockpile system, according to him, "nuclear warheads would be deployed under US custody in accordance with NATO defensive planning and in agreement with the nations directly concerned."

III. RELATIONS WITH FOREIGN COUNTRIES

(i) Pakistan

1. To S.V. Krishnamoorthy Rao¹

New Delhi
November 7, 1957

My dear Krishnamoorthy Rao,²

Your letter of November 6th.

On the whole, I think that you should accompany the Indian Parliamentary Group when they go to Pakistan.³ There is, of course, the possibility of occasions arising when Pakistanis denounce India and her policies. If this happens, you should merely say that as you are a guest there, you do not wish to enter into these controversies and you regret that these questions have been raised on such an occasion.

You will, of course, consult the Chairman⁴ about this and take his advice.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.

2. Deputy Chairman, Rajya Sabha.

3. A delegation of Indian Parliamentarians led by Krishnamoorthy Rao visited Pakistan for three days from 15 November 1957 as part of the Commonwealth Parliamentarians' visit to that country.

4. S. Radhakrishnan, Chairman, Rajya Sabha.

2. Observance of Standards in a Publication of the Indian High Commission¹

I agree that we should apply the same tests and the same standards to our publication *India News* as we expect the Pakistan High Commission to apply to their Bulletin *Pakistan News*.² Broadly speaking, *India News* should give news about developments in India and may quote from the speeches of leading personalities. It should not aim at denigrating Pakistan or its Government, nor should it therefore quote from foreign periodicals about Pakistan. It may quote from foreign periodicals about developments in India to show how India is progressing.

While this general principle should be adopted and acted upon, it is true that sometimes there are borderline cases when opinions may differ. Even in such cases, I would suggest that it is better to err on the side of greater caution.

Many of the items given in *India News*, to which objection has been taken, were rightly published in the Indian press. But there is a difference between what can and should be published in the Indian press in India and what should be given in *India News*. *India News* obviously has a small circulation and cannot reach any large section of the public. To convey the positive aspect of our achievements is the right way. To use it to run down Pakistan will bring little good to us and will only irritate most of the people who read it and close their minds even to the positive aspects which are given.

But the real test is this: Would we like *Pakistan News* in Delhi to give that type of news?

1. Note to M.J. Desai, Commonwealth Secretary, MEA, New Delhi, 11 November 1957. File No. 14(31)-P III/57, MEA. Also available in JN Collection.
2. On 16 September, the Pakistan High Commissioner had given M.J. Desai a list of objectionable material put out by the Indian High Commission in Karachi in their publication *India News*. Admitting that the Pakistan Government had good reason for complaining about some of the items mentioned in the list, Desai, in his note to Prime Minister, expressed the view "that we must apply the same standards to our publication *India News*... as those we want the Pakistan High Commission to adopt in respect of their bulletin *Pakistan News* in Delhi." In April 1957, India had objected to the Pakistan High Commission putting out anti-India propaganda in *Pakistan News*, and the MEA had mentioned this to the Indian High Commission in Karachi and told them to edit *India News* in such a manner that Pakistan might have no reason to protest.

3. Propaganda in Pakistan against the Indian High Commissioner¹

With reference to the notice of Resolution by Shri Rameshwar Tantia,² I should like to draw the attention of Mr Speaker to the following:

While it is perfectly true that there has been a consistent and mendacious propaganda in Pakistan against our High Commissioner³ there, I think that it would not serve any useful purpose at all to discuss this in the House. Indeed, in the manner the Resolution is framed it would almost amount to breaking off our relations with Pakistan. If we withdraw our High Commissioner as a mark of protest, then we can hardly send another person in his place soon. Thus, any such step would have far-reaching consequences.

Even to discuss this matter in the House is likely to produce embarrassing results. I would therefore respectfully submit to Mr Speaker that such a resolution might not be allowed.

I understand that there is a question in the Lok Sabha on this subject. That will, of course, be answered.⁴

1. Note, 20 November 1957. JN Collection.

2. (1910-1977); merchant and industrialist; General Secretary, Marwari Relief Society, 1950-54; President, Marwari Sabha, 1954-56; General Secretary, All India Marwari Federation, 1955-56; Member, Rajasthan Rural Water Supply Board, 1955-57; Member, Rajasthan Development Board, 1955-56; Member, PSP, till 1954; Congress Member of Lok Sabha from Rajasthan, 1957-67; author of *Visva Yatra Ke Samsmaran*, *Aarthik Samasyayen*, among other books.

3. C.C. Desai.

4. On 22 November, Saadat Ali Khan, Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of External Affairs, replied in the affirmative to a question from Atal Bihari Vajpayee of the Bharatiya Jana Sangh as to whether it was true that some newspapers in Pakistan had launched a false and malicious propaganda against the Indian High Commissioner. Saadat Ali Khan also said that a written protest had been made to the Government of Pakistan in this matter and their reply was awaited. Vajpayee further asked whether it was not true that newspapers in Pakistan regularly carried out propaganda against India and the Indian High Commissioner and whether the Government of India was taking any effective steps to make a counter-propaganda in Pakistan. Nehru replied in the affirmative to the first part of this question. To the second part he replied in the negative, saying that India could not compete with Pakistan as regards this type of propaganda.

4. Evacuation of Inmates from the Refugee Transit Camp in Lahore¹

Yes.² You should certainly discuss this matter with the Pakistan High Commissioner.³ I think that the line you should take is that, whatever the future procedure might be, those persons who wish to migrate now and who have gathered at Lahore might be dealt with speedily and allowed to come. As a matter of fact, this matter has been pending for some time and even the Police must have had an opportunity to enquire into it. The more the delay now, the more the human misery involved. Therefore, some speedy method should be evolved apart from the basic question which is to be discussed.

I do not understand why police verification should take such a long time now or in the future in regard to such persons. In regard to better class persons, the question of income-tax evasion, etc., might arise. But these persons are hardly the type that pays income-tax or any tax.

1. Note to M.J. Desai, Commonwealth Secretary, MEA, New Delhi, 12 December 1957. File No. 7(2)/57-Pak I, MEA. Also available in JN Collection.
2. The matter related to the evacuation of 857 persons, including children and infants, who were scattered in and around the Refugee Transit Camp at Lahore in a pitiable condition and intended to migrate to India. Some of them had been issued migration certificates by the Deputy High Commissioner (DHC) of India but they were turned back at the border by the Pakistan Police in the absence of "no objection" certificates from the Police and Income-tax authorities in Pakistan. M.J. Desai proposed to tell the Pakistan High Commissioner that India was not anxious to encourage migration, and suggest to him that since both the countries were agreeable to the closure of the camps at Lahore and Jalandhar, it would help early implementation of this decision if the Lahore Camp was first cleared of the existing inmates and they were allowed to come to India on certificates issued by the DHC and without prior police verification.
3. Mian Zia-ud-Din.

5. To S.K. Patil¹

New Delhi

December 21, 1957

My dear S.K.,²

Your letter of December 19th about the talks with the representatives of the World Bank reached me yesterday.³ Tonight, I received a number of other papers connected with these talks, as also a draft letter which Gulhati⁴ is supposed to send to Iliff.⁵ I have read this late tonight. I should have liked to talk to you about this matter, but I am leaving early tomorrow morning and shall not be returning till the 31st December.

We all agree about the general line we should follow in this matter and with the points you have mentioned in your letter.⁶ On reading the draft which Gulhati has sent me (which apparently was made in consultation with Commonwealth

1. JN Collection.
2. Union Minister for Irrigation and Power.
3. S.K. Patil wrote that the representatives of the World Bank, who were lately in Delhi to discuss an ad hoc transitional agreement between India and Pakistan for the Indus waters, had made the following points:
 - (i) India should pay towards the costs of the link canals in Pakistan, and adjustment of these payments would be made later in accordance with the Bank Proposal of 5 February 1954 and the Bank's Aide-Memoire of 21 May 1956;
 - (ii) the Pakistanis regarded the proposed storage of water by India above the Bhakra Dam in 1958 as a very serious matter, and if no transitional agreement was concluded, there would be considerable resentment in Pakistan; and
 - (iii) a fund of about \$ 200 million with the US President, which had to be used by 30 June 1958, might be utilized towards the costs of works under a plan in accordance with the Bank Proposal.
4. N.D. Gulhati, an expert on the Indus rivers and canals, represented India in negotiations with Pakistan and the World Bank on the sharing of the Indus waters.
5. William A.B. Iliff, Vice-President, World Bank, 1956-62.
6. Patil wrote that he explained to Lars H. Bengtson, the World Bank representative, that Pakistan was not yet willing to commit herself to an unequivocal acceptance of the Bank Proposal and India could not recognize any liability towards any works constructed in Pakistan outside of the Bank Proposal. He further told Bengtson that any propaganda by Pakistan in connection with the Bhakra storage had no basis as the amount of water going to be stored in 1958 and even in 1959 was so small as not to affect any Pakistan canal. Patil also said that any contribution from the fund with the US President towards a settlement of the dispute was welcome.

SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

Secretary⁷ and others), I have felt that it might be possible to improve this draft and make it somewhat clearer and more concise. I am wholly unable to do that at this late hour. Krishna Menon came to see me this evening after dinner. He had been in touch with this matter in New York earlier this year and had discussed it with Gulhati. I read out the draft to him, as well as the note which Gulhati had sent, and explained to him how I felt about it. I suggested to him that he might go through these papers more fully and carefully and then discuss the draft with you. I am not sure if you are in Delhi now or will be here tomorrow. In case you are not here, I am asking N.R. Pillai to get in touch with Gulhati who can see Krishna Menon. The question is one of drafting and not of any principle.

I have given the draft letter and some other papers to Krishna Menon.

I have sent a note to Secretary-General, N.R. Pillai, a copy of which I enclose.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

6. The Canal Waters Issue¹

Commonwealth Secretary has sent me a number of papers in connection with the Canal Waters issue and the recent talks with the Bank representatives. I have read the draft letter which Gulhati and M.J. Desai have prepared and their notes also. It seemed to me that the draft letter was not a model of clarity.

2. The Canal Waters issue is getting as complicated and as political as the Kashmir issue. It is conceivable that this matter may also go to the Security Council or, perhaps, to the International Court of Justice at The Hague. It has become very important, therefore, that we should be careful as to what we say and in what manner we say it. We have had some trouble in the Kashmir discussions because of loose wording of some of our statements in the past.

3. We appear now to have reached a rather critical stage in our discussions with the Bank people, and we have to be very careful as to how we put our case now. I should have liked to consider this draft more carefully myself in consultation with the Minister for Irrigation & Power, but I am quite unable to do so as I am leaving early tomorrow and it is near midnight now.

4. The Defence Minister² came to see me this evening and I read out this draft to him and explained to him broadly the position as I saw it. I also told him that I was not happy about this draft. I have suggested to him to discuss this matter with the Minister of Irrigation & Power and with you. I do not know, however, if Shri S.K. Patil is here. Could you please find out? In any event, you might get in touch with Shri Gulhati and tell him to contact Shri Krishna Menon and discuss this draft with him.

5. I have given to Shri Krishna Menon the draft letter with the comments by Shri Gulhati and CS, record of discussions with the Bank people, correspondence and other papers from 1954 onwards, relating to the negotiations with the Bank, and requested him to look through these papers tomorrow. If Shri S.K. Patil is here, he will, of course, meet him and explain to him my viewpoint. In any event, Shri Gulhati should see him.

6. Unfortunately, Commonwealth Secretary is also not here. I presume you are dealing with these matters in his absence.

1. Note to Secretary General, MEA, 21 December 1957. File No. F. 38(1)-CWD/51, Vol. XVIII, (IT Section), 1957, Ministry of Irrigation. Also available in JN Collection.

2. V.K. Krishna Menon.

7. To C.C. Desai¹

New Delhi
December 31, 1957

My dear C.C.,

On return to Delhi today after nine days' absence, I have received your two letters dated the 22nd and the 24th December.

So far as the Raja of Mahmudabad² is concerned, the fact of his adopting Pakistani nationality does not make very much difference. As you say, he has been a Pakistani for all practical purposes ever since the formation of Pakistan. Even during his brief intervals in India, he has worked for Pakistan.

When Amjad Ali³ came to see me at my invitation, both of us talked rather generally and expressed our earnest wish for good relations between India and Pakistan. He did not make any specific proposal, nor did I. I do not remember having made the particular remark which he mentioned to you, that is, "How can there be link canals if the terrain of the country does not permit?" I might have said that link canals naturally have to fit in with the terrain of the country. I attach no importance to this remark.

About the Canal Waters issue, he said that this question should be considered on a non-political level and purely from the point of view of deriving the best advantage from the canal waters for both countries. I said I agreed that that would be a proper approach.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.

2. Muhammad Amir Ahmad Khan.

3. Syed Amjad Ali (1907-1997); Pakistani diplomatist and Minister; scion of a prominent business family in the Punjab; studied law in Middle Temple, London; Member, Punjab Legislative Assembly, 1937-45; Chief Whip of the Unionist Party in the Assembly, 1940-45; Member of the Constituent Assembly of India, 1946; played a key role in forging ties between Pakistan and Washington; President, UN Economic and Social Council, 1950; Ambassador to the US, 1953-55, Finance Minister of Pakistan, 1955-58; Permanent Representative to the UN, 1964-67; Chairman, UN Committee on Contributions, 1967-94; served on the International Civil Service Commission, 1967-92; author of several books, including *The United Nations and I*, *Caravans of Letters* and *Glimpses*.

(ii) China and Tibet

1. To Rajendra Prasad¹

New Delhi

November 16, 1957

My dear Rajendra Babu,

Thank you for your letter of the 16th November about Rahul Sankrityayan.² So far as we are concerned, there will be no difficulty about his passport, which he has already got, being endorsed for China.³ But, I do not think it will be at all appropriate or proper for you to give him a letter of introduction to Chairman Mao Tse-tung. In any event, that will not be right. I do not think it would even be correct for me to give any such letter, or for anyone else to do so. The most we can do is to inform our Ambassador⁴ in Peking about his visit, and tell him the object of the visit and that he is desirous of meeting Chairman Mao Tse-tung and others.

A year or two ago, Dr Raghu Vira⁵ went to China and Mongolia. He went on his own account, but we asked our Ambassador⁶ to put him in touch with the Chinese Government.⁷ As a matter of fact, the Chinese Government was not at all pleased with much that he did there. I could not quite make out what had happened, but it appeared that he pushed himself too much everywhere and spoke in a manner which was not appreciated there at all, and we were informed

1. JN Collection.

2. A scholar of Buddhism and a linguist.

3. President Rajendra Prasad wrote that Rahul Sankrityayan had visited Tibet on several occasions and brought a large number of manuscripts from there, and he now wanted to visit the libraries in the monasteries in Tibet which had thousands of manuscripts valuable from the Indian point of view. Rahul Sankrityayan also proposed to visit China where a large number of manuscripts and books were available, some of them being translations of Sanskrit works whose originals were lost, and wanted a letter of introduction to Mao Tse-tung. Rajendra Prasad asked for Nehru's advice as to whether it would be "desirable for me to give an introduction to President Mao Tse-tung or by you or the Ministry."

4. R.K. Nehru.

5. Sanskrit and Hindi scholar and Member of the Rajya Sabha.

6. N. Raghavan was India's Ambassador in China when Raghu Vira went there.

7. For references to Raghu Vira's visit to China, see *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 30, p. 222 and p. 405.

of this by the Chinese Government, politely of course. He brought away with him a very large quantity of manuscripts, scrolls, pictures, etc. He got these chiefly because the Chinese authorities thought that he was our representative and these gifts might be said to be gifts to India. Dr Raghu Vira, however, treated them more or less as his private property.

There is always a slight difficulty in sending people to China or Tibet or, indeed, to any country, under official auspices. We become responsible for all they do there.

It is probable that Rahul Sankrityayan will have no difficulty in getting a visa for Tibet or China, because of his leanings towards Communism.⁸ But, I am not at all sure that he will get a visa for Tibet. These are not easily given.⁹

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

8. He was a founder-member of the Communist Party of Bihar.

9. Rajendra Prasad replied on 17 November that "I understand the situation and will write to him that it would not be right for me to give any introduction."

2. To Soong Ching-ling¹

New Delhi
November 25, 1957

Dear Madame Soong,²

I was delighted to receive your little note from Moscow. How well I remember that day, thirty years ago, when I paid a visit to you in your hotel in Moscow with my father. I had not remembered the exact date though I knew it was round about the 10th or 11th November.³

Ever since that day a multitude of happenings have taken place and the world is very different from what it was. Great changes have come to your country China and my country India. I am happy that between these two countries there is friendship and a large measure of understanding.

I hope you are keeping well.

With warm regards,⁴

Very sincerely yours,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.

2. Widow of Dr Sun Yat Sen and a Vice Chair of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress of China. Soong Ching-ling was best known for her work in women's and children's welfare. She had visited India in December 1955.

3. For Nehru's reference to his meeting with Soong Ching-ling at Moscow in November 1927, see his letter of 12 November 1927 to Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit in *Selected Works* (first series), Vol. 2, p. 374.

4. Asking R.K. Nehru, the Indian Ambassador in China, to pass on this letter to Madame Soong Ching-ling, Nehru observed, "It was rather odd that she should write to me this brief letter from Moscow when she had not written anything from Peking."

3. Message to Chou En-lai¹

I thank you for your kind message about Dr Atal and am deeply grateful to Your Excellency for the great care taken of Dr Atal during his illness in Peking.² When Dr Atal was invited by the China-India Friendship Association to visit China, I was anxious about his health and tried to dissuade him from undertaking this long journey. But he was very anxious to go and when a slight improvement in his health took place here, he insisted on going to China. In view of his special desire, I did not wish to come in his way any more.

2. He was a friend and a colleague to us here and his death is naturally mourned by many people. He died as he lived a warm friend of the Chinese people desiring greater friendship between them and his own people in India. While I am grateful to Your Excellency's Government for all the help given to him, I am particularly beholden to you for your personal interest.

1. New Delhi, 3 December 1957. JN Collection.

2. Madan Atal, physician and a cousin of Kamala Nehru, passed away on 1 December in the Peking Union Medical College Hospital because of cirrhosis. Conveying the news to Nehru the same day, Chou En-lai wrote to him: "During the hardest days for the Chinese people, Dr Atal led the Indian Medical Mission to China and selflessly served the broad masses, both military personnel and civilians, in the Chinese bases against Japanese invasion.... In Dr Atal, we see the friendship and warm affection of the Indian people towards the Chinese people. The Chinese people will forever remember Dr Atal with feelings of respect and will make further efforts to strengthen the great friendship between the people of our two countries."

4. A Perspective on Tibet¹

I have read Shri B.K. Acharya's² summary as well as the full note of Shri Apa Pant.³ The note is interesting not only because of what it tells about conditions in Tibet, but also because it gives us an insight into the mind of Shri Apa Pant and his broad approach to these problems.

2. I might say at the outset that I agree with the Foreign Secretary that this note should not be circulated. I do not think the full note should even be sent to our Ambassador in China. Many parts of this note are such that I should like extreme care to be taken that they do not reach unauthorized persons. Any circulation involves the risk of the wrong persons also seeing them. If that happens, it might well involve us in difficulties. Even authorized persons tend to talk about these matters rather loosely.

3. What might be done, if it is considered necessary, is to prepare a brief summary which can be sent to our Ambassador in Peking. For this purpose I do not think that Joint Secretary's summary is the kind of thing that I should circulate. In preparing such a summary only the broadest reactions of our Political Officer should be given in regard to the major developments in Tibet.

4. Shri Apa Pant's report is both important and interesting, and I have no doubt that its factual part gives a correct representation of the present situation in Tibet. But the note goes much further than this and gives one the impression of the writer being so much impressed by certain facts as to lose perspective. The note thus ceases to be completely objective.

5. There can be no doubt that Tibet is under the forcible occupation of Chinese armed forces and that a considerable majority of the Tibetans resent this. Also that the Chinese Government is anxious, as any suzerain power would be, to weaken this opposition and, insofar as possible, to gain the goodwill of the Tibetan people. But even if that goodwill is not gained, the Chinese control and occupation will continue. I have no doubt that any Chinese Government, whether Communist or non-Communist, would have the same basic policy though it may adopt different means to carry it out. That indeed has been the historical policy of China towards Tibet. It is only when China has been weak

1. Note to Foreign Secretary, Darjeeling, 26 December 1957. JN Collection.

2. Joint Secretary, MEA.

3. Political Officer in Sikkim and Bhutan.

that it could not enforce it. It is also, I believe, true that Tibetans have never really reconciled themselves in the past to Chinese sovereignty or even suzerainty.

6. In the past, the problem had an entirely different aspect, because however powerful the Government in China, it could not really interfere in the internal affairs of Tibet. A Chinese army could come there and subdue the Tibetan authorities and compel them to recognize Chinese sovereignty. But, in the circumstances, there could not be any effective control from China. Now conditions are different.

7. The Chinese Government is proceeding warily in Tibet. It has even lessened its interference in internal affairs because of the difficulties they had had to face. This policy may continue for some time. But it is clear that the basic policy of China will be to absorb Tibet more and more and make it accept the major pattern, in political and economic matters, which is in line with China. Whether this can be successfully done or not I do not know.

8. I would hazard the guess, however, that it will be an exceedingly difficult task for China to bring about this process of absorption and acceptance. No one can say what will happen in twenty or thirty years time because conditions in the world are changing so rapidly that the problems of today will take an entirely different shape later. For ought I know, the very existence of national independent states may not continue. We live in a world where national boundaries become more and more anachronistic.

9. I think that it is becoming increasingly difficult for communism to be imposed on people against their will just as it is equally difficult for a colonial regime to be re-imposed. Tibet is perhaps one of the most inhospitable countries that exist in the world today from the point of view of an unwanted foreigner going there. This is due more to the terrain and the climate than anything else. I have been a little surprised to read in Shri Apa Pant's note that there are "innumerable fertile and well watered valleys in the vast areas of Tibet east and south-east of Lhasa which are almost empty of human habitation and which are excellently suited for settlement." If this is so, then I might have to change my opinion about the difficulties of colonization in Tibet. Communism apart, the tremendous pressure of Chinese population will inevitably bring large numbers of Chinese to these valleys, if they are so suitable for colonization. I say this just as I might say that in the long run large areas of Australia might be colonized. Under pressure of an increasing world population, empty spaces are not likely to remain empty or uninhabited for long.

10. Shri Apa Pant repeatedly refers to the Tibetans maintaining the purity of the message of the Buddha and their attachment to dharma. The average Buddhist outside Tibet will not accept the statement about Tibetan Buddhism or Lamaism being considered the essence of Buddhism. Religion apart, the social structure

of Tibet is obviously completely out of date. It has managed to last so long because of its complete isolation from the rest of the world. That isolation cannot continue any longer. With the impact of other forces from the rest of the world, that social structure is bound to crumble. If Buddhism in Tibet is tied up with this out-of-date social structure, Buddhism also will suffer. This fact should be kept in mind regardless of Communism.

11. Reference is made in Shri Apa Pant's note to the absence of any real centralized authority in Tibet except in the vaguest sense. (I am not referring to Chinese authority.) Apparently, regional councils or elected headmen were practically independent except for acknowledging the overlordship of the Dalai Lama and paying him some tribute. It is pointed out by Shri Apa Pant that the fight there is not so much against the Chinese but against this new system of Government which he says would do away with the traditional way of life. Shri Apa Pant appears to be enamoured of this "traditional way of life", which is completely feudal under a garb of religion. If one thing is certain, it is this that this traditional way of life cannot continue, now that Tibet has come face to face with the modern world. This is not merely a question of modern amenities, but rather of the basic structure of the State. There is bound to be land reform. If the monasteries, who own vast estates, resist this land reform, they will fail in doing so ultimately, and the whole structure of Buddhism based on these monasteries will also suffer. If Tibet wants to keep the essence of Buddhism, it will have to give up these accretions which have nothing to do with religion and which are opposed to modern conditions, both capitalistic and communist.

12. Shri Apa Pant refers to the possibility of enormous power resources being available from the Brahmaputra. Our own experts gave us a note on this subject pointing out that nowhere in the world was there such a concentrated source of power as in the Brahmaputra at the place where it enters India. This power could be made available not only to Tibet but to India.

13. I must repeat that I do not understand what Shri Apa Pant means by saying that the Tibetan society has been built on the teachings of the doctrines of the Buddha. I do not think that society has any particular relation to Buddha's teachings.

14. Shri Apa Pant refers repeatedly to the pressures we may have to feel or to resist on our frontiers in the future. This may well be so. But on the whole, this seems to me rather a static and even out-of-date view of the forces that are at work in the world. If these pressures come, other and new forces will also arise in India or in the rest of the world.

15. It seems to me that Shri Apa Pant has been emotionally moved so powerfully that his broad judgement of the present and the future has been somewhat affected, even though his general conclusions are correct. The danger

in Tibet arises more from the false steps that the Tibetans might take than from the deliberate policy of the Chinese Government. Shri Apa Pant has himself hinted at this fact. While it is clear that the Tibetans are intensely averse to Chinese dominance, their ideas about any steps which they might take to end this are extraordinarily confused and immature. Foolish steps taken might well injure them greatly. We are naturally very friendly to the Tibetans and we are going to continue to be so. But we cannot allow ourselves to be dragged into wrong courses, wrong both from our point of view and that of Tibet. We should take every opportunity of maintaining and developing our cultural and like contacts with Tibet. But, at the same time, we should take care not to be pushed into some wrong activity because of our sympathy for the Tibetans, or under their pressure.

16. Shri Apa Pant's report is full of exclamatory marks. Presumably these denote a state of continuous surprise and wonder at what he saw or came across. This approach rather comes in the way of the balanced consideration of events. Also there is a good deal of repetition in his note. This note could have been improved if it was made more concise. The various factors referred to in the note are important. There appears to be, however, little thought given to the understanding of social forces or to the dynamic situation in the world today. These social forces, emerging out of the progress of science, technology, communications, etc., dominate the world, and Capitalism and Communism as well as intermediate forms of political or economic structures, are ultimately progressively more and more governed by them. There is no particular reason why the ethical and moral side, as represented by religion, should come in conflict with these social urges or forces. But if religion becomes too closely associated with static social conditions and vested interests, then its moral and ethical value lessens greatly and there may be a direct conflict with those social forces.

17. In Tibet there may well be fairly high development of individuals in some spiritual plane. Yet, these very individuals are driven to talk of armed resistance, etc., without knowing much about conditions in the world today. They cannot have it both ways. Spirituality by itself, if widely acknowledged, may well be a strong shield. Combined with primitive weapons, it ceases to be spiritual or effective.

18. The reference in Shri Apa Pant's note to weapons and hand-grenades being smuggled into Tibet, presumably from Nepal, deserves further enquiry.

19. As I am seeing Shri Apa Pant in another two days in Gangtok, I am giving him a copy of this note.

(iii) Myanmar

1. Proposal to Bring Bahadur Shah Zafar's Remains to India¹

As I think I told you, Maulana Azad suggested that Bahadur Shah's remains should be brought from Rangoon to India.² This will be in accordance with Bahadur Shah's will. I consulted the Home Minister³ about this, and he is agreeable. You might write to our Ambassador⁴ in Rangoon and ask him to find out informally from the Government of Burma how they would react to such a proposal. He might also find out from the local Muslim organization which looks after this tomb now, as to what they think about it.

I think that the approach to the local Muslim organization should be quite informal, and not on behalf of Government, to begin with. I do not want them to give publicity to this suddenly. Our Ambassador should tell them that a proposal has been made by some people and before Government considered this, he wanted to find out how they felt about it.

1. Note to M.J. Desai, Commonwealth Secretary, MEA, New Delhi, 7 November 1957. JN Collection.
2. The remains of Bahadur Shah Zafar, the last Mughal emperor who was imprisoned by the British during the revolt of 1857 and exiled to Yangon, were kept in a tomb there since his death in 1862. Abul Kalam Azad had suggested in October 1957 that the remains should be brought to India and buried in Humayun's mausoleum in Delhi in accordance with Bahadur Shah's last wishes. See *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 39. p. 200.
3. G.B. Pant.
4. Lalji Mehrotra.

2. The Remains of Bahadur Shah Zafar: Ascertaining the Myanmar Attitude¹

I mentioned this matter to Maulana Azad today. So far as Delhi Muslims are concerned, he was quite sure that they would welcome the transfer of Bahadur Shah's remains to Delhi. Of course, if there was strong feeling among the Muslims of Rangoon, we cannot press for this. Probably, the Burmese Government will itself not like to take any step which is resented by a section of their population.

2. I think that we should make sure about the reactions of the Rangoon Muslims and the Burmese Government. Our Ambassador need not deal with this matter in a very hush-hush way. He can ask the Burmese Government informally, but quite clearly, what their reactions are. If they say no, there the matter will end. If, on the other hand, they say they have no objection but the feelings of the local Muslims should be ascertained, then this should be done informally and without giving any offence, but at the same time a larger circle should be consulted. When we receive information from our Ambassador about the result of his enquiries, then we can further consider this matter.²

1. Note to Commonwealth Secretary, MEA, 22 November 1957. JN Collection.
2. The proposal to bring the remains of Bahadur Shah Zafar to India did not materialize. His mausoleum is located on Ziawaka Road in Yangon.

3. Talk with a Minister from Myanmar¹

(1) I had a talk today with Mr Raschid,² the Minister from Burma. He spoke to me about a number of Muslim students from Burma who come to Deoband or some other Muslim institutions in India. Some come as Government scholars. Others come independently and later they get into trouble about the extension of

1. Note, New Delhi, 23 November 1957. JN Collection.
2. M.A. Raschid was the Minister of Mines in the Myanmar Government.

their visas. There are many such cases apparently now. Mr Raschid said that he had mentioned this matter to the Home Secretary, A. V. Pai, here and that probably the Burmese Ambassador³ had taken it up with the Commonwealth Secretary.

I told him that there should be no difficulty about extending the visas of these boys. I asked him to have fuller information sent to us about them through his Ambassador.

I think you might look into this matter and expedite the issue of proper visas to these boys from Burma studying in India.

(2) I spoke to Mr Raschid about the proposal to bring Bahadur Shah's remains from Rangoon to Delhi. I told him that we had written to our Ambassador there and his report thus far was that some Muslims in Rangoon objected to this.

Mr Raschid said that so far as the Government of Burma was concerned they will have no objection. He thought that the average Muslim in Burma will have no objection at all. But a certain vested interest had grown up round this tomb. There was some kind of a Trust and in fact there was some litigation sometime ago. Probably the Trustees profited by this to some extent as there may be offerings there. It was therefore quite likely that these Trustees might object. Nobody else would be interested. He said that he would talk about this matter to people on his return to Rangoon. He is returning tomorrow.

You might inform our Ambassador in Rangoon about this talk of mine with Mr Raschid. I think what Mr Raschid said represents the position there. It is natural that vested interests concerned with this tomb will object and probably nobody else will. I made it clear to Mr Raschid that we did not want any trouble for ourselves or for the Burmese Government in this matter.

(3) Mr Raschid spoke to me highly of the work of our present Ambassador in Rangoon, Shri Lalji Mehrotra. He said he was liked by various sections of the people there. The fact that he was a man from public life had also helped him. The previous two Ambassadors, Saksena and Chettur, kept rather aloof from most circles there. Now our Ambassador's contacts were wide among all sections of the people.

(iv) Indo-China

1. Renewal of Friendship among Asian Countries¹

By welcoming President Diem in their midst, the people of India are renewing their friendship with the Vietnamese people which dates back to centuries. In many countries of Asia one can come across evidence of the ties that bound India and those countries in the distant past. Now India has become a free nation, so also many other countries of Asia, and it is natural for them to renew and strengthen the old bonds of friendship and goodwill.

The hostilities in Indo-China ended with the Geneva Agreements of 1954. India was assigned a certain responsibility in the maintenance of peace and she is still carrying out her duties as Chairman of the International Commission. India undertook this responsibility in Indo-China not to seek any intervention in the affairs of another country but to help create conditions of peace and progress. It is rather strange that India has had to undertake such roles elsewhere too. But this clearly stems from India's policy which aims at friendship with all countries irrespective of whether they hold the same views on any problem or not.

The world is changing a great deal. Man-made moons are being launched. Certainly, these big changes will have their repercussions on the world. We have to think anew and change our old outlook and attitudes. With the old mentality, we cannot face the problems of the new age.

The Big Powers, in spite of their growing arsenals, are afraid of each other. Fear and conflict will not help to solve any of the problems of the world and nations have, therefore, to live in friendship.

The new developments on the world horizon constitute a big question and I do not want to go into it on the present occasion. But one thing is clear, and it is that nations, irrespective of their ideologies and systems of government, can live together in peace only by pursuing a policy based on friendship and goodwill towards one another. Ultimately, this policy alone will succeed.

India had strong ties with Asian countries in the past and there was a great intercourse in the field of commerce and culture. The dominance of the West

1. Speech at a civic reception in honour of Ngo Dinh Diem, President of South Vietnam, New Delhi, 6 November 1957. From *The Hindustan Times*, 7 November 1957, and *The Hindu*, 8 November 1957.

over the East interrupted these relations and now that they have come into their own, it is possible to renew old friendships. Whenever dignitaries from neighbouring countries visit India, the occasion reminds us of the past.

The links that India is forging with Asian countries is the renewal of age-old friendship and the changing world is making it clearer day by day that only love, understanding and tolerance can bring countries together.

I am sure that there is some gain by the visit of the South Vietnam President to India and that the relations between the peoples of the two countries will be strengthened.

2. Talks with Ngo Dinh Diem¹

... 2. I am giving below briefly the position as it emerged from the talks between PM and President Diem on various points:²

(i) Vietnamese-Cambodian border clashes: The President talked a lot about the idleness and corruption of the Cambodian services, the failure of Prince Sihanouk³ to take firm grip of administration and development matters in Cambodia and his border troubles with Cambodia. The remnants of the private armies of the sects in Vietnam have crossed over into Cambodia and they bribe the Cambodian officers to give them shelter and raid Vietnamese border villages. PM mentioned to President Diem that Prince Sihanouk was keen on having these borders matters settled by direct negotiation and asked whether South Vietnam had attempted any direct negotiations. President Diem merely mentioned that he had tried to do this with the Cambodian Ministers direct and also through the Cambodian representative in Saigon but none of them could speak on the subject with any authority as Prince Sihanouk was away. PM stated that it is best that the matter is settled by direct negotiation. President Diem did not ask for any assistance from us to arrange for direct negotiations but merely repeated the failings and weaknesses of the Cambodian authorities....

1. Note by M.J. Desai, Commonwealth Secretary, MEA, New Delhi, 11 November 1957. JN Collection. Extracts.

2. The talks were held in New Delhi between 4 and 8 November 1957.

3. Cambodian leader and former King and Prime Minister of Cambodia.

(ii) Unification of Vietnam: President Diem stated that his Government stood for unification but that the time was not yet, as he wanted two-three years to consolidate South Vietnam economically and socially. He feels that discontent and pressure of popular opinion will, during the same period, make the Northern regime more liberal and less totalitarian and it will be possible, after this period, when the South is economically and socially consolidated and the North gets more liberal and less centralized, to make a move towards common elections and unification. PM asked whether, in the meanwhile, South Vietnamese authorities were considering any exchanges, particularly economic exchanges. President Diem stated that this is difficult at present because of the danger of infiltration and subversive activities and then went off into a tirade against the North for encouraging sabotage and terrorism in the South through their agents. President Diem indicated that he could not, at present, take the risk of even limited economic exchanges between North and South due to the danger of subversion, and that, meanwhile, his Government is preparing plans for rehabilitation of a million or two Central Vietnamese from North in the Southern region as he expects this number to come over when freedom of movement between North and South is restored. He seemed to indicate that a preliminary talks about elections and unification will be complete restoration of freedom of movement which will lead to large migrations from North to South and he is preparing for these migrations in advance.

(iii) Maintenance of peace and avoidance of military pacts: President Diem mentioned several times that he was deeply impressed by the way in which the post-Independence developments in India have maintained continuity of the old cultural and spiritual values while making great advances in social and economic development. He said that he wants development of his country also in the same fashion, the old cultural values being retained and continued. PM mentioned to President Diem that we in India were greatly influenced by Gandhiji and one of the basic principles of our policy was to settle problems, internal as well as external, by peaceful negotiations. War or conflict solves no problem but creates more and therefore we believe in doing everything we can to avoid war and conflict and are opposed to military pacts and alliances which encourage a psychology of conflict and war.⁴

4. A joint communiqué by Prime Minister Nehru and President Diem was issued on 8 November 1957.

3. Message to Souvanna Phouma¹

Ambassador Khetri² has conveyed to us the substance of your talk with him and others on November 13 on the Agreements regarding political settlement³ recently entered into by the Royal Government and the Pathet Lao and your plans for their implementation.⁴

2. I should like to express my pleasure at these developments towards a permanent settlement of the post-war problems of Laos in the spirit of the Geneva Agreements.

3. I am confident that these Agreements will be implemented in the same spirit and their implementation will usher an era of peace and purposeful economic and social developments for the benefit of the Laotian people. I send to you and to the Government and people of Laos my congratulations and best wishes for the future.

1. New Delhi, 15 November 1957. JN Collection.

Souvanna Phouma (1901-1984); Laotian engineer and politician; engineer, Public Works Service of Indo-China, 1931; Minister of Public Works, 1950-51; Prime Minister of Laos, 1951-54, 1956-58, 1960, 1962-75.

2. Raja of Khetri, Sardar Singh Bahadur, was India's Ambassador in Laos.

3. Souvanna Phouma and the Pathet Lao, led by Souphannou Vong, reached an agreement on 23 October 1957 which contained following provisions: (i) immediate cessation of hostilities; (ii) integration of the Pathet Lao forces in the Royal Laotian Army, and the Pathet Lao "civil servants" in the administration; (iii) recognition of New Lao Haksat, the political wing of the Pathet Lao, as a legal party; (iv) grant of civil rights to Pathet Lao followers; (v) inclusion of two or three Pathet Lao representatives in the Government; (vi) an agreement that Laos would not participate in any bloc or military alliance and would not allow any country to establish military bases in her territory; (vii) acceptance of foreign aid without political or military commitments; (ix) restoration of the Government's authority over the north-eastern provinces hitherto held by the Pathet Lao.

4. The agreement was approved by the National Assembly on 2 November. The north-eastern provinces were formally transferred to the Royal Laotian Government on 18 November, and two Pathet Lao members were included in the new Cabinet on the same day.

4. To Ho Chi Minh¹

New Delhi

December 3, 1957

My dear Ho Chi Minh,²

Thank you very much for your very kind message of good wishes on my birthday.

Humanity can only survive if there is closer understanding and cooperation between nations and human efforts are channeled in the constructive tasks of promoting economic and social development and raising the standards of living of our people. Your Excellency's kind and inspiring message will be a great source of strength to me in the service of our people.

We are all looking forward greatly to your visit to India early next year.³

With warm regards,

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.

2. President of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam (North Vietnam).

3. Ho Chi Minh arrived in New Delhi on 5 February 1958 on a ten-day visit of India.

(v) Indonesia**1. The Question of West Irian¹**

I have seen these papers. There is nothing more that we can say to the Dutch Ambassador² or the Australian High Commissioner.³ SG and CS have explained our position to them.

2. I confess that I did not like the report in the press about President Soekarno's recent speech in which he said that other methods would be used. I am afraid that President Soekarno or the Indonesian Government have not dealt with this question of New Guinea very wisely during the past seven years or more.⁴ There are constant threats which lead nowhere, because there is hardly any capacity for action following those threats. At the present moment, more especially, when the internal conditions in Indonesia are far from happy, it is particularly inappropriate to issue threats which can hardly be taken seriously by the other parties concerned. One is led to think that all this is more to divert people's attention in Indonesia itself from their internal problems. Anyhow, this leads to greater difficulties.

3. Whatever errors of omission or commission may have been committed by the Indonesian Government, the joint statement issued by the Australian and the Netherlands Governments⁵ is not a happy one, and will certainly not lead to any

1. Note to N.R. Pillai, Secretary General, and M.J. Desai, Commonwealth Secretary, MEA, New Delhi, 8 November 1957. JN Collection.
2. H.A. Helb.
3. Peter Richard Heydon.
4. In December 1949, when Indonesia became independent, the decision on the status of the western part of New Guinea or West Irian was deferred. In 1952, the Dutch incorporated West Irian within the Kingdom of the Netherlands under the title of Netherlands New Guinea, whereas the Indonesians claimed it to be an integral part of Indonesia. Between 1954 and 1957, Indonesia made repeated attempts in the UN to press the Netherlands to negotiate the issue but the Netherlands maintained that there was nothing which called for negotiations after 1952.
5. The Governments of the Netherlands and Australia issued a joint statement on 6 November 1957 that Netherlands New Guinea and the Australian Trust Territory of Papua and New Guinea were geographically and ethnologically related and future development of their populations must benefit from their cooperation in policy and administration. The statement said that the two Governments would continue to pursue policies directed towards the political, economic, social and educational advancement of these people till such time as the inhabitants of the territories concerned were in a position to determine their own future. Indonesia had already made it clear that it had no claim on the territory of New Guinea under Australian control.

fruitful results. It will only add to the tension and give some slight justification to President Soekarno's statements.

4. Our position remains what it was. We sympathize with the Indonesian claim on New Guinea, but at the same time, we are concerned that the only way to consider and solve this question is through peaceful methods, and not by threats from one party or the other.

2. Cable to G. Parthasarathi¹

Your telegram 34615 of November 15.

I am surprised at the approach made by the Indonesian Information Minister to various Missions in Djakarta.² This is wholly opposed to diplomatic practice and can do no good to those countries or to Indonesia and in fact might injure the cause which Indonesia has at heart. Please convey following message to President Soekarno on my behalf...³

1. New Delhi, 18 November 1957. File No. 1(38) – UN II/57, MEA. Also available in JN Collection.
2. G. Parthasarathi, India's Ambassador to Indonesia, informed Commonwealth Secretary, MEA, that as part of a national campaign currently in swing in Indonesia, the Indonesian Information Minister had circulated the following questionnaire to the Heads of Afro-Asian Missions: (i) what was their Government's attitude to Indonesia's claim on Irian?; (ii) what contribution their country could offer in the Indonesian struggle on this question?; (iii) was their Government of the opinion that continuation of the dispute would threaten peace in South-east Asia?; (iv) could their Government justify any future move by Indonesia to take "other measures" in case the dispute was not settled in the UN?; and (v) what, according to their Government, were the best ways and means of settling the dispute? Parthasarathi wrote that the Indonesian Ministry officials would visit him next week to decide on a date to broadcast India's answers.
3. See the next item.

3. To Ahmed Soekarno¹

New Delhi

18 November 1957

Dear Dr Soekarno,

I am venturing to address you directly because I understand that your Information Minister has circulated a questionnaire to Afro-Asian Heads of Missions at Djakarta and asked them for answers to certain questions in regard to Irian.² You know that we have sympathized with and supported the claim of Indonesia to Irian. We have done so not only in public forums but also in private diplomatic approaches. We proposed to continue to do so.

But we feel that for our Ambassador to answer various questions with a view to his answers being broadcasted would be an unusual procedure not in consonance with diplomatic practice. This may well prove embarrassing to all the countries concerned and not help the cause of Indonesia. It may also be exploited against the Indonesian Government in public forums like the United Nations.

Governments usually express their views on current questions either in the United Nations or to other Governments by diplomatic methods. The Irian question is already on the agenda of the General Assembly of the United Nations.

It would be presumptuous on our part to advise publicly what the Indonesian Government should do in this or any other case, as that is for the Indonesian Government to decide. All we can say is that we are committed to peaceful procedures and trust that other countries would also endeavour to solve their problems through peaceful methods. Any other methods are likely to bring in their trail new problems and add to the difficulties of the situation.

We are convinced that colonialism, though still existing in parts of Asia and Africa, is in retreat and we should try to hasten this retreat. But there is always the danger of a wrong step enabling it to entrench itself still further. We live, as you know, in an air thick with the cold war and few questions are judged on the merits. It would be unfortunate if we got entangled in this cold war. That would make the question of Irian a pawn for the Great Powers to play with, regardless of the wishes of the people of the countries concerned.

But as I have mentioned above, we are in full sympathy with the claims of Indonesia to Irian and propose to support this claim in international forums

1. File No. 1(38)-UN II/57, MEA. Also available in JN Collection.

2. See the preceding item.

whenever occasion arises, and in such other ways as may be open to us, to further a peaceful settlement.

I hope you will forgive me for the liberty I am taking to convey to you how I feel in this matter. I realize fully the depth of national feeling in Indonesia on this subject, but that itself demands a very careful handling of it at this critical stage.

With warm regards,

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

4. Attempt on Soekarno's Life¹

Sir, there is one other matter which, with your permission, I may mention to the House. This was the tragedy that occurred at Djakarta the day before yesterday. The tragedy was bad enough in the sense that it was an attempt to assassinate President Soekarno of Indonesia, but it took place at a children's gathering.² It was a miracle that the President escaped. But a large number of children did not escape. In fact, the first hand grenade that was thrown actually killed a policeman standing near the President saluting him, and three other hand grenades were thrown. The President fortunately escaped. But I think five children were killed among whom was an Indian boy eleven years old, and forty-nine children were seriously injured and ninety hurt. I think, Sir, this House will wish to express its deep sorrow at this tragedy and our gratitude that President Soekarno escaped.³

1. Statement in the Lok Sabha, 2 December 1957. *Lok Sabha Debates* (Second Series), Vol. IX, col 3159.
2. Soekarno was visiting his son's school in Djakarta on 30 November when an attempt was made on his life.
3. Nehru sent a message to Soekarno on 2 December 1957 expressing shock at the incident.

5. Anti-Dutch Developments in Indonesia¹

The Prime Minister made a brief reference to the anti-Dutch developments in Indonesia² and said that he had received a message from the Indonesian Government that they were about to break off diplomatic relations with the Netherlands.³ They had also requested, in that event, that the Indian Mission in the Hague should look after the interests of Indonesia in Holland. The Prime Minister also revealed that he had conveyed a suggestion to the Indonesian Government through their Ambassador⁴ in Delhi that it would be better not to precipitate matters in this way but to make a different approach for solving the dispute between the two countries. The Prime Minister had also indicated to the Indonesian Government that while India would be prepared to look after Indonesian interests in the Netherlands, she could not look after the interests of Indonesians in Surinam⁵ as she had no diplomatic mission in that country.⁶

1. Minutes of Cabinet meeting, New Delhi, 4 December 1957. JN Collection.
2. When a nineteen-power resolution inviting the Netherlands and Indonesia to find a solution of the question of West Irian under UN auspices failed to be adopted in the UN General Assembly on 29 November (see *ante*, pp. 549-550), the Indonesians decided to seek their own solution of the problem. Soon the pressure upon the Dutch economic interests within Indonesia intensified. On 2 December, a general strike was observed against Dutch enterprises, followed by the unauthorized seizure of Dutch firms by youth groups and union employees. The army then took protective control of these businesses, pending Government moves to nationalize them. The Dutch airline KLM was denied landing rights in Indonesia, Dutch publications were banned, and measures were taken to repatriate some fifty thousand Dutch nationals.
3. On 5 December, a notice was served on the Dutch chargé d'affaires for closing down Dutch Consulates in Indonesia and the Press, Cultural and Military sections of the Embassy.
4. Abdul Kader.
5. Dutch colony in north-central South America. It gained independence in 1975.
6. M.J. Desai informed G. Parthasarathi on 7 December, "As indicated by PM in his discussions with the Indonesian Ambassador, none of the Asian countries can give much help." Desai was responding to Parthasarathi's report that "Indonesian officials have been sounding us as to whether we can give them assistance in regard to air services and shipping."

6. Cable to G. Parthasarathi¹

I have seen your telegrams 35906 of 6th and 36107 of 7th and Desai's telegram 30409 of 7th December to you since my return from tour.

2. It is for the British Ambassador to request the Indonesian authorities for their concurrence to British Embassy and British Consulates taking over the work of the Dutch Consulates in Indonesia which are closed. There could be no question of your joining the British Ambassador in making this request.² If the British Ambassador has approached the Indonesian authorities with this request, you may do what you can informally to get the Indonesian authorities to accept this request. This will ease the strained Dutch-Indonesian relations to some extent and create an atmosphere where further efforts to improve the relations may be fruitful.

3. You have referred in para 8 of your telegram of 6th to mediation at higher level, both at The Hague and at Djakarta, to prevent the situation from getting out of hand.³ The Indonesians, as you have stated, want the Dutch to declare that they are ready to negotiate for the transfer of sovereignty over West Irian. The Dutch, particularly after the failure of the Indonesians at the United Nations, are hardly likely to accept this proposition. They appear to have the support of the USA and other Western powers. They may perhaps be prepared to declare that they are willing to negotiate with the Indonesians on all outstanding Dutch-Indonesian problems, including West Irian, without prejudice to the stand taken by the two Governments so far.

1. New Delhi, 9 December 1957. JN Collection.

2. G. Parthasarathi wrote to M.J. Desai that the British Ambassador had told him on 6 December that the Dutch Government had requested the British and Indian Governments "to render Consular assistance in repatriation of Dutch nationals from Indonesia." Parthasarathi added that he himself considered it inadvisable for India to be involved in repatriation because of political and psychological reasons. M.J. Desai, in his telegram of 7 December, however, pointed out that, according to the Dutch Ambassador in New Delhi, "they have asked the UK that the UK Embassy in Djakarta take over the work of the Dutch Consulates... and the British Consulates assist in the repatriation of Dutch nationals."

3. Parthasarathi thought that, in view of the "stubborn" Dutch stand and the Indonesians' excited tempers, mediation at a higher level was required. There was considerable apprehension in Djakarta that the anti-Dutch campaign would not only disorganize Indonesian economy but directly affect law and order, he added.

You have yourself in para 10 of your telegram 36107 mentioned Dr Hatta's views on the Indonesian policy regarding West Irian.⁴ We learn from Thivy⁵ that the Dutch regard Dr Soekarno as solely responsible for the present Indonesian attitude over West Irian and that the Dutch will not make any move towards a settlement as they seem to be convinced that the reprisals against Dutch nationals and Dutch interests will lead to crisis in Indonesia which will end Soekarno's leadership and West Irian will thereafter cease to be an active issue. We have told Thivy that the Dutch assessment is incorrect and West Irian is a live issue for all parties in Indonesia. It is difficult to mediate between the extreme positions taken up by the two parties. We would gladly help informally but any formal approach might entangle us and prevent us from taking any helpful step later.

4. I have already told you in my telegram of 6th that President Soekarno is very welcome to India as our guest if he wishes to come here for a rest.⁶ I would follow this up with a personal message to Soekarno as soon as you let me know that President Soekarno has approved the Cabinet proposal that he should take a vacation outside Indonesia. Obviously, this is a decision which President Soekarno has to take himself and I am reluctant to send a personal invitation which may, even indirectly, be construed as influencing President Soekarno's decision on this important question.⁷

4. Mohammad Hatta, former Vice President of Indonesia, whom G. Parthasarathi met on 7 December, held Soekarno directly responsible for the Indonesian policy regarding West Irian. He thought that sanctions against the Dutch could not produce the desired results, and believed in finding out a solution through diplomatic means. According to him, the Dutch elements which were sympathetic to Indonesia were bound to turn against her because of the current campaign. Hatta also suggested that Nehru should exercise a moderating influence on Soekarno by pointing out the dangers of his policy.
5. J.A. Thivy was India's Ambassador in The Hague.
6. G. Parthasarathi informed Nehru on 5 December that since the attempt on his life on 30 November, President Soekarno had been suffering from shock and was in "low psychological condition", and desirous of a change of scene and rest. The same day the Indonesian Cabinet had considered the proposition that the President should take leave for two months, spending the first part of his leave as Nehru's personal guest in India and then perhaps go to Switzerland. Parthasarathi wrote that the Secretary General of the Indonesian Foreign Office had told him that "in present circumstances Indonesian Government thought that they could entrust their President only to India", and had requested him to find out whether Nehru would invite President Soekarno to be his personal guest in India.
7. Soekarno arrived in Delhi on 7 January on a short visit.

(vi) Egypt

1. Talks with the Egyptian Ambassador¹

The Egyptian Ambassador² came to see me yesterday. He conveyed to me President Nasser's gratitude for the support India had been giving to Egypt.

He then referred to the desirability of increasing economic cooperation between India and Egypt. He said that President Nasser was anxious to do this.

He gave me a brief letter from President Nasser in which the President expressed a wish to exchange information on the international situation. I propose to write to President Nasser in a few days' time.

The Ambassador then referred to Israeli propaganda in Bombay carried on by some papers there. He said that this was very embarrassing to President Nasser and apparently they were getting money from all kinds of sources. He seemed to indicate that American sources were paying the money also. I told him that we had a free press. We could not interfere unless something offended against law. He said he realized this, but still sometimes what was done was very objectionable. He said something of the Israeli Consul-General in Bombay. Is there such a Consul there?³

The Ambassador was rather vague. He did not specify anything and he said that he did not wish me to attach too much importance to this and still there it was and it was annoying to President Nasser.⁴

I think he also said something about a delegation coming from Israel to India.

1. Note to S. Dutt, Foreign Secretary, New Delhi, 20 November 1957. File No. 6(11)—WANA/57, MEA. Also available in JN Collection.

2. Mostafa Kamel.

3. An Israeli Consulate had been functioning in Mumbai since 1953. S. Dutt noted on 21 November, "In fact, only recently we have declined a request to agree to the status of the Consulate being raised to that of Consulate General and to an office being started in Delhi." A. Caspi was the Israeli Consul in Mumbai at this time.

4. Dutt told the Prime Minister that the Egyptian Embassy had objected to some of the material circulated by the Israeli Consulate in Mumbai. "While we shall deal with specific instances in which the Consulate transgresses its functions, it will be difficult for us to restrict the activities which other Consulates are permitted to carry on."

2. To Gamal Abdel Nasser¹

New Delhi

November 28, 1957

My dear President Nasser,

Your Ambassador gave me, a few days ago, your letter of the 10th November. I was happy to receive it. The Ambassador, who had recently returned from Cairo, also gave me some account of the developments there, which was helpful to me in understanding the situation. May I also thank you for the Egyptian cigarettes which you have so kindly sent.

It is about four and a half months ago that I had the privilege of meeting you and your colleagues and discussing with you many matters of common interest.² Four and a half months is not a very long period, but events move fast now, and it seems to me that that day when we met last, is a long way off.

I would greatly welcome our having informal and personal correspondence for the exchange of views on current events. Your views and appraisal of a [sic] situation would help us greatly in coming to decisions ourselves, and I entirely agree with you that our countries should try to work in harmony on the major issues of the day. It has been a deep satisfaction to me that a closer understanding and friendship has bound us together during these critical years.

Recent events and, more particularly, the tremendous scientific developments which have taken place, have certainly changed the picture of the world. Indeed, I think that this change is even greater than what is imagined by most people who think of the present only. As one greatly interested in science, I am naturally fascinated by these great advances. At the same time, however, I am unhappy because these scientific advances are yoked not for the good of man, but rather, much more so, for his destruction. The race for armaments and, more especially, in the terrible weapons of mass destruction has now assumed an even more intense form than previously. No one knows where this mad race is going to lead us all. It is clear to me that no good can come in this way and that, unless a very radical change comes about in people's thinking and action, we shall drift inevitably to utter disaster.

Here, in India, we have great problems of our own, and you, in Egypt, face many difficulties. While my problems are my immediate concern, my mind thinks more and more of the major problem that confronts humanity. This morning, I issued a statement which was, in the main, addressed to America and Russia. You may have seen it. I enclose a copy of it. It is this major problem

1. JN Collection.

2. Nehru visited Egypt in July 1957 on his way back from a European tour. See *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 38, p. 797

that casts its dark shadows over all our countries, and our own problems become a part of this cold war outlook. I cannot imagine how it is thought that the pursuit of the cold war and the race for armaments is going to bring peace to anybody. It may be that through sheer fear, big scale war might be avoided. But, meanwhile, people's minds become ever more full of fear and hatred and, when this happens, there is no tolerance left or capacity to judge any problem objectively or equitably. It is impossible for America to think that it can crush or coerce the Soviet Union. It is equally impossible for the Soviet Union to imagine that it will crush or coerce the United States of America. Indeed, one might go further and say that it has become exceedingly difficult for even small nations to be coerced to any large extent and for any length of time. Last year, we had two notable examples. One was the Anglo-French-Israeli attack on Egypt. It failed. Certainly, a part of this failure was due to the brave resistance of the Egyptian people. It was also due to a certain balance in world forces. It showed that it was no longer easy for even the Great Powers to coerce a much weaker adversary. The other example was that of Hungary, where a nationalist uprising took place. This was undoubtedly put down. But, it showed that nationalism cannot be converted by force into something else. Both these were hopeful signs in so far as they went.

You know better than I do what the present situation in the Middle Eastern countries is and more particularly in Syria. I imagine that the great danger which Syria faced some months ago, is much less now, but it would be unwise to think that it is wholly past.

In this ever-changing and turbulent world, where fear and passions take the place of any calm consideration of problems, I am convinced more than ever that the broad policy which India and Egypt have pursued in not aligning themselves with the Great Power blocs, is the right policy. It is good for them, and it is good for the world. The ultimate choice for the world is either to follow that policy of peaceful coexistence of rival systems, or of ending in some terrible disaster for all.

It is no easy matter for any of us or for any country not to be swept away by the passions of the moment. And yet, that is the only wise course to follow, and I think that this is being progressively appreciated by many countries. Certainly, a vast number of people in all countries understand this position and appreciate it.

I am afraid I have not written to you a helpful letter. All I can say is that, to some extent, it mirrors my mind.

With all good wishes and cordial regards,

Sincerely yours,
Jawaharlal Nehru

(vii) United States of America

1. Permission to Quakers to Continue their Work¹

I have looked through all these papers in this file.

2. The question of a formal agreement does not appear to arise. What the American Friends Service Committee² require is some kind of an indication from the Government of India that we have no objection to their continuing their work they have been doing. Presumably, they would like the concessions of exemption from excise duty, etc., also to continue. Further they have indicated that they should not be debarred from any Government grant.

3. In some of the notes in this file considerable stress is laid on our Government being embarrassed in having direct relationship with a foreign society which declines to conform to the regulations of their own Government. I see no embarrassment at all in this, subject to what I say later. In fact I rather appreciate the attitude of the American Quakers in this respect. The security regulations of people going outside the United States to foreign countries are very strict and I think in many respects, undesirable. There has been much criticism of these even in the United States. For the Quakers to show some resistance to this appears to me to be in their favour. For us to hold out that they must accept certain American regulations in regard to security would be rather absurd.

4. At the same time we should not bypass the US Government. If we are prepared to allow these American Quakers to continue to do their work here, then we should mention this fact directly to the US Embassy here. We should tell them that these people have done good work and we have no objection to their continuing this work and we should ask the US Embassy whether they have any objection to their doing so. If the US Embassy or their Government says clearly that they object, then the matter ends there and we should inform the American Friends about it. But if the US Embassy tells us that they have no

1. Note to Foreign Secretary, New Delhi, 1 November 1957. JN Collection.

2. Founded in 1917 by American members of the Religious Society of Friends (Quakers) to provide conscientious objectors to war with an opportunity to aid civilian war victims, the American Friends Service Committee (AFSC) carries out service, development, social justice, and peace programmes throughout the world. In 1947 they worked to resettle refugees from the Partition of India. The same year the AFSC received the Nobel Peace Prize with the British Friends Service Council on behalf of all Quakers worldwide.

objection, then we can go ahead with this.

5. I have a high opinion of Quakers generally and their sincerity of purpose and capacity for good work. I know some of the leading American Quakers, though I do not remember having met the persons working in Orissa. For many years past, before Independence and after, we have encouraged both British and American Quakers to work in India and I see no reason why we should change our policy because of some internal disagreement of the Quakers with their Government. All we need do is to put the matter directly to the US Embassy and leave it to them to object or not to object.

6. Apart from my general opinion about Quakers and their work, it appears from the record that this particular group in Orissa have been doing good work and Orissa Government approves of it and are in fact prepared to support them even financially. Keeping all this in view, it seems to me desirable to give them normal facilities for this work. After all, we must remember that this is not some new thing that they are starting. They have worked five years already at a project and they want to continue doing it and unless there are some strong and obvious reasons for us to stop them, we should certainly allow them to continue. If we stop them on our own accord, the matter might well be discussed in the press or Parliament and I shall find it difficult to give any adequate answer. The Quakers are quiet people and will not go to the press or Parliament, but others might on their behalf.

7. If we agree to their continuing here, then the only question that arises is as to whether we should give them the concession of exemption of excise duty and inland transport charges in respect of gift parcels. This again is a continuance of what we have done in the past and involves no new departure. The fact that their relationship has changed with the American backers should not affect our attitude in this matter. After all, they are getting something for free distribution here.

8. I have not always looked with favour on this business of free distribution of food or other articles here. But I must say that I put the Quakers on a different level and the fact that they have been doing this with our consent is a strong point in their favour. We have received no complaints. In fact their work has been commended.

9. The question of the Government of India giving them a grant does not arise.

10. I suggest therefore that the US Embassy should be told of this matter and of our wish to continue this arrangement unless the US Embassy object. I think that they will not object. The next step might be for the Ministry of Community Development to inform the American Friends Service Committee that so far as we are concerned, we shall be glad if they continue their work in Orissa. This

not only does not involve any formality but can hardly be called an agreement with a foreign committee. It is only a permission given to a Committee to continue to function.

2. To Dwight D. Eisenhower¹

New Delhi

November 12, 1957

My dear Mr President,

Our Minister of Finance, T.T. Krishnamachari, returned a few days ago from his tour abroad. He spent most of his time during this tour in the United States and he has given me an account of his stay there.² He has told me of the uniform courtesy and kindness with which he was received there by Members of your Government and other leading personalities and of the understanding that they showed to our problems and difficulties. In spite of your manifold engagements and heavy responsibilities, you were good enough to receive him.

I am deeply grateful to you, Mr President, for your kindness to my colleague and for the gracious manner in which you received him.

I trust that you are keeping well. The world is full of difficult problems and a very heavy responsibility rests on the shoulders of a person occupying the high position that you hold. Large numbers of people in the world look to you to help them in coming out of this impasse and leading them towards peace.

With all good wishes,

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.

2. T.T. Krishnamachari returned to New Delhi on 25 October from his foreign tour, which included visits to the United States, Canada, the United Kingdom and West Germany. He was in Washington from 23-27 September and in New York from 2-10 October. Apart from other engagements, Krishnamachari also attended the annual meetings of the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund during his stay in Washington.

3. Interaction with an American Economist¹

I entirely agree with Dr Keyserling² that understanding has to be on both sides and not on one side. In fact there is hardly anything which is on one side. Always there should be a two-way traffic for achieving understanding and goodwill. So far as we are concerned, we are anxious and eager to understand the good things achieved by the people of the United States.

It may be that we do not agree with some policies we don't like. But it is far more important to see how many things there are about which we agree than things about which we don't agree. We are always trying to understand the others' viewpoint and to make them feel that we have not any feeling of unfriendliness towards them.

It is possible that India might have a different approach because of her past history, recent history, her background and functioning in a particular way. But even then India was never hostile to anybody, least of all to a country like the United States which in many ways we admire so greatly.

The eminent economist from the United States, Dr Keyserling is not a theoretical one but a very practical one. In the thirties in the United States, Dr Keyserling played a prominent part in developing the New Deal which came into existence in the time of President Roosevelt.

We have great problems here today and any kind of light that is thrown at

1. Speech at a meeting of Members of Parliament, Central Hall of Parliament House, New Delhi, 13 November 1957. From *The Hindu* and *Hindusthan Standard*, 15 November 1957.

Leon H. Keyserling, an eminent economist from the US, was the main speaker at the meeting, which was arranged at the instance of Nehru. On 3 November 1957, after his meeting with Keyserling, Nehru had written to Satya Narayan Sinha, Minister for Parliamentary Affairs: "He (Keyserling) is a very interesting man and, I am told, he speaks well. It might be a good thing for our Congress Party in Parliament to be addressed by him on planning generally as well as his own experiences in America."

2. Leon Hirsch Keyserling (1908-1987); economist and practising attorney from the US; legislative assistant to Senator Robert F. Wagner, 1933-37; helped draft major pieces of the New Deal legislation, Vice Chairman and later Chairman, US President's Council of Economic Advisers, 1949-53; founder-president, Conference on Economic Progress, 1954-87; consultant with several organizations and countries, including India, France and Israel; author of, among others, *Towards Full Employment and Full Production*, *The Federal Budget and the General Welfare*, *Liberal and Conservative National Economic Policies and Their Consequences*, 1919-79.

them by experience from outside helps us to consider them.³ In my talks with Dr Keyserling, I found his wide experience extraordinarily helpful in understanding various matters even in our own country.

Dr Keyserling's reference to the two circles—the circle which includes and the circle which excludes has appealed to me greatly. May I say with all respect that we like the biggest circle, the most inclusive circle. We do not wish to exclude anybody. I do not know how to describe that in the political language. We call it sometimes coexistence internationally. But that is really an extension of the idea of coexistence within the country. Obviously, if within the country each group tried to go its own way, hostile to the other, then hardly any national policies would emerge or any national progress achieved and all our energies would be spent in conflict as, unfortunately, part of our energies are spent in the international sphere.

I hope that Dr Keyserling would carry back to the USA the good wishes of the people of this country and would himself help in that process of mutual understanding about which he spoke.

I hope that Dr Keyserling will come to India again.

3. Disagreeing with the argument that India's economic plans were "overambitious and therefore impracticable", Keyserling told the Members of Parliament that what India was attempting was far short of her urgent needs and well within the bounds of the country's essential potentials for growth and achievement. As regards the public and the private sectors, he said that policies and programmes in one sector could and should be mutually beneficial to those in another sector. Referring to the question of flow of capital from the US to India, Keyserling observed that despite minor and temporary vicissitudes, the years immediately ahead might witness "a large and sustained expansion of this capital flow on enlightened terms beneficial to all."

4. New India's Relationship with the USA¹

Ambassador,² ladies and gentlemen,

I did not expect such a large gathering. I thought I was going to meet a relatively small number of people for an informal talk. This has turned out to be bigger and perhaps more formal. In fact, I was not quite sure what to talk to you about. There is much one can say, of course, but I am apt to go off trying to follow the processes of my mind in one direction, and perhaps not answer a single question that you have in mind, getting too much involved in my own thinking and speaking, and I wanted, therefore, rather to be given a lead about the particular aspect of the problem. You may say it is technical cooperation, certainly, but there are many aspects of looking at this, and for me to talk in a way which does not meet the particular subjects, or problems that you have in your mind, is not very helpful. So when I thought of coming here, I thought it was going to be a more or less small affair. I was going to suggest that you might begin it, and not me, by suggesting matters or questions so that my mind might start working in that direction and I could deal with it and come to grips with your mind. Otherwise, we might move in parallel lines more or less without coming too closely into contact, because that often happens. The parallel lines do not mean, of course, the conflicting lines, but somehow not coming to grips mentally with the problems in another's mind. You are technicians and I am a politician. My chief job as a politician—although there are many, of course—is to try to understand what is in the minds of the people I address, whether it is in a village in India, or anywhere else, because I have to get at their minds, not merely to show off that I can speak for some time and try, so far as I can, to influence them. It is always a two-way traffic between individuals, between nations, between everybody. The moment it tends to become a one-way traffic, it loses its real usefulness as it is looked upon, well, with a degree of, I would not say suspicion, but lack of understanding, and so I wanted to know something that you might have in your minds.

Now, technical cooperation—what am I to say about it except that especially today in India when we are trying to advance in regard to the industrial field, technological field, etc., it is of great importance to all of us to get technical cooperation from a country which is technically the most advanced in the world.

1. Speech at the third annual conference of the US Technical Cooperation Mission personnel in India, New Delhi, 20 November 1957. JN Supplementary Papers, NMML.
2. Ellsworth Bunker, US Ambassador in India.

Obviously, there is no doubt about it. Apart from that, it is important, I think, for this type of cooperation to bring or help to bring the two countries, the two peoples, nearer to each other, to understand each other a little more.

The Ambassador said something about partnership in this work.³ This is an excellent approach to it. Now, you will forgive me if I began criticizing you, not all of you, of course, or any individual. What I mean is this that experts from any country are usually so keen on their particular subject that they take a somewhat perhaps lopsided view of it. Or it may be that they do not apply their minds to many other aspects of the problems, and I quite understand that, because an expert is keen on doing a job and doing it well, getting others to do it, and if it is not done exactly as he wants it, it is a frustrating and irritating experience. Whether you are an expert or not, that is that, and even though I am not an expert at anything at all, I have other experiences very often, and some people, therefore, have given me an entirely undeserved reputation of losing my temper all the time and becoming very impatient, for sometimes I do. But I think my average is rather low as compared to others. We have that experience. But then one realizes immediately that that does not do much good, and maybe one felt lost in oneself, one did not make the right approach or one did not quite understand the environment, the milieu, how to get the things done by other people because it is not a question of doing one thing oneself as getting others to do it, others in large groups, masses, crowd, and when you have to think of moving vast numbers of people in a certain direction, and those vast numbers of varying grades, of understanding, intelligence, education and all that, it becomes a very complicated problem.

Now, one aspect—I have said this before and some of you may have heard me say it; it is worthwhile my repeating it to you today—one aspect of our present day position. We are struggling, as you know, to catch up with the Industrial Revolution which came to Europe and America a couple of hundred years, one hundred fifty years ago, call it what you like; again gradually; there is no fixed date about it. It came to Western Europe, it came to America, and resulted in many things that you see today. It has been a continuing process. For the first time in recorded history in these countries, that is, Western Europe, especially in the United States and other parts of America, wealth was produced in adequate quantity to put an end to poverty in those countries as the world had thus far known it. So industrialism brought this tremendous good and some evils with it too. Somehow it was an inevitable development, it produced not

3. Ellsworth Bunker was sure that the personnel of the Technical Cooperation Mission would bend their energies to their tasks with renewed enthusiasm.

only wealth but power as well because this technology that led to the Industrial Revolution led to all these other consequences also.

Now, we talk about the Industrial Revolution and the political revolution. There was political revolution in the United States when they cut themselves away from England. True, it was a political revolution, of course, a major one, very big one, and yet in another sense it was not a major revolution—it was not that type of revolution in which, perhaps I may be wrong about this, there were relatively small number of people, their struggles with huge problems and vast territory and all that. But what I mean is this, that power lay in all these countries with relatively small numbers of people at the top whether it was the United States, England, France, all these Western countries. Take England which is a better example. We say of democracy in the United Kingdom as perfectly correct. But throughout the nineteenth century, democracy in the United Kingdom was exercised by a very small electorate, they did not have adult franchise, it was rather the select top layer that had this power, it is well known. Though the ruling classes in England continued to rule with some pressures from below throughout the nineteenth century, it was the same public school and university type which went out to rule the Empire, or within the country—that means the political revolution in England had not gone very far. If you judge it from the point of view of franchise, this one point, there are many others too, it was only after the First World War that England got adult franchise. There are countries in Europe still where women have not got the vote. Now my point is that in England, in the United States and in many countries of Western Europe, the Industrial Revolution came, the economic revolution came much earlier than the full blossom of the political revolution.

When I use the word political revolution, I am using it in terms, for the moment, of the franchise, etc., which brought the masses of the people into the picture. Therefore, long before the mass of the people came into the political picture through the political revolution of that type, the country concerned had pulled up its industry, its technology, which had added to its resources greatly. In other words, when the real political revolution came, bringing all kinds of demands from the mass of the people, the country had resources to meet those demands and to fulfill them in a large measure and so it went on in a balanced way, increasing its wealth and giving more and more of it to the people. Naturally, and there were some tensions and all that, but, broadly speaking, the countries were balanced and integrated. So there has been growth, first economic and then political. Of course, all these overlap, but, broadly speaking, it was that.

Now the problem we have to face in India is—and that is the problem in most countries of Asia—that we get a full-blooded political revolution without that economic change or revolution and without the resources that an economic

revolution brings to a country. The political revolution has come here, and by the political revolution I do not mean simply that the British have gone, that is a big enough revolution, but the fact is that there is adult franchise, that there is political consciousness in the 370 million people, there is a demand for a better life, there is demand for so many things. All kinds of urges, suppressed for a hundred years, come up and nearly all the demands or most of them are justifiable. If I was in their position, I would do the same, I might do something more. At the same time the fact is that we are not in a position to meet those demands, our resources are not great. You see how the position is reversed here. There, in essence, resources grew before the demands became too great and as they came up resources fulfilled them. Here the demand, because of the political revolution, came first, before the economic revolution has developed. It is very difficult to meet those demands and one tries to meet them, of course. And, therefore, the desire to go ahead economically which is there, of course, is enhanced, increased, intensified greatly by the compulsion of events—the constant urges of millions of people, the constant demands, the constant efforts—and it is no good criticizing. It is no good even telling them as we do that, “My dear friends, you are quite right, but we cannot do this now.” We tell this to them but it is not a very satisfactory reply for them obviously. If you have once become conscious of something that you want badly, conscious indeed of the primary needs of life which you have not got, you want them and you have every right to get them. Then to be told that, “Well, I am sorry I cannot do it now, I will do it day after tomorrow”, it does not satisfy them. So, this is the basic problem of these countries, whether it is India or India’s neighbours or anywhere in Asia, except in Japan, which, of course, went through the Industrial Revolution towards the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth century.

How to develop rapidly enough to fulfill the demands created by the political revolution, that is one way of putting it; you can put it more simply and say how to raise the living standards of the people, but then it does not bring it. It is not merely the desire to raise the living standards which we all have, but the compulsion of events which demands that justice should be done because people are wide awake, politically awake and conscious, even though they might not be educated or literate in your sense. Well, that is one point I should like you to bear in mind.

The other, of course, is the obvious fact, obvious to me, and no doubt obvious to all of you, that we cannot solve the problem of poverty in any country without using modern technology for this purpose. That is what Western Europe and America did, and later other countries came in and that is the only way to do it, to raise the production. You cannot raise the living standards unless you have

more production, and you cannot actually have more production unless you have utilized modern technological methods. How exactly to do it in detail is another problem, but broadly that is that.

Now, you will often wonder why our great leader Mr Gandhi used to talk so much about cottage industry and the like and about handspun cloth and handspun hand-woven. For the last thirty seven years I have hardly ever put on any kind of clothing which is not handspun or hand-woven except maybe when I am in foreign countries, not in India—thirty seven years. Why these fads, one might say. We are not against mills or factories or anything. Of course, we encourage them in our country, many others have done that. Why Mr Gandhi always laid so much stress on cottage industry. Well, I am not going into that question and it may well be that there is a difference of opinion sometimes on that issue between various people. But I want to tell you, I dare not and do not presume to interpret Mr Gandhi, his books and other things, because he was a dynamic personality and a personality who was always speaking, trying to speak to the masses of the Indian people, not to a select crowd of intellectuals, and he always spoke in the language which he thought would be understood by the poorest illiterate peasant. The intellectual who starts reading him sometimes gets a little annoyed, forgetting that he is not carrying on an intellectual argument for him, but he is addressing the people of India, and he addressed them with great force and great success. While people like me will consider ourselves very clever but we did not succeed in reaching the minds of those very people. Perhaps some expect I do; others much cleverer than me do not reach them at all. They write often articles in magazines and periodicals and no doubt they are helpful to others, but from the point of view of reaching the mass of the people of India, they fail completely because they have not even tried to reach them.

However, Mr Gandhi was always thinking in other terms, of the immediate problem before him. He often said that one step was quite enough for him; the next would follow, of course, naturally. He did not have all the other steps too. But the point is, he saw the immediate problem and the immediate problem even for him and for all of us was to get rid of foreign rule in the country. But that apart, the problem for him was this vast number of unemployed and underemployed people in India and he, therefore, emphasized on some cottage industry because that is the only way of giving them something, as compared to a man doing nothing, an idler having no particular work. It had economic significance. And remember that if a hundred people did something little, in the totality it is a great deal, tremendous deal.

Secondly, idleness itself is bad, you know. Doles are bad. If you want to help people, it is far better to help them through some work, even though it may be totally uneconomic, than giving them a dole or not helping at all. Thirdly, and

most importantly of all, he wanted to produce a feeling of self-reliance in the people, self-dependence, self-reliance in all, not looking to others for help—looking to the government for help, looking to any authority in India or outside for help. And he did this.

Now, as for the cottage industry programme, first of all, it gave a great deal of feeling of self-respect to our people that they were doing something, an average peasant. Here, the feeling of doing something himself, not waiting for it to be done. Secondly, he got a feeling of being a partner in a tremendous enterprise because all this in his mind was connected with the struggle for freedom. Even if he did some spinning an hour a day he became a little partner in a vast undertaking in which hundreds of people were engaged, to psychologically satisfy and strengthen them. Thirdly, he actually was producing something, which your economists may say how little and how futile, but when hundreds of people are doing it, it was not little or futile. And, fourthly, what he was producing remained with him largely. It did not go into a few pockets. We may have a textile mill producing cloth, very good, and a great deal of cloth, but employing a few thousand people as workers there; but nevertheless most of the production—some go in wages, some to the employers—they do not seep down to the people generally, unless the industry is very well developed. But that was not so. So in the circumstances what Mr Gandhi said then fitted into the conditions in India in a remarkable way, psychological, political, economical and all that.

Today you know we are trying hard to build up heavy industry in India and steel plants and other big plants, because it is our conviction that we want India to be industrialized and we feel that India can only be industrialized with some rapidity if we have some heavy industry, otherwise the process will be long. We cannot afford it to be too long. It is not as if the choice was given to us. As I pointed out to you it is the compulsion of events that drives us on. We have very little choice in the matter. Now today, therefore, we are all in favour of heavy industry being established but it surprises people who come from America or Europe to find us still talking about cottage industries and they say, "We do not understand it". It is quite beyond their ken. I find no difficulty, no conflict between the two ideas in the conditions of India. I am not laying down any general principles for the wide world to follow. Each country has to find out for itself. It is quite absurd to go to the United States and ask them to do something which may be relevant to conditions in India, because the United States are tremendously developed technologically and otherwise. But in India, even if we advance at the most rapid pace in industrialization within the foreseeable future, it will absorb a relatively small part of our population, whatever it may be, you call it 10 million, 20 million, 30 million, 40 million, if you like. Well, hundreds of

millions remain and, of course, they are in agriculture. But inevitably, those hundreds of millions will have to go in for other things. There are many other things, of course, transport, and this and that and social services and they are growing. But inevitably, a large sector is left out which can only get work in the near future through small industry or cottage industry. And so, from a completely different line of reasoning from that which Mr Gandhi adopted 20-30 years ago, and which we accepted then or many of us accept today, we again arrive at the same form, the full circle, that the cottage industries are most important in India in addition to, not in place of, the big industry or middle and heavy. So there is no question of conflict but filling many gaps within India in various ways.

When I say cottage industry—and I cannot say that a particular type of cottage industry is going to be a permanent feature in India's economy—how long it will last I cannot say; that depends. All I can say is that now, in the foreseeable future, it is an essential thing. Gradually, it will have to be adapted to technological changes in India as the rest of the world adapted them. So we are laying stress on these two extremes, the latest technique and cottage industry. But even in cottage industry we want as good and as late a technique as possible. Nobody wants primitive methods as such, please remember that. But the limiting factor is that while we are growing along in the normal way of industrialization with the big machine, so much is left over that we can only tackle it in the small way. Which brings various advantages to us. Apart from giving employment it brings relief to large numbers of people in a small way, but that tackling too we want to do, utilizing the experience and the technique of today in the small industry, in the cottage industry, in the spinning wheel. We want to utilize modern technique provided it is applicable to the village or applicable to the cottage. For instance, we want to utilize electric power in the cottage, if we get the electric power certainly or anything else. Therefore we get these lines of advance.

Now, presently I am going to Lok Sabha and we are having a discussion there on our Second Five Year Plan⁴ and I am supposed to speak there very soon.⁴ In fact, I had almost wished that this meeting had not taken place this morning but some other day—however.

We started planning and the Planning Commission about nine years ago. Why did we do that. It seemed to us obvious that with the very limited resources at our disposal in India we had to take care that those resources were applied to the best advantage and not left to anybody's sweet will as to how they should be applied and it was not enough that they were applied for, shall I say, a good

4. For Nehru's speech in the Lok Sabha, see *ante*, pp. 69-83.

cause because there are so many good causes. They had to be applied to the best cause for the moment, so as to promote, and so as to increase our ability in our wealth producing capacity. We could not do that unless we had some system of, let us say, priorities obviously. Even priorities were not quite enough because priorities involved an immediate consideration without thinking a little ahead. If we industrialize, we have to think ahead, we have to have a picture of the future of ten years later, five years later, whatever it is, and many things. Suppose we have steel plants which will take six or seven years to complete; so also we have these big river valley schemes. One has to plan and one has to plan in a way so that one thing should lead to another. We could talk about five year planning, but there is no virtue in five years, and nothing stops at the end of five years. It is a continuing dynamic process of the nation changing. Only for our purposes of statistics and other things we divided the period into certain five years or into a period which become inevitable and essential for us, because of our limited resources and with the tremendous demands upon them and many of them justified demands for us to plan, to pick and choose, to lay down the course of action, what should come first, and lay the foundations for the next step. There is no other course open.

Also, in the conditions, speaking for myself, I have longed not today, but for the last, I should say 40 years at least, in fact, ever since I was at Cambridge in England, I have been attracted to the broad socialistic approach. I have never been attracted to what might be called the doctrinaire forms of socialism or anything but the broad approach which I suppose was really due what previously used to be called utopian socialism, that is to say, a desire for everybody to advance, to be well off, to be equal and all that. Not that most of us I suppose feel that way to some extent.

The question was how to reach that stage. I was attracted to that. However, I and like me most people in India were attracted to that, without any—what is called doctrinaire approach or so-called scientific socialism and all that. Then came communism. When communism started in Russia, that is, after the Bolshevik Revolution, just about that time we were in the full flood of the Gandhian revolution in India and we were so obsessed by the Gandhian revolution in India that everything else was distant, secondary, almost unimportant to us. We were actors in a very vivid drama. The general reaction on us of what happened in Russia in that revolution was friendly, because long before that, being ourselves struggling for freedom, we were intensely interested in wherever such movement took place in any other country. Take Ireland, for instance, we were greatly interested in Irish history. We were greatly interested in the attempts in Russia against the Czar's regime. Many of our young people turned red. We read about Hungary, what happened in Hungary in the 19th century.

Wherever anything happened of this type, we read avidly. We tried to understand and learn, how people struggled. We read, of course, the story of the American Revolution, we read of the French Revolution, all this matter was read by us trying to find out how we could benefit, how we could understand these things. So, inevitably, we reacted favourably, that is, in favour of the revolution in Russia. The Czar went away. And later we did not quite understand then the changes, the second revolution, the Bolshevik Revolution, but broadly we also thought that that was another step in that direction. But really for the years that followed, we were very distantly conscious of what was happening there because we were busy with our own difficulties, of our own problems, of spending many years in prison and all that, but broadly friendly to that because the Czar had been to us the embodiment of autocratic rule.

Later, we saw many things happening in the Soviet Union which distressed us and which appeared to us unjustifiable. Well, we said, perhaps we do not know. How can we criticize without knowing? But we did express our unhappiness. But I remember quite clearly, speaking for myself, that in those twenties, I regret to say, I adopted a very superior attitude—superior in the sense that our way, the Gandhian way that we were practising in India, was a much better way than any other way, whether it was Lenin's way, or anybody else's way. We were not opposed to Lenin. Let Lenin function as he did in his country. There were many things about Lenin which were striking and admirable. We did not analyse everything. But, we said, well, it may be good for Russia; it may be good for us. No conflict arose in our minds on the other aspect that when we read, as we did, of great changes in education, in this and that, mostly in Central Asia. We found that intriguing. Central Asia was the most backward place in Asia and the world around that time, and when we read of these changes there, naturally it interested us to find out how this had taken place and can we learn from them? But so far as the broad approach and methods were concerned, we were vain enough to consider that our method was superior. That was at least my reaction and no doubt of many others. But two things disturbed us and we did not like them at all. One, of course, was the tremendous degree to which violence was attached, violence and suppression, forcible suppression. Of course, it was absolutely the opposite of what Mr Gandhi had taught us and otherwise too our whole upbringing had been looking up, so far as political forms are concerned too, well, to the very England we were struggling against and we ultimately had a Constitution here which was, well, as near in approach to British parliamentary democracy, given a federal structure, as anything can be. So we reacted. Two things. One, of course, violence, not only the violence of the military type but this continuing violence, suppression, purges, this, that and other—we reacted against that. We could not understand it and we felt that,

well, we can understand violence at the early stages of a revolution but this continuing thing does raise doubts as to where it is leading to; and whether they will ever settle down or not. I am placing this historical importance; so you might say.

Another thing we felt. Again it was the very opposite to what Mr Gandhi was telling us because Mr Gandhi was laying greatest stress, well, on the moral and the ethical side of the problem. He said repeatedly that I am not prepared to take Indian independence, I forget his words, by wrong methods, that is, he attached so much importance to the right, the moral, the ethical approach to a problem that he was not prepared to accept something which he wanted if the approach was a wrong one, even Indian independence. And now again, that is, laying this great stress on means and not ends is typical of Gandhi. Now, of course, I found in some of these communist countries of the West the whole stress was on the ends and not the means. Again conflict in the approach. If the ends were right, according to them, any means could be adopted. So, because of this basically and quite apart from the economic aspect of communism which we did not mind—I mean to say we did not accept it. Of course, it is up to us whether we accept it or not. We will have our own way, but we did not react against these two things as I have said to you and basically, if I may say so, it is these two things that have continued to affect Indian opinion in India, not so much the theory of communism, if you ask me. About Marxism or communism, well, I could argue with you, if you like, and say that I do not like some parts, I like some parts. I think subsequent events proved some parts wrong as I do believe. That proved that conception wrong. But that does not worry me, let everybody experiment. What worried me, was this element of violence and this approach of the objective justifying every means.

Well, I went off in this direction merely to explain the development of our thinking here, because in a sense India was naturally influenced greatly and progressively and more and more in the thirties. For instance, in the twenties, we were tremendously influenced by the Russian Revolution as it was then growing. In the beginning of the thirties, we were influenced very much by the five year plans and all that, rapid development in the middle thirties. The purges began then in a big way and we pulled ourselves back. "What is this? We do not understand this?" And we were worried about it and, of course, War came and all that. Now, the basis of our thinking in India is naturally a development from our past experiences to some extent, not very much perhaps, but certainly to some extent. You have to go back very far indeed. After all, we are an old race, thousands of years old, and somewhere in the subconscious we carry the memory of these thousands of years and it influences our action and attitudes—they are changing attitudes, but still the old has a powerful hold for good and bad. Don't forget that, but at the moment I leave that out.

We come to this period, what might be called the Gandhian period in Indian history, that is, almost beginning about fifty years ago or less, which undoubtedly influenced India and my generation very powerfully indeed. It is this influence that has been overlaid by other influences since then. But, basically that continues very strongly. I cannot say what the next generation will be like in terms of that influence. Of course, it will be influenced somewhat, not so much perhaps. Anyhow, it is this Gandhian period that moulded the India of today, the thinking of India, the action of India, and all that. Naturally, India is a very big country and a very varied country of people. Do not imagine that I think of India as just one entity, all thinking alike, of course not. We were all moulded by the Gandhian period of thinking, in our domestic policy, in our international outlook, in the importance we attach to means and ends, to non-violence and violence. It is true that we could not do many things that Mr Gandhi would have liked us to do for a variety of reasons. Sometimes, quite frankly, we did not quite understand them, and if you do not understand something, you cannot do it. At other times, even if we understood them, it was not a question of our doing a thing but of our getting vast numbers of others to do it, the masses of India.

In a democratic apparatus of government you have to get naturally the approval, the consent, of the people, otherwise you would not be the government. You may be a leader, convinced of a certain course of action; unless you get support for that among your people, well, either you do not follow that action or you get kicked out and somebody else takes your place. There is the basic difference between political leadership—not opportunists—and the prophet, and the saint. The prophet, the saint, does something regardless of consequences and is usually stoned to death. Although he may be completely wrong or right, he is crucified, done to death, but, of course his message survives and affects people powerfully. Now a political leader, and again I am talking about a good political leader, he has always to face this difficulty: how he is ahead of his people; naturally, otherwise he is no good as a leader. He wants to drag them out of bad courses, bad habits, bad ways, whatever it is. At the same time, if he pulled too much, the thread that connects him with those people snaps. Not in democracy; in an authoritarian State he may carry on, of course. Even there he cannot go too far. But in democracy he simply goes out and it is a good thing he goes out. Sometimes his going out may itself produce an impression. But my point is that you cannot impose a particular type of thinking or action on a people, on a large mass of people, suddenly, or even in a long time, unless you train them up to it.

For the last forty years or more we have been moulded by the Gandhian teachings. I referred just now to cottage industries and the like. We do many things. Now there is no particular reason why I should go on wearing hand-spun clothes logically, except to encourage something. Except that—if I did not

have a feeling that I was rather betraying Gandhiji—there is no logic in it. Certainly the fact is good enough for me and I go on doing it. But, nevertheless, you see these ideas carry on and influence us, or action in the domestic sphere or the international sphere. Take the international sphere. Our policy is supposed to be called one of non-alignment—we are not aligned to any particular military bloc or group of nations in that way. Now, there is one basic thing that has developed in our minds in the last forty years, not to be tied with any military alliance. That is basic; not today, forty years ago. If you are interested, you can see the resolutions of the Indian National Congress for the last thirty years, when present-day problems were not there, remember, when the Second Great War had not taken place. So, you see the tremendous roots of our thinking in regard to military alliances. We are opposed to them, that is, opposed in the sense that we do not want to be in them. For others, of course, it is for them to decide.

Secondly, although we offend Gandhiji's ideas by even having an army or navy or air force, quite likely putting an end to them and to trust God and ourselves, well, no government in India that I can conceive of can do that in existing circumstances. We keep an army and a navy, not very big, but still we keep them. But, nevertheless, the idea of using the army and navy for war is hateful to us. If we are compelled, it is a different matter; but it is hateful. It is not that we are better than any other; it is dinned into our heads, the whole generation listening to it for year after year, Gandhiji and all that. There is an automatic reflex action in us against war, apart from, of course, certain basic Indian ways of thought long preceding Gandhiji which have also moulded us in that direction. I do not mean to say that we are a more peaceful nation than other countries. Certainly not. In fact, we sometimes misbehave, much too sooner become violent. But the fact remains that whether we in our individual selves or groups misbehave, our thinking has been moulded that way and at the back of our minds we do not like this and we do not believe that war, etc., is the way to solve a problem and our experience during the Gandhian movement and special conditions also convince us that big problems can be solved in a peaceful way.

Now, another aspect I should like you to consider. At the height of this Gandhian movement, when many of us were mostly in prison, or being clubbed in the streets, and beaten in the streets, or being fired at and sometimes killed in the streets, and when naturally there was tremendous excitement in India, at the height of that movement, an Englishman could walk through an Indian crowd without being touched. It was rather remarkable. That has nothing to do with the superiority of the Indian crowd, the Indian crowd is pretty bad when it loses its temper. But that is simply due to the tremendous influence of Gandhiji

telling us repeatedly, dinning it into our ears, that you must behave in a certain way, that you are not fighting the Englishman, be friendly to the English. You are fighting the British Empire in India; you are fighting an evil thing, that is, imperialism, not the Britisher, not the Englishman. I do not say that all of us understood that, but year after year of teaching did somehow make us imbibe that to some extent, and I say that you will not find an instance probably in the history of a nationalist movement anywhere when, at the height of the movement, when strong passions were excited, the representative of the ruling power could go unguarded in a crowd and nothing could happen to him.

Now, from that you can deduce how we are trained in dealing with situations and with opponents. From that you will deduce how we react to what is called a cold war. In theory I might accept the compulsion of events which drives one into war, but in theory. I reject completely the cold war, even though I accept the real war because the cold war is absolutely the wrong approach in my mind. I can understand I can be compelled to fight to defend myself. The cold war is a way, according to my thinking, which takes me away from the creation of that atmosphere which one should create even in the midst of war. I am not developing an argument. I merely want you to understand that these are basic traits in our character, moulded and developed for generations past and especially in the Gandhian period. It has nothing to do with today. We apply that today. We react today.

Then again, there are communists in our country and we have always, of course, even before the last War, taken exception to three factors. One, that they always looked abroad for guidance; secondly, that, as I have said, they attach no importance to, as far as I can see, the standard of public behaviour to which we react strongly. And we criticize them for the very thing, for what I would call a cold war outlook. Well, it is in industrial relations a cold war outlook. Now, I believe, that it is a fact that in industry often there is a conflict between the interests, let us say, of the employer and the employee. There is a class conflict, I acknowledge that. But from that I do not deduce that I should increase the class conflict, but rather that I should resolve it. The communist approach is to increase the bitterness and hatred and bring it to such a pitch that a huge conflict occurs. And what was their result? That approach is completely opposed to the approach that I would make and many other people. We acknowledge the conflict. It is there. But we rather resolve it in some other way, not by increasing it, but in other basic way. So that, if you think of these matters, it might perhaps convey to you how we have been moulded in the past, whether it is our domestic policy or international policy and thinking in the way we do. It is not a doctrinaire approach to the problem but growing into it this way.

Again, in regard to our policy in India, quite inevitably we have been forced by circumstances for the State to play an even greater part. I have not a shadow of a doubt that, forced into these circumstances, any other country would have done the same regardless of doctrinaire theories of economics and the rest. It is quite inevitable if we want growth. It is quite inevitable for the State to undertake major projects and if the State plans, it can only plan by a measure of control. Of course, the old nineteenth century idea of *laissez-faire* does not exist in the United States or in England or anywhere. Naturally, a more surprising thing, as our Finance Minister⁵ pointed out in the United States, is that there is much more public ownership in the United States than in India. People talk about what we have done here because of the certain language we use, but in fact in all the world public ownership is growing. It is quite inevitable. But here there is the additional factor that unless the State does it, and if somebody else does it, it is not likely to be done well in an unplanned way and it does not fit in with our planning.

Now, finally, I should like to tell you that we welcome your cooperation here, your assistance, your partnership in this tremendous adventure of India. For us, it is one of the greatest adventures of our lives, and for the present day generation in India. We are grateful, not only today but for the last many years, for the assistance in various ways which we have received from the United States. And, I tell you in all honesty, I don't like many of the policies of the United States in regard to various matters. But that is not an important matter. The important matter is the basic approach of one country to another. And in regard to that I am quite convinced that the basic approach of India and the United States, in spite of often hard criticism on either side, is a friendly approach. It is an appreciative approach and it is an approach with the desire to improve it—in India. I can speak for India—you can speak for the United States. Although, I might tell you and I am not merely trying to please you, the periods I have spent in the United States have not been too long, nevertheless, they have been rather intense, and every time I experienced this tremendous degree of friendliness, hospitality there. And, of course, even before I went to the United States, I have been very considerably influenced by my reading of the happenings there, by the Revolution, by the great figures of the Revolution and the dynamic quality of the American people. Because I was keen on getting the Indian people to move on here. They seem to be too passive. Therefore, American dynamism appealed to me. And I think it is important not in the present context only.

The present context will pass; but in a basic long-distance context, I think, it

5. T.T. Krishnamachari.

is important that India and the United States should understand each other, should cooperate with each other in the largest measure possible, and when I say understand each other, I do not mean, and I do not see why anybody should mean, that we should agree in everything with each other. That is not a helpful way of looking at the problem. We have different backgrounds, we are bound to come nearer to each other. The point is our approach must be friendly and understanding, and a desire to improve our relations, and the rest follows, whether one's opinion agrees or not in some matters. I think both in India and the United States they are entirely different types.

I used to think that it is curious when the British people came to India, of all the people in Europe, the British in a sense were further removed from us than almost any others, I mean to say the Germans or the French. There are certainly similarities between Germans and Indians and Frenchmen and Indians which were far lesser as between the British and the Indians. Of course, after 150 years or more of this British connection in India, well, we got to know each other fairly well. We got to know the language, literature and all that. That brought us nearer to each other. But basically the Englishman is a reserved individual who keeps aloof especially as he was in India. An Englishman used to be here in India for 30 or 40 years without having met a decent Indian all his life, or understanding more than a dozen words of our language. So you see he was a civilian, a civil officer, but had always had the feeling of being a member of an army of occupation in a hostile country, which is a correct feeling too, to some extent, and the average self-respecting Indian didn't go to him. Only two types of Indians he met. One was the subordinates, the other was the people who came to ask favours of him. So, his idea of Indians generally was that of people who were going to sell themselves for a favour. He had the lowest opinion of Indians because he never met a decent Indian.

However, I was talking about India and America. Now, Indians are coming out of their shell and that is a good thing. But for hundreds of years they developed a shell, some kind of self-protective device. I am not talking of individuals. Of course, I am talking of masses of India and all that. All this business of caste system and this and that were shells, protective devices, against adverse circumstances which they developed in a thousand years. In the early days of India, that is, a thousand or a thousand and five hundred years ago or more, Indian scholars, Indian artists spread out all over Asia. You can see the impress of India almost anywhere you may go in Asia. Whether it is Western Arab countries or Japan, or China, or Indo-China, you see the powerful impress of India there—in architecture, in language, in some customs, in dance and song and in religion, that is, the Buddhist religion. It is quite extraordinary. In Mongolia, the president of the present Mongolian Republic is called Shambhu, a

typical Indian name, an Indian word, for a thousand years or more now. Their flag is called *Swayambhu* [Soyombo], a Sanskrit word. It is quite extraordinary, and the Mongolian Republic is a Communist Republic. They have got a river, named Durga. You see it is many thousands of miles away from here and, what is more, the people there are taking pride in their Indian ancestry. Our Vice-President⁶ went there and they told him, so-and-so came 1,500 or more years ago from India, a scholar, a Buddhist scholar, and he married a Mongolian lady and started a dynasty there, the founder of modern Mongolia. You go anywhere, to Laos or Cambodia, and you hear the same story. Indians, married there and started the Khmer civilization,⁷ the wonderful Angkor Wat⁸ and all that. In fact the word is supposed to come from Khmer, a village in India, from which this gentleman went from here.

You see how adventurous and vital and dynamic the people of India were! 'Were', I said. They ceased to be that. They became static, passive, unmoving, and they developed shells round themselves. And the result was they fell in every way. Politically, they became a subject nation and all that. Now that makes coming out of it a little difficult. Remember, of course, India has changed greatly in the last few years and is changing. But, nevertheless, there is still much of the shell left. The Americans who come here, they are apt to carry their shells with them wherever they go, with the result that they are not so receptive as they should be, as anybody should be. Everybody should be receptive, and if you are not, you cannot influence the other party. It is always a two-way traffic, with individuals, with groups or with nations. If you are friendly, you evoke friendliness. If you are unfriendly, you evoke unfriendliness. It is a question of friendliness or otherwise.

It is receptiveness that I am particularly thinking of and, if I may in all modesty say something about myself, I believe I am told I have some virtues. Maybe. But I know very well that I have many failings too. But one virtue, if it is a virtue, I have and that is, receptiveness. Partly maybe it is natural, but partly deliberately cultivated; deliberately cultivated—not for the sake of other countries,

6. S. Radhakrishnan.

7. The Cambodians or Khmers established an empire roughly corresponding to modern Cambodia and Laos. The Khmer civilization was largely formed by Indian influences. Though in contact with both India and China, the Khmers favoured forms of Hinduism rather than Buddhism, which did make headway until the reign of Jayavarman VII, the founder of Angkor Wat.

8. A complex of religious buildings in Cambodia, dating from the zenith of Khmer rule in twelfth century AD. The name 'Angkor' comes from the Sanskrit word *nagara* meaning town.

but for India. I want to understand India. India is varied. If I go to a part of India, I want to feel as if I belong to that part, even though I may not understand the language well there. I go down South. But, if I am there, I want to feel that I am part of this particular area of India. The moment I feel that way, I really make them feel about myself, about what I am telling them, also that way and that is the reason to some extent why I influence people and they influence me.

It is a two-way traffic and that applies to countries also. If I went about just telling them to be good all the time, they do not react well to it. Because it just means a kind of teacher or headmaster preaching all the time. If you are convinced that what you are telling them is a final truth and the other fellow does not know, it is not well. I do not think you will get much reception for your teaching, for what you say, however convinced you might be of it. The other mind will be closed almost before you have got on with your argument. Then again the Indian outlook, more particularly the Hindu outlook is an outlook—I will use a word which is sometimes used as a term of opprobrium, but I am not using it that way—it is a pagan outlook. I am a pagan. I am happy to be a pagan. I use it in my own sense, of course, not perhaps in any other sense, that is to say, I am not vigorously aligned.

I think that there are many aspects of truth. Who am I to say that I have a monopoly of truth? I do not worship idols and other things. I think it is a primitive nonsense but, in the old days in Rome, you remember all kinds of emperor worship and all that, and gods. And the last statue in Rome was of the unknown god. They might have left him out, so nobody need worry him. In philosophy, it is an inclusive outlook, a daring but a modest outlook; at the same time, not considering anybody beyond the pale or a sinner really but all having some share or essence or whatever makes human being a human being, whether it is something divine or not.

So it is this approach that the other party may also have something of right in him that disarms opposition, not the approach that the other party is obviously in the wrong, because the other already reacts to it. So, it is more a question of this approach, receptiveness, etc., the way one does things, and actually what one does, it counts in the end.

I am afraid I have spoken far longer than I had intended.

Thank you.

(viii) Other Countries**1. The Situation in Nepal¹**

I have read this note. It is difficult to give any firm advice in the fluid situation in Nepal. The King is certainly partly responsible for this. I had hoped better results from him. If that is so, in so far as the King is concerned, then we need not be too optimistic about his role in the future.

2. However, we cannot keep away from this matter. The first question is about his desire to remove K.I. Singh.² I do not see how we can prevent this or how we can encourage it. Obviously, the way K.I. Singh is acting is likely to be dangerous to the country. I would have suggested to the King to make it perfectly clear to K.I. Singh about the way he should function or rather the way he should not function. Preferably, this should be done in writing. If K.I. Singh accepts this, then he can continue for some time till he breaks his own assurance. If he does not accept it, then the break will come soon.

3. I have suggested that it would be better for this to be done in writing. I believe in having records of such developments and these records are good from the point of view of public education also. Thus, if K.I. Singh goes, then that correspondence should be published. That will indicate where the King is and where K.I. Singh was.³

4. About the alternative to K.I. Singh, again I find it difficult to say much. If the normal Cabinet government is not feasible, then some kind of an Executive Council might become inevitable. My own impression is, after the experience of so many groups and parties in Nepal, that the Nepali Congress, bad and unreliable as it has been, is still the most important organization in the country

1. Note to Foreign Secretary, New Delhi, 1 November 1957. JN Collection.

2. Prime Minister of Nepal.

3. King Mahendra accepted K.I. Singh's resignation on 14 November and himself took over the administration. Singh's resignation was generally believed to be connected with a purge of corruption in the civil service. K.I. Singh had appointed his own nominees to senior posts and had proposed to remove a number of officials appointed by the King. He had also reportedly followed an "isolationist" foreign policy, opposed any foreign aid, including aid from India, and decided to substitute a two-year economic plan prepared by himself for a five-year plan drawn up by Indian experts.

and has some more or less reasonable elements in it. Also, they have learnt many lessons during the past few years. Therefore, even if an Executive Council is formed, the part of the Nepali Congress should be an important one.

5. To talk about having unaligned persons does not mean much to me. The unaligned persons normally are some old Ranas who are worse than the politicians.⁴

4. On 1 December, a National Council with advisory functions took office with Prince Basundhara, the King's youngest brother, as its chairman. The Council included Arun Shamshere, the King's brother-in-law, as the King's nominee.

2. The Removal of Marshal Zhukov¹

The Soviet Ambassador came to see me this afternoon. He told me that he merely wanted to see me yesterday afternoon, but as I was too busy, the interview could only take place today. What he wished to tell me had now appeared in the press. This was about Marshal Zhukov's removal.² He gave me a copy of the resolution of the Central Committee Plenary meeting which the Tass Agency had issued. I read this. The Ambassador dealt with the various points contained in this resolution, more or less repeating what it said.

2. I asked the Ambassador what the structure of the Party Committees was in the Army. Were there Committees at various grades like the Regiment, Brigade and the Full Army? His answer was not quite clear, but I gathered that there were Committees of various grades in every Ministry and Department of the Soviet Government. He said that when he was Minister of Foreign Trade, he had these Committees in his Ministry.

1. Note to Secretary General, MEA, and Foreign Secretary, New Delhi, 3 November 1957. JN Collection.
2. It was announced in Moscow on 26 October that the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR had "released Marshal Grigori Zhukov of his obligations as Minister of Defence." On 2 November, it was officially announced that he had also been dismissed from the Central Committee of the Communist Party and its Presidium for "violation of Leninist principles in the leadership of the armed forces", building round himself a "cult of personality", surrounding himself with "flatterers and sycophants," and "adventurism". Marshal Zhukov, who was Defence Minister since February 1955, was replaced by Marshal I. Malinovsky.

3. I asked him if he, as Minister, was also a member of that Committee. As far as I could understand, he was a member of some Committee, but it was not quite clear for what Party Committees he was a member then.

4. I pointed out to him that Zhukov had been elected to the Central Committee and to the top Presidium last March. Were there any complaints about him then or was this a new development? He said that the fact that he was so elected meant that there were no major complaints against him then. It was possible, however, that there were some minor complaints which grew later.

5. I asked him if the conflict had occurred because Zhukov had objected to the normal Party working in the Army or because some new innovation was being made to which Zhukov had objected. Here also the answer was not quite clear, but I gathered that there was no new innovation but rather the normal working of the Party machinery in the Army. Zhukov had progressively come in the way of this and tried to prevent its proper functioning. Hence this charge against him.

6. Also, the Ambassador said that Zhukov was more and more inclined to magnify and glorify himself as if he was the one and only great hero of the last War. There was no doubt that Zhukov was a hero of the last War and he had been awarded many distinctions including four of the highest medals. But that did not mean that there were no other heroes. There were hundreds of Marshals and senior officers, apart from millions of soldiers who had functioned heroically. It was not proper to minimize the part that these others had played and for Zhukov to develop this cult of personality.

7. Further, the Ambassador said that after all these discussions in the Central Committee Zhukov had admitted his error and confessed that he had acted wrongly. He would now be given some suitable post.

8. I pointed out to the Ambassador that it might happen that there was a conflict between two outstanding personalities in the Army or elsewhere. The conflict may be about views or about other matters. While one of them might be charged with adventurism and developing the cult of personality, it really meant the victory of another individual and indirectly, therefore, of the cult of personality in relation to that other individual. To this, all he said was that according to what Lenin had laid down it was the Party as such that should remain supreme and direct policies, etc., and not individuals.

9. The Ambassador then told me that this morning the second Soviet satellite Sputnik had been launched and it has apparently gone over 1500 kilometers from the earth's surface. This was a bigger one than the previous one and carried apparatus, etc., weighing over half a ton. Also it carried a dog. I enquired how the dog's reactions could be known. He said that they hoped to get something by the radio transmitters attached to this Sputnik.

3. To Nobusuke Kishi¹

New Delhi
November 7, 1957

My dear Prime Minister,

I hope you will forgive me for this belated letter to thank you for your great courtesy and kindness during my visit to Japan². As I have repeatedly said, I was greatly looking forward to that visit. But, the impact of Japan and her people on me was even greater than I had expected, and I shall carry that memory with me for a very long time. I have learnt much from this visit and, more particularly, I have learnt to appreciate, even more than before, the people of Japan.

To you and your Government, I am deeply grateful for your hospitality and kindness. To the people of Japan generally, I would also like to express my deepest gratitude for the affection they showed me. I realize that this was not to an individual, but to something more than that, and I earnestly trust that the relations of our two countries will ever increase in friendliness and cooperation.³

With all good wishes to you,

I am,
Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.

2. Nehru was on a visit to Japan from 4 to 13 October, 1957.

3. On 3 November, Nehru also wrote to Yushiro Harada, Liaison Secretary, Tokyo University of Foreign Studies, acknowledging his letter of 16 October. Nehru, *inter alia*, said: "I was indeed deeply moved by the welcome I received from the people in Japan. I know that this welcome was not so much personally to me but some objectives which people thought I represented. I am particularly grateful to the students of Japan for the warmth and affection of their welcome. This will remain a pleasing memory with me for a long time."

4. Indians in Kenya¹

D.C. Sharma:² Will the Prime Minister be pleased to state:

- (a) whether the Indian population in the Kenya (British Africa) are being subjected to any discrimination;
- (b) if so, the steps Government have taken to look after the interests of the Indian settlers there; and
- (c) the number of Indians in Kenya and their economic position?

Jawaharlal Nehru: (a) As far as the Government of India are aware, the only statutory disability from which Indians in Kenya suffer is that they are not allowed to own or lease land in the Highlands for agricultural and industrial purposes.

Indians in Kenya are also discriminated against, by administrative orders and practice, in certain other matters, e.g., appointment to higher posts, education, immigration, etc.

(b) In so far as the Highlands are concerned, the Government of India made representations against their exclusive reservation for Europeans, but without any result.

(c) According to the 1948 census, there were 90528 Indians in Kenya. Economically, the Indians in Kenya are well off and are mainly occupied in trade. There are also many Indian doctors, lawyers, artisans, railway workers and government employees.

1. Reply to a question in the Lok Sabha, 11 November 1957. *Lok Sabha Debates* (Second Series), Vol. VIII, cols 48-49.

2. Diwan Chand Sharma, Congress Member from Gurdaspur, Punjab.

5. Reciprocity with Singapore in regard to Citizenship¹

After I spoke to you on the telephone today, I spoke to the Home Minister. He agreed with me fully that it would be desirable to give reciprocal treatment in regard to citizenship to the Singapore Government² and that we can certainly inform them of this both orally and, more formally, in writing. He seemed to think that no major change would be necessary in the Indian Citizenship Act for this purpose and that this could be done by notification. But, if some change is necessary, this will be made. It offers no difficulty and should not come in the way of our giving an assurance straight away.

2. Later, in the evening, I met the Chief Minister of Singapore, Mr Lim Yew Hock,³ and had a brief talk with him on this subject. I told him that we were prepared to accept reciprocity in this matter. He said that if a letter to this effect was sent to him by our representative⁴ in Singapore, then his path would be easy and he would immediately take steps to facilitate Indians in Singapore registering as Singapore citizens. I told him that while my word to him was sufficient, I would have such a letter sent to him.

3. Will you please, therefore, inform our representative in Singapore immediately to send such a letter to him. It would be better if you drafted the letter and sent it to him.

1. Note to M.J. Desai, Commonwealth Secretary, MEA, New Delhi, 13 November 1957. JN Collection.
2. Of the nearly 80,000 to 100,000 persons of Indian origin in Singapore, about 15,000 to 20,000 were not eligible for citizenship of Singapore under a new clause of the Singapore Citizenship Act which barred those who were not born in the Federation of Malaya or who had not taken up citizenship of the UK and Colonies. However, such people could still register for citizenship provided they proved two years' residence immediately before the Act came into force and they belonged to one of those Commonwealth countries notified in the Singapore Gazette. Lim Yew Hock, the Singapore Chief Minister, told, M.J. Desai in New Delhi on 12 November that he was prepared to notify India as a Commonwealth country under section 8 (2) of the Singapore Act and give special facilities to Indians if the Government of India gave Singapore citizens reciprocal treatment under their Act.
3. (1914-1984); Labour leader and diplomat; President, Singapore Clerical and Administrative Workers Union, 1950; Minister of Labour and Welfare in Singapore Ministry, 1955; Chief Minister, Singapore, 1956-59; founded the Singapore People's Alliance, 1957; became a Malaysian citizen, 1964; Malaysian High Commissioner to Australia, 1964-68.
4. V.M. Madhavan Nair, Indian Commissioner in Singapore.

4. Thus, it is not necessary to wait for any further enquiry or investigation by the Home Ministry or the Law Ministry before this letter is sent. Of course, the enquiry should take place in order to make sure what steps we have to take to give effect to our assurance to the Singapore Government. You should inform our representative in Singapore also that he should explain the situation to people of Indian descent there and encourage them to become Singapore citizens.⁵

5. On 23 November 1957, India became the first Commonwealth country to recognize Singapore citizenship and accord reciprocal treatment to Singapore citizens in the matter of citizenship. This reassured the Indians in Singapore who had been reluctant to take up Singapore citizenship because of their fears that they might be barred from entering India or taking up residence in India or prevented from becoming Indian citizens again.

6. Diplomatic Representation in Hungary¹

I think we might take our time to consider this proposal.² My first reaction to it was against it for the present, as it would indicate an approval of much that was happening in Hungary. On the other hand, this may enable us to be of some service there.

As you have already mentioned the case of some of the writers to him, we should certainly await the result of this request.³ If these people are released, that would be an argument in favour of agreeing to the proposal made by the Minister of Hungary.

1. Note to S. Dutt, Foreign Secretary, 19 November 1957. JN Collection.
2. The Minister of Hungary in India, Peter Cos, had conveyed to S. Dutt his Government's request to raise the level of representation between India and Hungary to that of embassies. He spoke of great improvement in the economic conditions, and of the process of democratization in Hungary in recent months, and described the Kadar Government as the best government possible for Hungary under the conditions.
3. Dutt had expressed to the Hungarian Minister India's concern at the continued incarceration in Hungary of some well-known artists and literary figures. He particularly mentioned the names of novelist Tibor Dery, playwright Gyula Hay, poet Zoltan Zelk and journalist Tibor Tardos, whose cases were brought to Nehru's notice by the Hungarian Writers Association Abroad, and said that clemency shown to them would create a good impression on world public opinion.

I take it that even if we raise the level of representation, this will not involve any practical change.

I suggest that you might write a letter to K.P.S. Menon⁴ immediately and tell him about this approach made to us and our present reactions to it. Ask him for his opinion. It is better to write a letter than sending a telegram, which is circulated. But Shri K.P.S. Menon could send a brief telegram in reply.

4. India's Ambassador in the USSR.

7. To Ronald Macmillan Algie¹

New Delhi
23rd November 1957

My dear Minister,²

Thank you for your letter No P.M. 118/13/4/5 dated the 14th October, 1957, and for the generous allocation by your Government under the Colombo Plan of a sum of £ 800,000 towards the cost of establishing a milk scheme at Delhi, and £ 12,850 towards the cost of equipment and books for the National Dairy Research Institute, Karnal.

I am sorry for this delay in replying to you. This has been due to my anxiety to ascertain the up-to-date position from the Indian Ministries concerned so as to be able to confirm that the understanding of the Government of India in regard to the accounting and reporting procedures and purposes of the funds was the same as your own. I am glad to be able to confirm this, subject to a minor alteration which we have been obliged to make in our revised scheme which, we trust, will meet with your approval. We have suggested the replacing of the four feeder plants by 30 smaller milk collection and chilling centres. The change has been prompted by considerations of decentralizing milk procurement from the rural areas to ensure the supply of better quality of milk and closer contact with the primary producers.

Subject to this small alteration the funds provided will be utilized in the manner indicated, namely, the sum of £ 400,000 already transferred to us and the

1. File No. 31(61)/57-59-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

2. (1888-1978); Minister of Education, New Zealand, 1950-57.

additional £ 400,000 proposed to be transferred early in 1958, will both be placed in a separate account within the public accounts of the Government of India and utilized for equipping the Central Dairy at Delhi and the rural milk collection and chilling centres of the Delhi Milk Supply Scheme. Audited statements of expenditure and periodic reports on the progress of the scheme will be made available to the Government of New Zealand from time to time. Kindly rest assured that the services of Mr T.P.J. Twomey who has already joined our Food & Agriculture Ministry, will be fully utilized within the context of his appointment.

I am enclosing a short note prepared by our Food and Agriculture Ministry which will give you some idea of the progress so far made in respect of the Delhi Milk Scheme and the scheme for the establishment of the National Dairy Research Institute, Karnal.

I avail of this opportunity to convey to you our deep sense of appreciation and gratitude for the cooperation and assistance so generously being extended to my country by the Government of New Zealand.

With my best wishes,

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

8. To Kwame Nkrumah¹

New Delhi
November 28, 1957

My dear Prime Minister,²

Thank you for your letter of the 24th October, regarding your plans for establishing an External Intelligence Service for Ghana.

I have consulted our experts who have prepared a note on the subject, copy of which I enclose.

I personally feel that action on the lines indicated in the note will give the best practical results. We would be glad to loan an officer at the appropriate stage for organization and establishment of an efficient External Intelligence Service for Ghana. You would, I hope, however, appreciate that our expert should be an adviser to the officer in-charge and should not take over as the head of the new

1. JN Collection.

2. Prime Minister of Ghana.

service even temporarily.

If you approve the plan of organization and training outlined in the note, I will make necessary arrangements to send our Director³ of Intelligence Bureau to Ghana for two or three weeks to deal with the first stage of the organization outlined in the note. No financial or other terms for his brief visit need be discussed as I presume your Government will book his return passage and treat him as a guest and provide him with boarding, lodging and necessary transport facilities during his two to three weeks' stay in Ghana. We will ask our High Commissioner⁴ in Accra to discuss detailed arrangements regarding deputation of an Indian officer to act as adviser to the Chief of your External Intelligence Service when we are nearer implementation of the third stage of the scheme outlined in the note.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

3. B.N. Mullik

4. B.K. Kapur.

9. To Josip Broz Tito¹

New Delhi,
December 2, 1957

My Dear Marshal Tito²,

I thank Your Excellency most sincerely for the message you were kind enough to send me on the occasion of my birthday. I greatly appreciate your good wishes, coming as they do from a valued friend, and warmly reciprocate them. I need hardly assure you that we in India look forward to continued cooperation between our two countries not only in our mutual interests but also in the interests of world peace. I sincerely hope that your convalescence is progressing well and that you will soon be fully restored to health.

With warm personal regards to Madame Broz and yourself,

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.

2. President of the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia.

10. Cable to V.K. Krishna Menon¹

Our Ambassador² has telegraphed from Addis Ababa conveying Ethiopian request that we should support her on Ethiopian-ex-Italian Somaliland border question.³

2. Apparently two draft resolutions are being considered, one moved by UK and Italy presumably with US support and another asking for straightforward juridical determination. Ethiopia supports latter and suggests that President of India and not President of Court should name third arbitration judge. We have no information about the detailed proposals of the two drafts. Phrases like juridical determination, arbitration are so often being bandied about to cover partisan political attitudes that we have to be careful and ensure cooperation of both parties to any recommendation by UN. It is also not for us to say if President of India should appoint third arbitration judge. If Ethiopia so wishes, she can discuss this possibility with friendly delegations in New York. Ethiopian and Indian delegations are no doubt in touch with each other and you can do what appears best.

3. Greek Ambassador has again seen us and suggested that irrespective of final outcome of UN debate on Cyprus, Greek Government would appreciate any statement Delegation might make repeating support in principle of self-determination for colonies, i.e., Cyprus.

1. New Delhi, 10 December 1957. File No. 1(22)-UN-II/57, MEA. Also available in JN Collection.

2. Niranjana Singh Gill.

3. It related to Somalia's claim to the Ogaden region of Ethiopia.

11. Persian Gulf States¹

I have read the various special despatches from our Ambassador in Iran, Shri Badruddin Tyabji, as well as the notes attached. Shri Tyabji has taken great trouble over compiling these despatches and naturally they deserve attention. In particular, his notes on the Persian Gulf States (Part B to Part O of the despatches) should be helpful in clearing up India's position and attitude towards these States.²

2. I confess that I have paid little attention to the past history or the present position of these smaller States. I do not know of the material assets we had there and how our representatives are not functioning independently but have to depend on the good offices and patronage of the British authorities. What our material interests have been or are might be looked into. Also I do not like the idea of any of our representatives having to depend on the British authorities even in regard to problems concerning Indian nationals there. I am unable to suggest any particular course of action in this matter except that we might have

1. Note to Foreign Secretary, Darjeeling, 26 December 1957. JN Collection. Also available in File No. 52(17)-IA/57, Vol. I, MEA.
2. Tyabji argued that India's historical, political and economic interests in the Persian Gulf area were endangered by the coming into being of Pakistan and said that India should be more alert about the protection and furtherance of her interests in the area. He, therefore, advocated an active diplomacy to create bonds of mutual interest and confidence between India and the Trucial States and with Iran. Tyabji also pointed out that India's representatives in the area could hardly function without the good offices and patronage of the British authorities. He also stated that while India had wider political interests in the area because of the presence of her nationals there, Britain's interests were mainly economic, and there was no essential conflict between the interests of India and Britain in the area. However, according to Tyabji, Arab nationalism, if not restrained, might drive Britain to make the Persian Gulf an integral part of the British strategical defence organization linked with the Baghdad Pact. Taking these factors into consideration, Tyabji suggested that India should arrive at an understanding with Britain whereby India would give her necessary support to maintain her position by using moral influence for keeping peace in the area. According to Tyabji, this could be done by curbing extreme nationalists and exercising a restraining influence on Egypt and Saudi Arabia. S. Gopal, Director, Historical Division, MEA, in his note of 19 November 1957, stated that the "assumption that Britain needs India's goodwill to maintain her position in the Gulf and would in return oblige India to consolidate her interests at the expense of Pakistan seems a far-fetched argument." He also observed that whether India should support Britain in the region was a matter to be decided on principle and on global considerations and not on the basis of local arguments.

a scrutiny made about these matters in regard to each of these smaller States and then consider if it is possible or desirable to take any step.

3. I suppose that after Partition both India and Pakistan are in a sense successor States to both the material assets and the other aspects of this problem in these States. While India, being the continuing entity, may be said to have a greater right to continue the old relations with such changes as circumstances made necessary, the nearness of Pakistan to Western Asia gives her a greater advantage and possibly claim.

4. Even in regard to Afghanistan, we had a great argument with the British about the Legation property there. I do not remember what the result of this controversy was and what the position is now. I should like to be informed.

5. But Shri Tyabji's main argument is based on the general policy to be pursued. This raises important issues. It is perfectly true that geographically and historically India has political, strategic and economic interests in this area and any vital change there will affect these interests. This, of course, can be said with equal force about Pakistan. I agree that we should aim at having friendly contacts with these States and take every advantage of increasing our trade or other relations with them. But how this is to be done is another matter.

6. Shri Tyabji has quoted at length from past reports and despatches and shown how closely undivided India was not only connected with these States but exercised a certain political and economic influence over them. He has developed the argument that even though the British Power functioned through the Government of India, nevertheless the Government of India gradually developed an entity of its own and functioned to some extent independently of the British Power, though it had to keep in line with that Power. Therefore, now that we are free, we should carry on that independent policy and, in fact, make it much more independent. But as obviously we cannot do so wholly, we should come to some arrangement with the United Kingdom, each party recognizing the other's rights in this area.

7. This argument, though partly correct, rather ignores all that has happened in the last forty years or so, that is, since the First World War. Enormous changes have taken place since then in the balance of power, and the countries of Western Asia have been affected by these changes very greatly. The Turkish Empire is no more, and a number of independent or semi-independent States have arisen; Arab nationalism has become a strong factor; oil is the dominant motive of all powers functioning in these areas; French influence has been practically eliminated, British influence has been on the wane and American influence has increased; the Soviet Union has entered the politics and economics of this region and challenges the right of Britain or America to consider it as their own preserve. In fact, this whole region of what is called the Middle East faces today the most complicated problems and a very explosive situation.

Arguments based on what happened in the 19th Century have little force. Their chief interest is historical.

8. England built up its dominating position in these areas partly because of her desire to safeguard the routes to India, but chiefly because she was considered the first power in the world with control of the seas. At that time oil had not been discovered there. It is interesting to note that England or the Government of India functioning for England gave very small subsidies to the Trucial States. Kuwait and Katar were satisfied then if they got a few thousand dollars. Now their income from oil royalties run into hundreds of millions of dollars.

9. The basic facts during all this period of the Nineteenth Century and the post-War period were governed by the changing world position of the Great Powers functioning there. A country's diplomacy is in the final analysis governed by the power behind it. Clever diplomacy may take advantage of a position even without adequate power, but this cannot take that country very far. Today in terms of the cold war its military and financial power is what will count. England's position is definitely weak, both in the world as a whole and in the Persian Gulf, etc. She is up against Arab nationalism on the one side and the enormous power of America on the other, and behind these two lies the enormous power of the Soviet Union, which has the additional advantage of close proximity.

10. Shri Tyabji refers to the Baghdad Pact and expresses the fear that this might isolate India completely from that region. That, of course, is to some extent a fact today, but the Baghdad Pact is itself becoming rather a feeble embodiment of power. The inner contradictions of the various policies pursued there by the Great Powers are lessening the effectiveness of the Baghdad Pact. I doubt if it will last long though it may continue in form just as SEATO does.

11. We live in an age which is totally different from the Nineteenth Century. Not only have the two Great Wars brought about vast changes, but atomic energy and the newer weapons of mass slaughter have changed the context completely. We have, therefore, almost to forget what happened in the Nineteenth Century as this clouds our vision, and think rather of the position as it is today and as it is likely to be tomorrow.

12. It is not clear to me how Shri Tyabji thinks that we can increase India's influence in these areas. His main proposal is for a closer understanding between India and Britain in regard to this area. This involves first of all the basic question of the desirability of our making some such approach. Secondly, the feasibility of it. And thirdly, the manner of it. There is very little that we can offer Britain in order to gain her goodwill in this matter. The only thing we could offer is to line ourselves up to some extent with British policy there, and this means opposing the new force of Arab nationalism and thereby gaining the hostility of the Arab nations. Speaking from a strictly opportunist point of view, this would be a very

foolish policy. We would gain little and lose much. Indeed, I do not think we would gain anything at all, because England's position itself would go against her own principles and the policies we have enunciated on many occasions. We would actually lessen our influence in these areas and lose such friendship as we have today, which though vague is considerable. We could not possibly rely on British support to any extent, and to the extent it does come, it will be at the expense of the friendship of the Arab nations. However we may put it, such a policy for India would be an expansive policy, in some ways in tune with the old British policy. How we can justify it anywhere I do not know, and all the reputation we have built up about our broad policies will be shattered. Pakistan will take full advantage of this and call us imperialist, etc.

13. But how does a country carry out any policy without adequate strength behind it? Obviously, India has not that strength. We have played a big part in world affairs during the last few years chiefly because of two reasons. The principal one is that we have stood apart from imperialist rivalries, cold war, etc., and created an impression that we function differently. Secondly, because we have acted in the United Nations and elsewhere with some maturity of judgment.

14. The result is today, that whatever the Governments of these places might think or say, India is popular in all these countries of Western Asia and the Middle East. The past policy of the United Kingdom in all these areas of Western Asia has been to win over the old reactionary rulers of these countries. It is they who have come into the Baghdad Pact or like associations. It is patent that many of these rulers are not popular with their own people and England and, to some extent, America have, by their policies, lost any goodwill that they might have possessed with the peoples of these countries. For us to associate even in the vaguest form with a continuation of old policies would be unjustifiable and harmful.

15. My mind goes back to the old controversies. I remember a book which influenced me greatly about forty years ago. This was Shuster's³ *The Strangling of Persia*. It dealt with the policies of Russia and Britain then. In those days Czarist Russia was supposed to be seeking a warm water port and a naval base in the Persian Gulf. All these old controversies are dead and gone. But the Middle East region still continues to be a place of conflict. It has never really settled down since after the First World War.

16. India's broad policy I think should be to avoid any entanglement abroad. It is bad enough for us to have the hostility of Pakistan. We cannot, in the world

3. Willian Morgan Shuster, an American lawyer, was financial adviser in Iran, 1911-12.

today, isolate ourselves from big problems, more especially if they affect us. Nevertheless, we should try not to be entangled and to build up our own economic strength.

17. As a consequence of this approach, it follows that we must be very careful in our dealings in the Middle East. Any aggressive step may well lead to all kinds of unfortunate consequences for us. Our present policy broadly is friendship with all these countries, but with special stress on Egypt and Syria chiefly because they are more in line with our policy of non-alignment. We are entirely opposed to the Baghdad Pact. We think that the problems of the Middle East cannot be solved without the Soviet Union being consulted and brought into the picture and further we think that the Great Powers should keep away from the Middle East. If that is so, how can we suggest stepping in?

18. Today it is oil that counts, and I do not understand what Shri Tyabji thinks we can do about oil in the Middle East. We have been considering this oil question intimately for the last two years. We have just avoided coming into conflict with the major oil combines which are more powerful than most nations, but we have been pulling away from them. How can any brave political approach put us into the oil picture in the Middle East?

19. But in regard to our material assets in this area and the status and position of our representatives, we should make further enquiries, and we should always realize that this area is of high importance to us and, therefore, we should keep wide awake and not allow anything to happen there which may take us unawares.

20. I am enclosing an extra copy of this note. You may send this to Shri Tyabji.

IV. INTERNATIONAL FORUMS

1. To Anil Mukherjee¹

New Delhi

November 1, 1957

Dear Anil Mukherjee,²

Your letter of the 30th October which I have read with interest. The subjects you raise can hardly be dealt with briefly.

2. The first item in your programme of life is that life is central in the universe. That is so. But what exactly does it lead us to? I cannot talk about the universe because that is too big and I know nothing about it. But life, as we know it, in some degree or other, appears to exist everywhere. Anyhow this does not help us in framing any programme. But it does and should help us to respect life.

3. Your Item No. 2, that the United Nations should establish a vast international programme. To some extent the United Nations has tried to do so. It should certainly go much further. The difficulty arises, however, as to who should control this. The United Nations itself being full of political conflicts, any programme that it undertakes gets the reflection of these political conflicts. As a matter of fact, many countries have suggested the starting of a special fund, called the SUNFED (Special United Nations Fund for Economic Development).³ But it has not gone very far yet, as some major countries oppose it.

4. I agree that such a programme should be non-political.

5. If such a fund is properly organized, all countries may contribute to it, but it is patent that the poorer and undeveloped countries will have to get much more than they contribute.

6. This is all very vague, although what is said is correct.

7. It is easy to draw up programmes, but the real difficulty comes in the spirit behind the programme. The world is so rancid with fear and hatred and

1. JN Collection.

2. Secretary, Bengal Youth Conference.

3. The proposed Fund was aimed at providing aid to underdeveloped countries. For Nehru's views on the desirability of setting up the SUNFED, see *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 32, p. 479 and pp. 515-516, and Vol. 34, p. 256, p. 280 and p. 306.

conflict that it is difficult to do anything on a big cooperative scale till that fear is removed and a spirit of cooperation takes its place.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

2. To Lord Mountbatten¹

New Delhi
November 1, 1957

My dear Dickie,

I have just received your letter of the 29th October. Thank you for it.

You are completely wrong in thinking that John² and Patricia's³ visit to us was in any sense a burden. It was certainly unfortunate for John to get the flu immediately on arrival here⁴ or, rather, he brought it with him probably from England. The misfortune was his, not mine. We loved having them here, and I was only sorry that most of his time was spent in bed.

Your letter to John has been forwarded to him to the Mysore address he gave us. I hope he is still there and that it will reach him.

Towards the end of my stay in Japan, I indulged in an unusual extravagance. I developed some temperature. It was not much, but it was a nuisance because I had a heavy programme. I went through that programme, holding the temperature in check. Then, I spent two days in Hong Kong, which were partly restful, though not entirely so. The slight temperature did not leave me even on my return to Delhi for some days. Ultimately, I triumphed without giving in to it.

1. JN Collection.

2. Lord John Brabourne (1924-2005); television and film producer; captain in British army, 1943; married Patricia Mountbatten, 1946; Fellow, British Film Institute, 1979; Pro-Chancellor, University of Kent, 1993-1999; produced films: *Murder on the Orient Express*, *Death on the Nile*, *A Passage to India*, *Othello*, *Romeo and Juliet*.

3. Patricia Mountbatten (b.1924); elder daughter of Lord Mountbatten; joined Women's Royal Naval Service, 1943; served in Supreme Allied Headquarters, South-East Asia, 1945; married John Brabourne, 1946; Deputy Lieutenant for the County of Kent, 1973; Colonel-in-Chief of Princess Patricia's Canadian Light Infantry, 1974; survived IRA attack on Mountbatten family, 1979; Member, House of Lords, 1979-99.

4. John Brabourne was in India in connection with the shooting of a film.

I am sorry to learn that Edwina has had some trouble with a tooth. I am going to suggest to her some simple devices which I have found very useful, not only for the teeth, but in many other ways.

We are having the International Red Cross Conference here now,⁵ and Delhi is full of Red Cross people. Among them is General Gruenther.⁶ I had him to dinner two days ago. I like him. Of course, you had already made me feel a little partial to him. He spoke to me about you and Edwina.

The Red Cross Conference has not escaped the cold war, and a very curious situation has arisen about China. The People's Government of China had joined the Red Cross and was, naturally, invited as such. They sent their representatives. Many months ago, the Red Cross executive had decided also to invite the Formosa Government, describing it as the Government of Formosa. They could hardly invite two Republics of China. The Formosa Government refused to come under this designation. Meanwhile, the People's Government registered a strong protest that Formosa had been invited under any name, and that this was a subversive attempt to bring about recognition of two Chinas.⁷ This was, of course, entirely a matter for the Red Cross organization, and not for the Government of India as such.

Just before the Red Cross Conference met, the American State Department came into the picture and insisted that a proper invitation should be sent to Formosa under their regular title, the Republic of China. They brought a good deal of pressure to bear upon various delegations. The Red Cross executive, however, stuck to its previous decision and said that Formosa could come as Formosa and as nothing else. The Chairman of the executive, however, (he is a Frenchman) rather went beyond his powers and sent a private and personal telegram to the Formosa people, asking them to come as the Republic of China. The People's Government took the strongest objection to this, and the Red Cross executive also privately expressed their displeasure at the action of their Chairman.

5. The 19th International Red Cross Conference was held in New Delhi from 28 October to 7 November 1957. It was attended by about 400 delegates from 83 countries and observers from various international organizations.

6. Alfred Maxilian Gruenther (1899-1983); American military general and Red Cross functionary; deputy to General Eisenhower during the Second World War; nicknamed "the Brain" for his impressive memory and analytical skills; Chief of Staff to Eisenhower, 1950; Commander, Supreme Headquarters, Allied Powers, Europe, 1953-56; President, American Red Cross, 1957-64;

7. See also *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 39, pp. 700-701.

SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

Meanwhile, the Formosa people have arrived here. But, as there is no full session of the Conference at present, and only Committees are meeting, they have to remain in their hotels waiting for the psychological moment. The Americans are pressing for a special session which they could attend. The Red Cross executive have not agreed. On Tuesday next, there is going to be a full session and then, no doubt, we will have a bit of a row in the Conference. I do not quite know what the outcome of it will be. Most delegations want to get out of this trouble by suggesting that the matter be referred for future consideration of the Red Cross executive.⁸

One of the delegates to the Red Cross Conference was the son of the President⁹ of Panama. He arrived without a yellow fever certificate and was, consequently, detained at the airport. He was given the choice of going back to Panama or entering a hospital here for a certain period. He was rather angry and, at first, decided to go back. Then, no doubt being affected by the Indian atmosphere, he threatened to go on hunger-strike. However, ultimately he agreed to go to the hospital for a number of days. I think the period expired today and, possibly, he is out of it now.

Yours,
Jawaharlal

8. On the concluding day of the Conference, the adoption of a US resolution urging the immediate admission of the delegates from Taipeh as the representatives of the Republic of China set in motion a series of withdrawals from the Conference led by Communist China. The delegation of the hosts, the Red Cross Society of India, also withdrew. The Indian Government delegation, however, stayed on. Health Minister D.P. Karmarkar explained that while the Government of India had every sympathy with the attitude taken up by the Indian Red Cross, it was not their practice to withdraw from any conference when decisions distasteful to them were taken.

9. Ernesto de la Guardia Navarro.

3. Labour Relations in Asian Countries¹

Mr Chairman,² Mr Director-General³ and delegates,

I am honoured by your invitation to inaugurate this conference. The Chairman of the Governing Body referred to my having done so ten years ago.⁴ These ten years have been rather full years for our country and they have witnessed many changes, not only in our country but all over the world even. I do not know exactly how to place the important work that you are doing in this context of world changes, because it seems to me that whatever work we may do in whatever sphere of activity in the world today, it cannot be isolated from these great changes and upheavals, if I may use the word, that are taking place in the mind of man and in technological progress and the consequences of that.

This great Organization has lasted many, many years.⁵ It found new life after the last War and the formation of the United Nations, and I believe it laid down another kind of charter for itself in the declaration of Philadelphia⁶ and stated in noble language what it stood for. Since then it has sought the welfare of labour, though I do not quite know how you confine the ranks of labour—in a true world everybody should be labour and everybody should be a producer and a consumer. However, as things are, you have tried to deal with them in a cooperative manner and I do not think there is any other satisfactory way of dealing with them. There are, as the world is today, inevitably conflicts of interest—conflicts of interests between groups and classes and sometimes between countries; and we see great disparities. The Director-General in his report has drawn special attention to the fact that these gaps, these disparities,

1. Inaugural address at the Asian Regional Conference of the International Labour Organization (ILO), New Delhi, 13 November 1957. JN Papers, NMML.

2. Emilio Calderon Puig, Chairman of the Governing Body of the ILO.

3. David A. Morse, Director-General of the ILO, 1948-1970.

4. For Nehru's inaugural speech at the Asian Regional Conference of the ILO at New Delhi on 27 October 1947, See *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 4, pp. 550-553.

5. The ILO was established in 1919 as a tripartite organization of governments, employers and workers for international action to improve labour conditions, raise living standards, and promote economic and social stability. Initially associated with the League of Nations as an autonomous institution, the ILO was in 1946 recognized as a specialized agency of the UNO.

6. The Charter passed at the ILO conference in Philadelphia on 10 May 1944 reaffirmed the fundamental principles of the ILO, stipulating that "labour is not a commodity, that freedoms of expression and association are essential to sustained progress, that poverty anywhere constitutes a danger to prosperity everywhere...."

between the well-being of people in different nations, instead of lessening are actually growing. We see there, as elsewhere, the fact that, unto those that have, even more shall be given, and from those that have not, what they have shall be taken away. It is a problem even within a country, even within India. There is a tendency for the relatively advanced areas to advance more swiftly and the relatively more backward areas to advance more slowly.

How to lessen this gap and at the same time not to crush the creative spirit of man, the dynamic spirit of man, is a problem. We, of course, wish to lessen that gap, because apart from other reasons there can be no help in the world unless this is done. In the old days, that is, generations ago, countries were more or less isolated, in thinking at any rate, and different societies lived their different lives without worrying too much about what was happening elsewhere. Now, that is no longer possible, and we have to face the fact that today in many of the so-called economically backward countries political revolutions have taken place bringing freedom, independence, political consciousness and political demands, and thereby creating a continuing ferment, and rightly so, because when people become aware of it they want their condition changed.

So you get this political revolution, but the economic revolution takes a much longer time in coming. There is a gap between the political revolution, which has come, and the economic revolution, which ought to take place to fulfil the needs of the political revolution. In Western countries, the economic revolution in effect laid the grounds for political advance and created the resources for it. The two revolutions went on more or less hand in hand. We have this tremendous difficulty that, without having created adequate resources through an economic revolution, we have to face the demands of a successful political revolution. This applies not only to us in India, but by and large to many countries of the East which are economically underdeveloped. In India and in the nearby countries of Asia or in Africa, we are trying to catch up and to enter into the industrial revolution and get the advantages which accrue from it, at a moment when the old style industrial revolution is itself being left behind by tremendous advances. The result is that we have to face this problem in a variety of ways, and that a number of revolutionary aspects of it come before us simultaneously.

Looking at India—I can only speak of India but I think that what I say applies to many other countries in Asia which are similarly situated in the sense that they have gained independence recently and are struggling for economic betterment. What is its primary problem? Obviously, the primary problem is to satisfy the primary needs of the people. It is no good our talking about big things when the primary needs of the people are not satisfied in every country. The first things are food, clothing, housing and the like—education, health, work and so on. We struggle for these primary needs. You may say, broadly

speaking, that the primary needs of people in the greater part of Europe or in the United States are satisfied. Therefore, they look ahead to the next stages and, even if there are conflicts, they are about the next stages. Here, there is no next stage until we satisfy those primary needs, which cannot be ignored as might have been done a hundred years ago, because a political revolution has taken place and has made all those people who are quiescent or static very much alive and politically conscious. All these problems and difficulties face us at a time when the atomic age, or possibly—I do not know—the interplanetary age, is upon us.

I do not presume to suggest an answer to these problems, but the more I think of them the more I feel that I can perhaps suggest a negative answer. This answer is that most of our old ways of thinking are no good today. I say, with all respect to traditions because I do respect them, that we cannot continue in the same ruts. I have a feeling sometimes, as regards economists and other leaders in various departments of society, that events have gone ahead of their thinking. They still think in the terms employed by the last or even earlier generations, while the very basis of their thinking is changing.

It is quite extraordinary how the mind of man, which itself creates and discovers and changes the world, is sometimes so backward that it cannot catch up with its own creations and remains attached to old notions. Curiously enough, that applies perhaps more even to those who consider themselves the revolutionary elements in society, because a revolutionary often becomes terribly rigid in his thinking. In fact, he does not think at all. He shouts, and a person who shouts too much does not think. So, he becomes very conservative, he just repeats his slogans and thinks he is doing the thinking while the world is changing.

Therefore, in a changing world like this, it does not help very much just to repeat old lessons or old slogans or to label yourself a conservative or a revolutionary or anything. What are required are new appraisals, new thinking. But whatever the new appraisal or the new thinking may be, the fact remains that we can and must aim at the raising of the masses of the people of this world.

I was once asked, I think, in London, "What problems have you got in India?" I said, "370 million problems" because each individual is a problem. It is not a mere statistical number that we are dealing with or a census number, but a human being who is a problem to us in the sense that we have to see that he can live, and that he has the opportunity to live his own life. It may be that in my generation we cannot fulfil that demand, because it is not an easy matter to raise 370 million people, but the fact remains that there is an individual problem for each individual. I think it helps one to keep that in mind. People talk about the

masses or about classes, and all these words have meaning no doubt, but I prefer to think, as far as possible, in terms of human beings and individuals—even if there are 370 million of them. I get more living touch with them and more understanding of them if I think of them in this way, and not with the statistician's or economist's way of approach, which is very helpful no doubt but sometimes lacks the human quality.

So, how do we approach these problems? Obviously, we must be fairly clear about our social ideals, there must be clear thinking in regard to the social approach to these problems. In India, we are very much concerned with increasing our production, because unless we produce wealth we shall not have any means for the betterment of man. But in the production of wealth we can never forget the social or the human aspect of the process; even if we should forget, conditions will remind us, because the people are politically conscious and will not put up with many things that they might have put up with in the past. In saying that it is necessary to be clear about our social ideals, I am not talking about a particular structure of society, but of basic needs.

I feel that these needs may be divided in two parts: the material part, which means giving the material opportunities of decent life to people, again food, clothing, housing, health, education, work; and the non-material part—I do not know what word to use for this second part, you may call it the moral aspect or the spiritual aspect, used not in any narrow sense. Obviously, a human being is something much more than a person who has only to eat and drink and live in a house. If we do not satisfy that other urge, then not only is it not good for him but it is not good for society. This applies more especially when human beings as a whole are getting this tremendous power from nature. We are getting more and more powerful and perhaps less and less worthy of using that power, so that the social aims and goals must be non-material as well as material: the forming of character and the developing of the human personality in freedom and self-discipline.

There is also the question of what broad approach should be adopted in dealing with any problem. I do not presume to advise you about the very difficult problems that face you. But my own experience in India in the last forty years or so, and especially the privilege that some of us had of working with Mr Gandhi, opened up certain avenues of thought to us which I should like to share with you.

Mr Gandhi was not a passive man, he was an active man. He was a crusader; he was a man perhaps more vital than anyone I have known. He was a very frail individual, but with a mind and will of iron, never giving in on anything that he considered a principle and yet always accommodating about other matters. But the main thing that we learned from him was first of all not to get entangled in

old phrases and mantras, as we call them in our own language, and forget to think; and above all that, whatever one tries to do, one should always remember that if the means which one employs are wrong, the ends will inevitably be wrong—the objectives will not be reached.

In the world today, the objectives are loudly proclaimed. Demands are made with great vigour but enough attention is seldom paid to considering whether the objective will be reached, with the result that one does not reach it or one is diverted. I believe that many of our difficulties in this world are due to the fact that we do not think clearly enough about the means. If we think of them, we usually think in terms of applying pressure, often violent pressure, the coercive apparatus of a group, of a class, of a nation, in trying to get certain things done that way. This succeeds to some extent, of course. The policeman is the coercive apparatus of the State. We have to employ him, of course, because we are not yet grown up enough today to do without police.

But when one deals with large sections of humanity, the coercive apparatus does not take one very far and it brings about a reaction on the other side which tries to coerce also. This applies to groups, to classes as well as to nations. One nation tries to coerce another and the other nation reacts in kind, unless it is so very weak that it cannot attempt to coerce. How can one get out of that vicious circle? It is useless to attempt to force down the throats of others things which they are equally determined not to accept. That applies, as I said, to the international sphere as well as to the national and domestic sphere, and that is where the question arises of the means one employs. One cannot and should not submit to something which one considers to be inherently evil. Of course, this does not mean that everything we dislike is evil. We dislike many things, but we should draw the line between something we merely dislike and something we consider fundamentally evil. But how do we combat evil? By evil methods? Then we really have surrendered to evil. So the means become very important, whether in international relations or in national or labour and industrial relations.

I have believed, and I still believe, that, things being as they are in the world, labour has the right to strike, to defend itself. Reading the history of labour movements for the last 150 years, and of their gradual growth and their sufferings in the early days of the industrial revolution—how slowly, out of infinite suffering, they built up their unions—I have great admiration for those earlier generations of people who, through this tremendous agony, gradually acquired strength from united action. I have no doubt that united action, and this unity among industrial workers, has been and is important. I should not like to come in its way at all and I should not like in principle to come in the way of their striking. But, in practice, I think the world has changed now and to talk of strikes and

lockouts today is not to be in tune with the world as it is.

It is quite absurd, when we are talking about increasing production and the need to increase production, to waste our energy in industrial conflicts. It is patently bad for the very persons who want to better their condition. They have got into the wrong habit of thinking that this is the only way of getting on, and, by the repetition of some slogans which may have had some relevance a generation ago but have very little relevance today, they confuse themselves and get into wrong activities. Therefore, obviously, we should try to find a way which avoids these conflicts.

I think we have to recognize that the interests of one class may be opposed to the interests of another. It is patently wrong to try to resolve anything by increasing these conflicts, as apparently some people think should be done—to increase them to a level so that they destroy each other or some new structure takes place. So that, while recognizing conflicts in the present organization of society, one should deal with them not, if I may say so, in the uncivilized way of conflict but in some more civilized way, and that is for you to discover. But I think one fact should be understood, which is that, while labour has every right, on matters of principle, etc., to take united action and even to strike, it must be realized that every strike is a blow not only at the opponent but at itself. This applies also in a much greater measure to management.

We have, therefore, to seek some approach which is not one of bitterness and hatred and of conflict but a cooperative approach. Unless one thinks of industry in all fields in future as a cooperative enterprise, there is not much hope of great progress because there will be conflicts all the time.

How this cooperative enterprise is to develop is a matter for experts in this field to consider. But the whole approach has to be on a cooperative basis, that is, whatever the grade of a person employed in industry, he must look upon himself as a partner in a great undertaking whose benefit lies in the success of the undertaking. You can put it in a bigger way and think of the nation. If more production takes place, both the nation and the individual are benefited. This brings us back to means and ends. What means are we to employ? If the means are good, probably the results will be good and will lead in the right direction. But if we are constantly in conflict, then even though our methods may be of the best and our objective is good, the ends will not perhaps be achieved. Then again, in these conflicts between labour and management or capital, very often the poor consumer is quite forgotten as if he did not exist at all, which I think is odd and unfortunate.

In thinking how to develop these relations, whether we deal with private capital or whether the State itself owns and runs the industry, I do not myself see any easy way out except the association of the workers more and more

with the conduct of industry so as to give them a sense of partnership, a sense of having something of their own and of not being outside people coming for a mere wage. I feel that if they have that sense of partnership, then conflicts will naturally be avoided and other ways will be found to solve any difficulties that arise.

All this should be seen in the context of this tremendous revolutionary age, where we are launching out on interplanetary spaces. Unfortunately, even as we record this great triumph of the human mind and human technology, we do it with fear and trembling and in conflict with each other. It is a terrible outlook. All the pride in human progress is dampened because of this human failing, because of fear, apprehension and conflict, and progress itself becomes a threat. I do not know how in any department of human life we can prosper or advance unless we can get rid of this overwhelming fear that shadows us and the world. There can be no doubt whatever that people in every country—I might say almost all people in every country—desire peace. There can be no progress without it and there is utter disaster in war. That is acknowledged. And yet in acknowledging it, the normal logical consequences do not flow, that is, the taking of steps to put an end to this atmosphere, this tension and cold war. It is very odd because all of one's logical reason points in one direction and yet one cannot succeed in getting there because of certain barriers—very solid barriers.

Even though everybody—or almost everybody—in the wide world may want peace, one cannot rule out the act of a mad man or a super-excited individual who may do something which just upsets the present appletart and sets in motion forces which suddenly lead to war. When you live in an atmosphere of cold war, of hatred, suspicion, fear, apprehension and, above all, thinking that the other party should not get away with it, then some fool or some knave or some excited individual, even apart from governments, might do something which will appear to the other side to be aggression or a move which has to be countered, and step by step you may suddenly land yourselves irretrievably in that terrible conflict. How is one to escape that? You cannot escape it if you live in an atmosphere of constant fear, apprehension and cold war. This risk is always there. The only way to escape it is to try to get out of this coldwar atmosphere so that even an act of a mad man will not suddenly upset the world.

I mention this though it is not, of course, a question which this conference is going to consider, but today most of us who think have a feeling of living, shall I say, in a haunted house or in a haunted world. These ghosts of fears and apprehensions pursue us and prevent us from acquiring a measure of serenity of thinking, of calmness in consideration of problems, and a tolerance of what other people say. Our minds become closed through fear and apprehension. Meanwhile, the power of humanity grows, and it is just at the moment when

that very power gives us the assurance of progress in material well-being all over the world—almost, you might say, for the first time in history we have that assurance that we can do things quickly in a big way and bring a measure of happiness and prosperity to all the people of the world—that we drift away from this and play about with policies which may end in total disaster. It is a curious state of affairs and we cannot do much about it at such conferences, but I would still beg of you to keep it in mind, because whatever you do is governed ultimately by the atmosphere prevailing in your country or in the world. Each country seeks resources to better the conditions of its people. Some fortunate countries have far greater resources than others. But what a tremendous part of these resources of the world go today into armaments! If one-tenth of that was used in raising the material standards of the people, it would obviously make a very great difference. Nobody would deny that, and yet we come up against these ghosts and, unless we somehow get out of this feeling of being haunted and of these ghosts pursuing us all the time, I do not see how we can make very much progress in any direction, because all that progress is likely to be undermined.

I have presumed to place some odd ideas before you for your consideration. We in India are busy, very busy, trying to meet the problems here. They are difficult problems, as you know, and they are not perhaps very dissimilar to the problems of other countries in Asia so that we can perhaps learn from each other. The virtue of such a conference as this is that it enables us perhaps to learn from each other's successes and failures. The last ten years have been for us, if I may say so with all modesty, years of considerable achievement. They have also been years of frequent disappointment and of lack of achievement, because we have aimed high. We want to aim high and I do not think it is any good trying to go ahead thinking of an inch or a yard at a time. The times are out of joint and you are not going to join them together by this progress by inches when the flood pursues you, whether the flood is an increasing population or social demand. You have got to keep that in view. We have worked here with successes and with failures and no doubt we shall have successes and failures again in the future, but we shall continue to do our utmost. Naturally, we seek the help and understanding of others. We offer such understanding and help as we can give to others, but in the final analysis it is clear that each country has to shoulder most of its own burdens because psychologically that is necessary.

In the final analysis it is the human being that counts—that individual whom you wish to grow in freedom and creative spirit and at the same time in material prosperity. Even the imposition of good things is not good enough if it is an imposition and if it does not come through the labour of that community or that nation. So we work here, we seek your cooperation and friendship and we are determined to carry on to the best of our ability. Why are we so determined?

Because there is no escape from it, but also because all our previous thinking has made us so determined.

We asked for the independence of India, and even then independence was just a facet of our problem to us. When Independence came there was no time for us to rest on our laurels. Immediately we realized that a longer and more difficult struggle was before us and we engaged ourselves in it. We are now facing some of the major difficulties which occur when an underdeveloped country has to get over the hump which prevents it from going ahead. I think we shall go ahead and we shall cross that hump. I think so, ultimately, not so much because of the statisticians and others but because of my knowledge of the Indian people and my faith in my countrymen. You know that they have borne heavy burdens and we have not shrunk from putting heavier burdens on them, because of this determination of ours to make good and to go towards a good life for our people—not for a group, not for a class, but for every individual.

My leader, Mr Gandhi, once said that his mission was to wipe every tear from every eye. That was a tremendous mission and I do not know if anybody, even the greatest, can do that. But it is a noble mission and a mission which leads us away from thinking of conflict and causing so many tears to flow. As Buddha said: "More tears have fallen from human eyes than the waters of the seven oceans". That has been the fate of humanity in the past, the enormous suffering of large masses of human beings through the ages. Are we to add to that suffering through conflict, through war, through policies, and add to it at a time when we have it in our power to put an end to it and at least materially, and I hope spiritually, to raise humanity to even higher levels? It is an extraordinary position to face. Therefore, I hope that the way in which you will consider these problems will be in the spirit of this new age we live in, in order to get out of the old conflicts and to realize that it is within our power to solve them for the benefit of humanity.

May I welcome you most cordially on behalf of my Government to this city of Delhi and may I hope that your labours will lead to international avenues opening out for the betterment of our peoples.

4. To S.N. Haji¹

New Delhi
November 14, 1957

Dear Shri Haji,²

I am sorry for the delay in answering your letter of October 17, 1957.

I have given thought to this matter and consulted some of my colleagues also. To begin with, I might say that the idea of holding an Asian-African Economic Conference seems to me rather odd from the economic point of view. In your memorandum you refer to the Bandung Conference.³ At that conference the question of economic cooperation between these various countries in Asia and Africa was discussed by a Committee and then more fully in the Conference itself. The more we discussed it the more it was felt that there were considerable difficulties in the way. The area is a vast one and most countries included in that area have little in common on the economic plane, except that most of them are rather undeveloped and some are very backward. How exactly do we cooperate on this economic plane? It was to some extent conceivable that a group of nations geographically so situated as to be able to have some measure of economic cooperation, could meet. Even that produced difficulties and ultimately it was decided that we should put up no formal committee for the purpose but should try to maintain contacts on this subject. Various attempts were made to this end by our Government without much result. In fact, we hardly got a response at all from some countries.

On the political level, as the Bandung Conference then showed, there are a number of points of contact. In the main, these are rather negative and we can express our opinions against certain political policies of other countries. Even on that political plane, there have been numerous developments since the Bandung Conference which have tended to break up the measure of unity that was achieved at Bandung. A number of Asian-African countries are ranged politically against other such countries. Even in relatively small groups, like the Arab countries there is a definite cleavage. This extends even to North Africa. When, therefore, the question arose about holding a second session of the Bandung Conference,

1. JN Collection. Also available in T.T. Krishnamachari Papers, NMML.

2. Chairman, All India Manufacturers' Organization, 1956-58.

3. An Asian-African conference was held at Bandung, Indonesia, from 18 to 24 April 1955.

It was attended by 29 nations.

a number of countries who sponsored the original Bandung Conference felt that the time was not appropriate for a second conference of that type.⁴ Such a conference might indeed lead to an exhibition of our differences rather than a consolidation of the measure of unity achieved at the first conference. No decision, therefore, could be arrived at in regard to the second conference and all that we could say was that while such a conference was desirable, the question of holding it should be considered in the future.

On the economic plane, these difficulties are even more obvious. Apart from those which came up before us at Bandung, new developments have taken place which have rather accentuated them. A number of these Asian-African countries are very closely allied to certain Western powers in a military sense. In the same way, some others are allied to the so-called Communist countries, also in a military sense. These alliances extend to the economic sphere, and a number of countries in Asia have received very considerable help from non-Asian and non-African countries.

Recently, the crisis in the West of Asia and in what is called the Middle-Eastern region also brought out these differences and conflicts, which subsist even now. It is not clear to me, therefore, how your proposal to hold an Asian-African Economic Conference can be considered worthwhile or indeed feasible in the near future. Such a conference, if held, will probably assume a political colour and bring out these political conflicts. In effect, it will probably become rather a propagandist conference than one in which economic issues are discussed and cooperative measures worked out.

Recently, Japan has proposed an Asian Development Fund.⁵ It is by no means clear to me yet what exactly the significance of this is. I can mention many other such subjects which will create difficulties and conflicts and, in effect, inject the "cold war" into our relations with each other. There is Pakistan, of course, which follows politically and otherwise a policy which is entirely opposed

4. For Nehru's views, expressed in December 1955, on the suggestions of the Prime Ministers of Sri Lanka and Indonesia regarding the possibility of holding the next conference of the Asian-African countries, see *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 31, pp. 416-417.
5. During his visits to India, Pakistan and Sri Lanka in May 1957, Japanese Prime Minister Nobosuke Kishi had discussed with the leaders of these countries his proposal for an Asian Development Fund. The Fund, to be created by contributions from member-nations of the Colombo Plan, would be used to provide capital in the form of long-term interest loans, and would be devoted solely to promoting the economic development of Asian countries. For discussions between Nehru and Kishi on this matter during Kishi's visit to New Delhi, and during Nehru's visit to Tokyo in October 1957, see *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 39, p. 567 and p. 597 respectively.

in many ways to our policies, and there are certain allies of Pakistan in this matter.

I have indicated to you some of the difficulties which make me hesitate in this matter. Obviously, we as a Government have to deal with Governments, and a private or a non-official conference, if it is associated with us in any way, might well prove very embarrassing to our Government as well as to some other Governments. Among the questions before us would be naturally the development of this vast area. Nearly all the countries concerned are countries clamouring for development and help. Who is to help them? We cannot assume any further burdens, and yet the tendency would be to cast some burdens on India. We are interested in stabilization of commodity prices. How exactly do we proceed in this matter in a varied and vast area? The fact is that economically speaking there is not much in common between, let us say, West Africa and India and South-East Asia. Recently there has been a development known as the European Common Market.⁶ That again is not very much to our liking, but some countries may approve of it.

Because of all these reasons, we do not like the idea of any such conference in the near future. Of course, the All India Manufacturers' Organization can, if it so chooses, have such a conference. The question we have to consider is how we can be associated with it, and I have pointed out to you the difficulties in regard to our association.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

6. See *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 38, p. 632.

5. To Lord Home¹

New Delhi

28 November 1957

My dear Secretary of State,²

Thank you for your letter of 19th September. I very much regret not replying to it earlier due to other preoccupations.

I have considered the suggestions made in your letter in consultation with my colleagues. We regret that we are not able to suggest a suitable Indian who might be available to take over as Chairman of the Commonwealth Economic Committee. While I agree that a one-year term will not be suitable, as pointed out in your letter, I presume that the tenure of the Chairman will be about three years or so. We might be able to suggest a suitable Indian to succeed the first Chairman when the latter's tenure is over. I hope the Prime Minister of Canada³ who took so much interest in Commonwealth Economic Cooperation has suggested a suitable person.

I also agree that the salary and other expenses of the Chairman should be shared between all Commonwealth Governments as in the case of Commonwealth Economic Committee, particularly because the appointment of a permanent Chairman does not change the functions of the Committee which, as you have stated, are collecting, arranging and disseminating economic facts, the Committee being in no way concerned with policy.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.

2. Lord Home, formerly Alexander Frederick Douglas-Home, was Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations, UK, 1955-60.

3. John George Diefenbaker, Prime Minister of Canada, 1957-63.

6. Commonwealth and Peaceful Coexistence¹

Mr President, Mr Chairman, distinguished delegates,

On behalf of the Government of India I offer you a respectful welcome to this city of Delhi and to our country, India. It is a big satisfaction to us that many of you should have come here across the seven seas, from the five continents of the world, and gathered here to discuss various subjects in the context of the Commonwealth.²

What purpose does this gathering serve? What indeed is the purpose now at present of the Commonwealth? It is not an easy question to answer, and perhaps the answer that many people may give will not be the same. But the fact remains that all these varied people, in various continents, different in so many ways, different in religion, in ways of living, in the shade of colour of their countenance, meet together, confer together and have some kind of a link, which is the Commonwealth link. Is this merely a survival or a continuance by sheer habit of something that was, or is it something with real content in it, which serves the purpose of today and possibly tomorrow? I suppose that the mere fact that we meet together, not only here in this Conference, but from time to time, at the meetings of the Prime Ministers of the Commonwealth countries, itself indicates that there is a content in this Commonwealth link and that it serves some useful purpose. What is there common between all of us? It is said that all of us have a method of democratic functioning of parliamentary institutions. That is true, and that is a strong factor bringing us together, and making us think in certain common lines. And yet there are many differences in policy, in ways of thinking, in approaching domestic as well as international problems. So while there is a good deal in common, there is also a good deal not in common. And yet we meet, and yet we discuss, and even though we differ sometimes amongst ourselves, perhaps strongly, and even though we have problems amongst ourselves, apart from the problems from the way we look at the problems of the world, still we meet and discuss in a friendly way, trying to find a way of cooperation and frequently finding one. Even when we do not find that way of cooperation in any matter, still holding together and not trying to exaggerate the differences, but rather to lay the emphasis on the points

1. Speech at the inauguration of the Commonwealth Parliamentary Conference, New Delhi, 2 December 1957. AIR tapes and JN Supplementary Papers, NMML. President Rajendra Prasad inaugurated the Conference.
2. Nearly 100 delegates from 49 branches of the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association and one of the associate groups of the Association (representing the US Congress) attended the nine-day Conference.

of unity.

How then does this measure of common outlook as well as uncommon and different outlook—how can they pull together and for how long? I should say that when we talk of democracy we can say very much, and the word democracy is used now in such a variety of ways that almost it might be said to have lost all meaning. Everyone talks about democracy. The democracy of which some people talk may be entirely devoid of any kind of freedom, individual or social or any other. Yet people talk of democracy. And yet, in spite of that common misuse of the term, I suppose, there is such a thing as the temper of democracy, the temper of individuals and groups meeting each other, facing each other, conferring with each other, and not refusing to meet to discuss. It is the temper of peaceful discussion. It is the temper of arriving at decisions after peaceful discussion which are adhered to and acted upon even by those who disagree. It is the way of the majority functioning certainly, but it is a way of the majority functioning tempered by the minority and taking into consideration the feelings of the minority. It is the way of showing consideration to each other, even though we may differ from each other. Whether that is a correct definition of democracy, I do not know but, I should imagine, that is an essential feature of democracy, as indeed it is an essential feature of civilized living. Because the moment the normal restraints of civilization go, we leave civilization for another path. The restraint in behaviour towards one's neighbour, consideration of the neighbour, is a badge of civilization.

So, democracy begins to have a larger content. Do we possess that? In the world today, it is not for me to say but there are blanks and there are many things happening in the world which are a strange negation of democracy. It is not merely the setting up of some institutions which function in a parliamentary way, important as that is. But something more important should be the content of those institutions. Well, the Commonwealth represents, I hope, not only those democratic institutions but, in a considerable measure, the content of democracy. But we have to face tremendous strains all the time. In the past we have faced them and we have survived them as a Commonwealth. We may have to face them in the future. Because the world is full of strains and troubles and conflicts and it is not an easy matter to maintain the temper of democracy, when these strains assault us from all sides, accompanied by fear and apprehension.

Democracy, in other words, is peaceful coexistence, not only between those who are like each other, but also between those who are unlike each other. It is easy to coexist when you like each other. It involves no problem, no effort. But when you differ in opinion, in ways of life, even in objectives, and yet forbear and try to understand the other, that is peaceful coexistence.

And what strikes me about the Commonwealth is not so much the points of

likeness—which are many, of course, otherwise we would not be together—but rather the points of difference which have not been allowed to come in the way of our meeting, conferring, consulting and cooperating with each other in a large measure. And if that is good for the Commonwealth, it should be good for others also, for the larger sphere of the world, for the other countries where there are so many differences and which find it difficult to reconcile with each other.

So, I welcome you, distinguished delegates, from all these countries. You have travelled so far to meet here in this old and yet new city of Delhi, which, if you are so advised, can take you back to almost any kind of age in the past. For we today in Delhi, in India, represent almost every century simultaneously. You will find something two thousand years old here, a thousand years old, five hundred years old, you will find also something of today and you will also find, I hope, something of tomorrow and the day after. For, after all, even though we may have our roots in the distant past and have been conditioned by it, as all of you, I hope, have been conditioned by your past, we have to live today and face today's problems. But in facing today's problems, we have to think of our tomorrows also. And we have to think that even though we may differ in so many ways, we have to cooperate and keep together. On what basis?

Democracy, I suppose, denotes, in some measure, the conception of equality, equal opportunity, and not an individual, being inherently better, or not better, therefore, to be automatically given special privileges. People, of course, differ. Some may be better than others, some are abler than others; I am not referring to that; but equality of opportunity should be given to all—equality of opportunity to countries, to races, to individuals, to groups. And so long as that is not there, there is bound to be trouble. There is trouble today, inherent trouble, because a large part of the world is poverty-stricken, undernourished, underdeveloped and something has to be done to meet that. And there are so many other differences creeping in. We have to try to minimize these differences, whatever they may be, and not to exaggerate them, not to lay stress on them, so that we may gradually make everyone feel that there is really such a thing as equality of man, whatever region of the world or race or creed he might belong to. Then only will there be true democracy in our thinking which will live, and not merely in certain forms and institutions.

I welcome you again, distinguished delegates, and I hope that your labours will help in the development of this temper of democracy, not only among the groups that we all represent, but in the wide world.³

3. Nehru again addressed the conference on 10 December 1957. See *ante*, pp. 525-537.

1. Interview with Albert Henrik Mohn¹

Albert Henrik Mohn:² Your Excellency, what issue or context is the main problem of today.

Jawaharlal Nehru: To improve the condition of 370 million people, that is to say, the problem must be viewed in that context, or as I could at some time, we have got 370 million problems in this country, not one. If we plan for economic betterment, it is keeping this vast population in view, so that we can raise their standard of living, of all of them, not of a particular group at the top. The whole Five Year Plan is based on that, and that involves naturally industrial growth, but we also realize that the fundamental fact is that India's agricultural production is going up, in fact industrial growth really is based on our agricultural growth, so both have to go together and together with them are so many other aspects of growth, so that you might say the principal problem is the economic advancement of the country, bringing higher standards to millions of our people.

AHM: In which sector of the Plan would a reduction be most harmful?

JN: Well, certain sectors of planning of course means an integrated plan, and not odd things taken up and if in one sector we cannot fulfil our task, it really affects other sectors too. Let us say, if we have to lower our coal production, it affects production elsewhere, so they are interrelated and if there is any major reduction somewhere, it means a corresponding reduction in other sectors too. But of course, there are some things which can, to some extent, stand apart and so we refer to what we call the hard core of the Plan and the rest, which is not the hard core. We want the hard core as far as possible not to be affected. Although the hard core really is something which will not immediately bring results. It will bring results tomorrow. Our hard core is iron and steel, electric power, transport, communications and coal, because all these are basic to development. Then there is an entirely different aspect of our Five Year Plan, that is the community development in rural areas, to which we attach the greatest importance and we don't want that to suffer and I hope it would not suffer, because it does not involve foreign exchange.

AHM: If India is not able to mobilize the necessary capital to carry on the

1. New Delhi, 3 November 1957. AIR tapes, NMML.

2. (1918-1999); Norwegian journalist; author of *Kongo Kallar (Congo is calling)*, *Fremmede Ubater, Terroristene: Roman, Kampen Om Israel*.

impressive economic developments according to the Plan, do you foresee important political changes in your country?

JN: Well, that question can be put to any country in the world, that is to say, about the possibility of future political changes. Because we live in an extraordinary age of tremendous technological advance and scientific changes, in fact, the biggest revolution is taking place in the world today because of all this, and I have no doubt that that affects the social structure, the economic structure and the political structure. People talk so much in terms of communism and anti-communism, that they have lost sight of the fact that both those talks are completely out of date, both the communist talk and anti-communist talk. Of course there is some, I do not say that they have no meaning, they have some meaning, but what I mean is that they are out of date today; other things are happening, putting all this rather behind the current of history. I have no doubt that changes not only in India but in the world will take place, because of these tremendous scientific advances, provided the world survives and it does not commit suicide by wars and the like. But coming to the narrower issue of India, I do not envisage any major political changes here. There may be shifts of policy, which naturally take place in a dynamic economy, depending on various factors, but if your question means that are we going to give up our democratic structure, I do not think there is the least chance in the world of our doing so.

AHM: Has the recent debate on Kashmir in the United Nations Organization raised your hope about a settlement of this dispute?

JN: No, the debate, of course, is going on and I do not quite know what final shape it may take or what resolution may be put forward, but I must say that many of the speeches delivered there have been disappointing, because they go on ignoring the basic issue. It is no good telling us that we will not consider the basic issue, because it is old. The delay in settling the Kashmir problem is because the basic issue of aggression by Pakistan and the accession of Kashmir to India have been by-passed and ignored. Now we are all for settlement, but settlement can only take place when reality is faced and facts are accepted and on the basis of those facts we have to settle, but if we are asked to shut our eyes to basic facts, then I do not see how you come near a settlement.

AHM: What is your long term policy regarding Kashmir?

JN: Kashmir is a part of the Union of India and so there is no separate policy in regard to Kashmir except that Kashmir is an autonomous part. It has a great deal of autonomy, it has a government of its own, and like the rest of India, they

have to fight on the economic front to raise the standards of their people.

AHM: Would you be kind enough, your Excellency, to sum up your point of view regarding Goa?

JN: Yes, if you look at the map of India, you will see that Goa is a small part, small enclave on the western coast. If you look at the history of India, you will find that some hundreds of years ago all kinds of invasions took place of India because of various factors, the Portuguese came, the Dutch came, the French came, the British came. Ultimately, the British were dominant in India having pushed out all their rivals but agreeing to small enclaves remaining with the French and with Portuguese. They remained, of course, on the goodwill of the United Kingdom because otherwise they could not have remained here and they made no difference to them.

So far as we were concerned, that is, the people of India, we were not too much concerned with what might be called the British part of India and the French part and the Portuguese part. We were concerned with the British part because it was the biggest, but for us India was India whatever some foreign power may like to call it and India could not cease to be India, because some foreign power gave it a different label. So in our fight for freedom we naturally looked upon what was called French India and Portuguese India as all territory to become part of free India, just as we looked upon all the old Indian States, the big States and the small States, and you will remember that there were five or six hundred States in India. We thought they must become part of India in free India and they did. Then, having done that, we thought of what is called French India and Portuguese India and we thought that it was inevitable that they should become part, and we wanted this to happen peacefully, cooperatively. We thought that when Britain had withdrawn her empire from India, when British imperialism had come to terms with us, when the camel had been swallowed, we did not see how anybody could stick at a knot or the tail of the camel or something.

To our great surprise this happened. We were completely taken aback by this. However we could talk to the French, we did talk, it took years, and the French are reasonable people. Ultimately, they talked logically and we came to a friendly agreement—it took some time, but it was a friendly agreement—and now we have the French parts more or less incorporated with the rest of India. But of our own accord and very willingly, we are trying to make Pondicherry, the old French enclave, as a centre of French culture, which brings us nearer to France than a little bit of French territory here under French domination creating conflict.

Now the Portuguese have not been reasonable at all. In fact, they have been

exceedingly unreasonable and it is almost impossible to talk to people who live in some past century. They talk about 16th century or 17th century. I am afraid, although we are a very old nation, we still think in terms of the 20th century in India, and we think it is fantastic that the Portuguese Government should pass some law and say that Goa has become part of Portugal. They might soon say, Moon has become part of Portugal! By their law it does not happen. Goa is a part of India geographically, historically and culturally. Then there is a question of religion, there are millions and millions of Christians in India, millions and millions of Roman Catholics in India, outside Goa, I mean. They are part of our economy, part of our country, and as free as others. So there is no question of Goa being a Christian stronghold resisting the heathen east or something. Apart from that, even in Goa, Christians are in a minority, non-Christians are in a majority. Not that it makes any difference, but I may tell you, the language in Goa is one of the Indian languages. Portuguese may be talked by perhaps one per cent of the population and 99 per cent are others. In fact, Goa has no foreign population except some soldiers and administrators and the like, all the rest are Indians, tied by cultural relations, trade relations and every kind of historical relations with the rest of India. It is a fantastic situation.

We have no quarrel with Portugal as such. We will gladly be as friends of Portugal and decide this question cooperatively and in a friendly manner as we did with France. But we can never accept the fact of foreign dominion on a bit of the territory of India. But, as you know, we have declared that we shall solve this in a peaceful way. In spite of great agitation in India, we have followed that policy, and we have followed it in spite of great provocation from Portugal. In Goa, there is absolutely no freedom of any kind of expression of anything. In Goa, even now when we have stopped people from doing anything there, there are hundreds and hundreds of prisoners lying in prisons and the state of the prisons, from the accounts that we receive, is very bad. It really is a black spot in India, this Portuguese administration of Goa, and it will remain a kind of a sore till this question is solved. Let the Portuguese, I invite them, let them give full opportunities of expression of views, let them not run a police state and then see what the people of Goa say. Why do they shut their mouths, tie their hands and feet and then say Goa is with us. That is an absurd argument. But what I am most concerned with is the way the people of Goa are treated now in prison and outside.

AHM: Thank you very much, your excellency. Thank you.

JN: Thank you.

2. Press Conference¹

Jawaharlal Nehru: We better start off with some questions.

Question: What do you think of the latest move to send Dr Graham without the original stings in the resolution? You might have seen the latest resolution drafted by Sweden.²

JN: I have not seen it. As I was coming in here somebody said it has come and I saw a brief telegram. I have not grasped what it is. If Dr Graham comes here, naturally he is welcome—but we are not prepared to discuss with him or anyone else in continuation of old discussions of several years ago about the quantum of forces and various other things like that. That has been made perfectly clear. Our position has been stated with force and clarity by Mr Krishna Menon in his recent speeches before the Security Council. We stand by that position.

Q: You have referred to Mr Menon's speech. You knew the fact that there has been recently a lot of attacks on him not only abroad but even in the country. Would you make this clear? What he spoke on November 18³ represents our policy?

JN: I do not know. I am not aware of any attacks on him in our country about the attitude he has taken up. Yes, there have been criticism of him about certain remarks he made which is a different matter. He made certain remarks for which he apologized and which I regret. He made them no doubt, I suppose, under great strain with which he has been working there but that has nothing to do with the argument in the case which he put with great force and ability there. I do not think anybody has criticized that argument which is India's argument, not his as an individual.

Q: Would you subscribe to the view that the Kashmir problem has now ceased to be an Indo-Pakistan problem? It has become an absolute shuttle cock in world politics today, absolutely cold war.

1. New Delhi, 28 November 1957. File No. 43(73)/56-58-PMS. Reported in leading newspapers on 29 November 1957.

2. See *ante*, pp. 497-498.

3. See *ante*, p. 493.

JN: That has been the progressive tendency for a number of years and undoubtedly at present it is much more so than in the past.

Q: What is our objective in Kashmir?

JN: The objective in Kashmir is stated in various ways. The immediate objective is that Pakistan should vacate Kashmir.

Q: In Tokyo you said something in private, something in public and you also referred to international gangsterism. What is the implication of it?

JN: The last word “international gangsterism”, this I think I am supposed to have said in Japan. I hesitate to say so but the fact is it has been somewhat distorted in the way it is reported. But what I said was that there has been international gangsterism in Kashmir, that is Pakistan’s. That is what I said. I said this, unfortunately, is supported by some people, by some nations. I did not accuse other countries of this. I said the act of Pakistan and the methods adopted are those of international gangsterism and I regret that some countries support them or at least try to hush them up or cover them up.⁴

Q: Do you think those who support gangsterism are themselves gangsters?

JN: No, no.

Q: What has been the reason for this second response so quickly?

JN: I may tell you, the reason is I try to keep my promise I made last time.⁵ I do think that it is rather absurd, my meeting you once in six months or one year; it is better for me to meet you more frequently. I said that last time and about ten days ago I suggested to Mr Haksar⁶ to fix it up. He found a suitable date. I am going away tomorrow to Kanpur and Poona. After that I will be tied up with the Commonwealth Conference again, I thought I will not be able to deal with this. So we fixed this before I get tied up in all these engagements.

Q: Mr Menon said that we should keep an open mind on the suggestions concerning reference of matters regarding Kashmir to the World Court. Would

4. Nehru used this phrase at a press conference in Tokyo on 7 November 1957. See *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 39, p. 569.

5. On 21 October 1957. See *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 39, p. 763.

6. P.N. Haksar, Director, External Publicity Division, MEA.

you tell us whether you are prepared to refer the question to the World Court?

JN: As far as I remember, Mr Menon has said that we don't rule out a reference to the World Court. We are prepared to consider it but if you ask me to say precisely "yes" or "no", I must have the precise reference. Broadly speaking, I do not oppose it but it is very important what you refer and how you refer.

Q: Regarding your visit to Pratapgarh there have been a lot of controversial reports about some writing of yours in respect of Shivaji as a historical figure and the opposition of Mr Dange.⁷ Would you clarify this?

JN: The day after tomorrow I shall be in Poona and I am going to a place called Pratapgarh to unveil a statue of Shivaji. Now, criticism has been made and I believe some gentlemen wish to demonstrate there against my going there for reasons best known to them. But one of the reasons is that I have written in criticism of Shivaji in a book I wrote.⁸ I wrote the book a quarter of a century ago and suddenly for people to wake up to the fact that I wrote a book 25 years ago is rather odd. As a matter of fact what I wrote in the book about Shivaji then was of course in high praise. He has been a splendid figure in India's history but it is true that I wrote some things there in ignorance—I had not studied that particular period—and my attention was drawn to this 20 years ago and I had it taken out of the book then. In the next edition I said—I consulted my books—"Yes, quite right, I have misrepresented that aspect, I regret." I was brought up in Indian history by reading books on history by English people and I was misled by this. When I read a little more I got a truer perspective and that was that. As corrected in my old book there are still one or two words which people do dislike. A phrase may be good, happy or unhappy, doesn't matter. For a discussion, for me to be told to justify them or others to say that I am wrong, I am quite prepared to be convinced. But I must say, broadly speaking, this approach to any question, historical question, is not a very good approach, because we do not like, that is to say, that approach comes in the way of historians trying to find out the truth. That is what I mean. Everybody knows how deeply many of us have respected Mahatma Gandhi. We have put up with very strong criticisms of Mahatma Gandhi by people in India and abroad, not criticisms only but condemnation, we put up with even when they hurt

7. For S.A. Dange's opposition to Nehru's proposed visit to Pratapgarh, see *ante*, pp. 366-367.

8. See *ante*, p. 360.

because we believe everybody is allowed to say what he does.

But as you have referred to Pratapgarh, may I say that over a year ago, about 15 or 16 months ago, I was invited not by the Bombay Government—but I was invited by a Committee to unveil the statue of Shivaji, the Committee which had sponsored and put up the statue. I accepted that invitation 15 or 16 months ago but the date had to be fixed and then there was some talk of my doing it when I went to Poona at the time of the general elections. But I felt that was not the right time, I did not want to mix it with the election work and I might have been rightly criticized. So I said that it might be done at some other time. Since then I have been busy. It has absolutely no relation to any current politics or past politics. It is just a tribute of the Committee and a tribute on my part to this very great man of India. I have been dragged into politics and people say I am going to exploit this unveiling of the statue, to exploit it in favour of the bilingual State of Bombay. My going there is no argument in favour of a bilingual State nor would the reverse have been an argument for anything else. I deeply regret that in this way politics are brought into our activities, other normal activities and the atmosphere is vitiated by cries which rouse tension and hatred and all that.

Q: But in view of the agitation, do you intend changing the relevant portions?

JN: I am not changing anything but, I told you, in my second edition, which appeared before the War, in the thirties, I did take out a sentence or two when my attention was drawn to it. When I consulted authorities—it was a wrong sentence, and I took it out.

Q: What is your reaction to the judgement of the International Court of Justice on Portugal's case?

JN: Surely you do not expect me to discuss judgements of the International Court of Justice. You will see, out of the six preliminary objections, they have rejected, by majority, four, and two still remain and they propose to deal with them together with the final decision. That is the position.

Q: While speaking to TCM Conference⁹ you offered some comments on Indian reactions or your reactions to developments in Soviet Union since the

9. For Nehru's speech at the conference of US Technical Cooperation Mission personnel in India on 20 November 1957, see *ante*, pp. 644-660.

Communist Revolution. I wonder if you have to offer more comments in view of the subsequent developments—after Stalin.

Q: There was the recent Moscow Declaration of the Communist Parties that socialism should be achieved by peaceful means and their call to the Communist Parties of all capitalistic countries to achieve their goal through peaceful methods and cooperation of other parties. What is your reaction?

JN: That is too big a subject for me to deal with in answer to a question. But what I said to the TCM people was—I laid stress on our early reactions to the Russian Revolution which were broadly very favourable. But there are two things about it—remember I am going back to the early twenties—that we were then involved deeply in Mr Gandhi's peaceful revolution in India or his technique and we were conceited enough to think that we were adopting far better methods than anybody else, including those who brought about the revolution in Russia. We were not judging Russia; we were judging ourselves that we were doing the right thing here. That is to say, while at that time we welcomed the Russian Revolution, we were full of our own revolution to think too much about it and because we had been attempting all the time to function on the peaceful plane we did not like, as I said, the violence—I am not talking about the original violence but the continuing violence which we saw there. That is the main point I made. My point was this that we have never been as such anti-communist. We have been anti-violence, we are anti-many things. But if it is a peaceful approach that in theory we discuss. That is my whole point. We may not agree with communism, that is a different matter; we do not, it is a different matter. But it is one thing not to agree with the proposition and another thing to become "anti" and violently opposed to it on another plane. All my stress was that all these things should be considered on the peaceful plane.

Q: In the Foodgrains Inquiry Committee report, cooperative farming is suggested with a view to increase food production. What about it?

JN: I have not quite finished my reading of that report. That question really does not arise in that context. I think that in the conditions of India, that is to say, conditions where the average holding is a very small holding, one acre, less than one acre, acre and a quarter, there can be no progress, no agricultural progress, if those poor farmers have to spend for themselves even for help from outside. They are too small to make any progress. Even if they have a good harvest, they simply struggle for existence. Now there are only two approaches apart from the approach of taking away people from the land and to industries. The

other approach is their fending together, their cooperating together and thereby getting some advantages which individual farmers cannot get. There are various stages of cooperation. There is what might be called service cooperation, cooperation in various types of services, and then there is the joint farming. Now, thus far, the only cooperation we know, practically speaking, is credit cooperatives which are useful but which do not go far. It is essential. The next stage is to have service cooperatives. What does that mean? Service in many ways, supply of seed, fertilizers, supply of equipment, marketing and a dozen other things which help the farmer and which condition him, accustom him, to cooperating together. After that would come the stage, according to me, of joint farming. As we have to do all these things with the consent of the farmers, we cannot impose it by law on them. They have to agree to that. Therefore, we have to go step by step and prove by demonstration that the step is a good one and beneficial to them. That is the way of approach. It is a terrific thing—convincing a vast number of farmers, it is a big enough step. Even now we are quite prepared where farmers are willing to have cooperative farming. In fact we have suggested that in the *gramdan* villages of Vinobaji where you get a clean slate but always with the agreement of the people concerned.

Q: Who is to be the agent for bringing about these cooperatives, because in China it was the Government....

JN: In China they have gone much further. There are collectives. You must distinguish between the collective and cooperative farming. There is a definite, very precise difference. The Chinese went for cooperatives. Then, next stage, they took to collectives. We have no collectives in view. I cannot speak of the distant future but it is for the people and farmers of India to decide. We have no such thing in view but we have in view joint farming. I can't say what will be an adequate size of this joint farming. Broadly speaking, a village or two small villages together, that is, relatively small size because I think that the essence of the cooperative system is, well, partly not too much of officialdom about it, not to officialize it from above. We have done that in the past, it is not good enough. People should become self-reliant, people should rely on themselves to do things. If you have a very big cooperative, people don't know each other, the villagers live in their shells and don't come out. I believe, therefore, in the cooperative unit being as a rule a small one, a village, two villages, three villages near each other, where people know each other and can work together as a large family. You might say there are snags in these matters. Then the next step should be for the small cooperatives to form unions of larger cooperatives for certain purposes. A small cooperative may not be big enough or not have resources enough; the

big union will. That is the broad approach to this problem.

Q: For this joint farming or cooperative farming, do you envisage any legislation, Central or State?

JN: Legislation in regard to cooperatives, of course, will be passed from time to time presumably by the different States. The old Act dealing with cooperatives is very out-of-date; anyhow it is a bad Act and it is too official.¹⁰ Nothing happens except when the official does it. I myself, in spite of my being Prime Minister, tried to encourage some cooperatives being formed; but it took me years to get them started, because the Registrar of Cooperatives would go on putting most amazing questions which it is very difficult to answer. This is not the way to have cooperatives, every obstruction put in the way of Government. If I can't get it done, you can imagine what anybody else or a poor peasant could do. It took me eight months to get it through. This is in Punjab, a corner of the Punjab near Delhi. The old approach, the old laws are defective, out-of-date. They have to be changed.

Q: In the light of the latest assessment of the Community Development Administration Programme, are we expecting any substantial changes in administration?

JN: You refer to here, Delhi or the States or...

Q: The report of the Balwantray Committee.

JN: You people seem to have a lot of leisure to read the reports as soon as they come out.

Q: Do you think the present emphasis on food production will slow down the progress of land reforms under a cooperative one?

JN: If you remember, even in the Second Five Year Plan Report, certain proposals were made about the ceilings and this and that. Even there it is said that where it

10. The Cooperatives Act of 1904, covering credit cooperatives, was replaced by the Cooperatives Act of 1912 covering various types of cooperatives. It also empowered the provinces to enact their own laws in the regard to cooperatives. In 1942, the Government introduced the Multi-Unit Cooperative Society Act to cover cooperatives that had members in more than one province.

is quite clear that a certain farm was producing at a much higher rate, then we should not touch it. Everything was conditioned by the fact that food production should not be impeded. You read the report. How it has worked out, it is a different matter. You have to see things. I am quite sure that many land reforms would increase food production, some may not temporarily. It is a matter to be seen to.

Q: The Finance Minister said in Parliament last week that it will not be possible for the Government to adhere to all the plans....Do you think that the country....

JN: It is clear that insofar as our internal resources are concerned, we can make a fairly good estimate of them and go ahead. Insofar as external resources are concerned, we can partly make a good guess. We know. But there is an element of uncertainty as to whether the external resources will be more even than that or less. It is obvious, one knows that. Because of that element of uncertainty one cannot be quite sure as to how many other things we can do. We are pretty sure as to things that we are going, anyhow, to do with the resources that we see in view. It is quite clear more or less but the additional things which we want very much to do also will depend on additional resources and that gradually will clear up I suppose. I do not know but I hope by the time of the budget, the situation may be clearer which won't be absolutely clear in the nature of things.

Q: Last time you laid stress on the physical aspect of the Plan but less stress on the financial aspect.

JN: I really don't understand this supposed conflict between the physical aspect and the financial aspect. A plan must be based on physical aspects and must be conditioned by financial aspects. The basis can never be financial because in a plan—it is not a plan for the financiers but it is a plan for the millions of people and their needs—you have to consider what they want, what they work, it has to be a physical basis. But the physical basis cannot outrun the financial resources. They are both essential. If it is purely financial, it is an airy plan which has no relation to facts. If it is purely physical, it breaks down because it has no financial resources.

Q: The burning of copies of Constitution by the Kazhagam followers¹¹ is not only a legal issue but a moral one too?

11. See *ante*, pp. 387-388.

JN: Naturally, the Government of India—whatever list it might fall in, State or other—is intensely interested in this matter. I have no doubt that the Madras State Government will deal with it adequately and no need will arise for them to ask for any Government of India help; if need arises the help is there in full measure. What worries me is not so much the acts, the very foolish acts of some individuals, but rather the passive approval of them by some others who know better. What is this that is happening in Madras? It is a return to barbarism. It is not politics. It is a barbarism of thinking and even more so of acting and no civilized community is going to tolerate this, whatever the consequences. It amazes me that there should be people in a State like Madras which is in many ways the most intellectual State of India, intellectually advanced, there should be people living still in some primitive barbarous age so far as their minds are concerned.

Q: Will you please comment on the disarmament problem in the United Nations especially with reference to the USSR's suggestion for expansion of the Committee?

JN: Last night, thinking to some extent about this press conference, I thought of making some kind of an appeal, something relating to this question, and I wrote something down. Presently I propose to read it out to you and to give you copies of it too.¹² It is quite impossible really for me to discuss these detailed proposals coming on disarmament. One has to follow them very closely and I do not think this kind of legal quibbling will lead us anywhere. It is a different mental approach that is required, an approach which realizes the enormity of this problem, an approach which is not conditioned by the cold war and fear and all that. It is not a question of finding a phrase or a suitable paragraph which people agree to. The mind has to change, the mental approach, or else there would be no mind left to think about these problems.

Q: There has been lot of criticism about the community development movement in the country. Would you like to say whether you have thought of any measure which is more effective?

JN: I think that—I have said so before—the community development movement in India is for the biggest and the most revolutionary thing that is happening in

12. It was an appeal to the leaders of the USA and the USSR for disarmament and stopping of nuclear test explosions. It was read out by Nehru at the end of the press conference. For full text of the statement, see *ante*, pp. 593-594.

SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

India. It is happening on such a big scale that you can find everything in it—many many points to criticize, some to condemn and many points to praise and commend and everything. By and large, I think it has worked remarkably well. The tasks we have set now are food production and small cottage industries and, of course, the background always is self-help of the people there. One thing in regard to which we are not satisfied is that there is still a little more of the official aspect in it and a little less of the voluntary aspect in it than we would like. So we want more and more people's participation in it. It is coming. In some place it is very good, in others it is not. It depends on so many factors. So we would like that aspect.

Q: It is felt in some quarters that the money spent on the Ministry of Community Development is waste.

JN: I think that since this Ministry was formed, a very great advance has been made in this work and many fifth and sixth wheels have been removed.

Q: May I ask whether this idea of bilingual State has come to stay in Bombay?

JN: Presumably it has. It is there. I cannot obviously lay down the law for future generations. How can I? Parliament has come to a decision. It is for Parliament to adhere to it or change it. So far as I am concerned I accept things as they are.

Q: Next week in New Delhi the Commonwealth Parliamentary Conference opens. Could we know why you think it is important? What is the significance you attach to it and how much it is a parliamentary one?

JN: You want me to tell you what kind of speech I am going to deliver there.¹³

Q: Two months ago this foreign exchange crisis was discovered, and Mr Vellodi made speeches saying that we shall now concentrate more on such programmes as education, community development programme, etc. Have the targets for these been raised or some other efforts are being made.

13. See *ante*, pp. 694-696.

JN: Mr Vellodi, the Cabinet Secretary? I do not know what he said. It is completely right that we should lay the greatest stress on education, etc., but that does not mean more money to be provided. We should like to provide more money, of course, but our providing money is conditioned by the money available. I think that people think far too much in terms of money, whether it is on the international scale or the national or the state or anything. Money is an essential commodity. Money is infinitely less than life and human labour. I am convinced of that and I think that something has gone wrong about India at present. We think too much in terms of money assistance, while not utilizing what we have got even in terms of money. Somehow I do not understand this. We know some States have asked for money, let us say, for agriculture and they have not utilized the money available to them for it. Is it not extraordinary? It is the habit of asking like *Oliver Twist* or whoever it was for more and more. If you examine our figures, the money provided has not always been spent. Why? Because spending requires a certain apparatus to spend, a certain will to spend, not throw it away, but spend it profitably. Care is not taken to build up that apparatus adequately and one thinks that if more money comes more will be done automatically. While money is, of course, necessary, our thinking has to be somewhat different. Take food production. Naturally, it is possible to throw more money and get results out of it but I am quite convinced that without spending much money but with a better use of our available resources, we can produce fairly adequate results, better organization and all that.

Q: Do you think that greater emphasis on priorities and targets would help?

JN: I suppose clarity always helps. You see how things are tied up. You may decide on having or not having, let us say, a cement factory. You may give it some priority although even a cement factory you cannot consider in the air. But if you want an iron and steel plant, if you put up any plant, you want transport for raw material to come, for goods to go out. You have to think immediately of railways or other means of transport. If you want to have immediately railway, you have to think of coal, enough coal, you have to think of power. These things are so interrelated that if one goes ahead and the other falls back, it throws back the others. These are problems which every country which has planned has had to face. If you go slowly in the course of generations, adaptations are made; if you go fast then normal adaptation has no time to function. You go ahead in one direction and the other thing is left behind. Therefore, it becomes essential to Plan.

Q: There is a feeling that there is not much scope for self-help.

JN: I know when people talk about the core of the Plan, obviously they have been talking of the core in terms of foreign exchange. Remember this has been the context, foreign exchange. For instance the core of the Plan in terms of foreign exchange does not include at all community development and yet I say community development is more important than the whole core of the Plan. I am interested in the human beings in India, in the 300,000 villages in India, and I don't care if in the ultimate analysis—the conflict does not arise—all the factories go to pieces provided human beings can stand up. That is the rhetorical way of putting it. It does not mean anything of course. It means the emphasis and the stress on the human being. Therefore, when you talk about this core of the Plan, remember in what context it is used. It is used in the context of the factories, big plants or big schemes requiring money and foreign exchange that we have in view. Of those we have to stick to some. We cannot leave them high and dry but there is so much else which is not directly related to finance or certainly foreign exchange which is at least as important if not more important than the core of the Plan. Community development and all that goes with it requires no foreign exchange, practically none.

Suppose we have to get fertilizers from abroad. We want fertilizers. The country has become fertilizer-conscious and there are demands for fertilizers from all over the country. We produce a good deal. It is not enough. If we want to get more, immediately the question of foreign exchange comes and it comes in our way. We shall be able to get them. Again, if you ask the community development people to lay much greater stress on the green manure, on compost and all that and more self-help, not that we are against fertilizers but we have not got enough of it.

Q: Is it not a fact that even this core of the Plan in regard to foreign exchange is also very much concerned with human beings because the foreign exchange involves employment of 12 million people, unemployed people.

JN: The whole Plan, whether it is the core or the outer surface of it, is concerned with human beings in India, doesn't concern anybody else. It is obvious it is concerned with more wealth production and all that. That is obvious. The whole planning means that we should proceed laying down firm foundations for this growth and if we do not get enough resources naturally the Plan suffers. We have to do something else.

Q: Don't you think land reforms will speed food production?

JN: I agree with you that land reforms of a certain type should be speeded up and the chief reason being that a certain feeling of uncertainty in the mind of the farmer comes in the way of his functioning with his full strength. He does not know what changes might take place. Better finalize this.

Q: The trouble with us is the increase in population. Something should be done.

JN: That is true and therefore something we have been doing, that is, family planning and birth control should be done with greater vigour.

Q: Recently you said that we should concentrate on the irrigated area so that the production can be increased per acre in that area by using improved seeds and fertilizers. I find it difficult to get the information about the quantities of improved seeds we have. That is kept secret.

JN: There is nothing secret about it. I could not give you the quantities certainly but it is perfectly true that what I said was that instead of vaguely talking about the whole of India we should concentrate on the roughly 100 million acres in India which are either irrigated or which have relatively heavy rainfall, that is, which cannot easily be affected by drought and the like. Let us concentrate on intensive agriculture trying to increase yield per acre because it is obvious that it can be done, because it has been done. First of all, the Indian yield per acre is low, very low compared to other countries. Secondly, wherever attempts have been made, the yield had been doubled and trebled and quadrupled in relatively small areas. There is no reason why it should not be done. Therefore, Indian agriculture is flexible, it has not reached anywhere near the top yield, far from it. People who doubt the capacity of India to produce more forget these facts, that we have plenty of room to go up provided we work, provided we look after ourselves, and I say we should concentrate, therefore, on intensive agriculture in the 100 million acres which are irrigated, which have heavy rainfall. Of course, we work elsewhere too with good manure and fertilizers and concentrate on the number of Community Development schemes and the panchayats and the like.

Q: On account of the export drive, people grow more cash crops at the cost of the cereals.

JN: Certainly we want cash crops but I don't think it makes too much difference. We have to choose what we want in a particular area. We have to balance the two.¹⁴

14. After this Nehru read out an appeal to the leaders of the USA and the USSR drafted by him on 27 November. See *ante*, pp. 593-594.

LETTERS TO CHIEF MINISTERS

1

New Delhi
1 November, 1957

My dear Chief Minister,

While we are naturally full of our own problems in India, strange developments continue to take place in various parts of the world. You read about them in the daily newspapers, and there is no point in my giving a list of them. But it is necessary for us to try to appreciate the significance of many of these events in the outside world, because they affect us and appear to me, unconnected as they often are, still to form part of the big picture of the world today.

2. We live, if I may say so, in a haunted world. There is hardly a country which does not carry its ghost about with it. We in India have the ghost of Pakistan coming in the way of our normal activities. Behind that ghost, there lies the history not only of the past ten years of freedom, but also of the years that preceded it, with all the communal bitterness and hatred which resulted in the partition of India. Whether we consider today the Kashmir issue or Canal Waters or the large migrations from Eastern Pakistan to India, they all appear to be a continuation of that old communal conflict. Some people imagine that if the Kashmir issue was solved, all would be well between India and Pakistan, and other issues will automatically find solution. I do not think so, because the Kashmir issue itself is a part of that larger issue which has bedevilled our relations with Pakistan ever since Partition and which itself arose out of previous developments. I do not mean to say that we have to upset Partition. That is completely out of the question and most undesirable. But, I see no real solution till that basic conflict in the minds of the people in Pakistan and India is resolved. We had thought that this would resolve itself after Partition, even though it might take some time. But the very basis of Pakistan is this communal conflict and hatred and violence. I do not suggest that we in India are free from this communal temper. But we have many other things to think about and many other problems to solve. In Pakistan, this major issue dominates everything else, and the Government of that country have practically no political or economic policy except of fear and hatred of India. Both their domestic policy and international policy derive from this fear and hatred.

1. File No. 25(30)/57-PMS. These letters have also been printed in G. Parthasarathi (ed.) *Jawaharlal Nehru: Letters to Chief Ministers, 1947-64*, Vol. 4, (New Delhi, 1988), pp. 590-598, 611-628.

3. We in India have a much firmer basis. In Pakistan, there has been instability, political and economic, and there is not even an attempt to find a way out. I do not know what the future will bring. But of one thing I am sure: that no superficial approach will solve our difficulties with Pakistan. In India, even though there are plenty of communal elements which want to create trouble with Pakistan, they are not dominant, and they can be, and have been, controlled. In Pakistan there is no such controlling element, and all the Governments that have existed there have based themselves on this anti-India policy, trying to divert the people's minds from other questions. Obviously, this cannot go on indefinitely, and crisis follows crisis. I hope that a time will come when the people of Pakistan will try to face the issues before them in a more reasonable manner.

4. We have the Kashmir debate again in the United Nations,² and it appears to follow the same futile course as before. Great Powers like the United States and the United Kingdom talk piously of goodwill and India and Pakistan making up their quarrel. But they ignore deliberately the cause of that quarrel and the consequences of it. And so, they do not find solutions. Sir Pierson Dixon, the British delegate to the United Nations, said recently³ that they had not accepted India's basic position about Pakistan's aggression or Kashmir's accession to India, and so the whole argument raised on behalf of India falls to the ground. I cannot understand how this approach can ever lead to any worthwhile result.

5. I have said that we appear to live in a haunted world surrounded by ghosts. In Europe the ghost of Hungary pursues Russia and the East European countries on the one side and the Western nations on the other. If we go back only a few years and remember the feeling of optimism that was aroused when the so-called summit meeting took place between the Heads of the Governments of the USA, UK, USSR, and France and compare this to the position today, we shall see how greatly things have changed. Disarmament, which is the paramount question today, finds itself in a bog and the cold war is as fierce as ever.

6. In the Soviet Union, soon after Stalin's death, great and basic changes began to come into evidence. We all rejoiced at that and the influence of the Soviet grew all over the world. The events in Hungary last year appeared to put a sudden stop to these progressive changes and a certain inner weakness of the

2. See *ante*, pp. 487-498.

3. On 25 October, Dixon argued that the Security Council continued to attach great importance to demilitarization as it did in 1949. On India's basic stand that the Council must give its verdict on her complaint against Pakistan's aggression on Kashmir and that Pakistan must be asked to vacate the territory occupied by her, Dixon said that he did not feel it would contribute to progress if the Council were to go over the ground again on the subject.

Soviet system became evident. There could be no doubt that the Hungarian rising was a nationalist rising and that it had been brutally suppressed by Soviet forces. There can be no doubt that but for these foreign forces, the present Government in Hungary would not be able to carry on and some changes would become essential. Thus, the moral position of Russia was weakened and its weakness in some of the East European countries was demonstrated. In Poland, it was not easy to set the clock back, but difficulties continued. In Russia itself, there appeared to have been internal conflicts about policies bringing about repeated changes. The powerful forces at work from below, in favour of liberalization, could not be wholly checked because they were too widespread and too deep-rooted. The Russian people, after a long period of lack of expression, found their voice. That voice was not critical of the basic Soviet regime which they accepted. But it was critical of many things and more particularly of the lack of freedom of expression. The inner struggle resulted in what appeared to be a victory for the more progressive forces, and Molotov and company, representing the old rigid tradition, were dismissed. Khrushchev became the dominant figure and he seemed to represent the popular urge for greater liberalization. Marshal Zhukov, probably the most popular man in the Soviet and more particularly a great hero in the Army, supported Khrushchev. But as we have seen recently, there was again an internal conflict and Zhukov has been demoted.⁴ It is not yet quite clear why this happened or what the future of Zhukov is likely to be. But from such accounts as we had it would seem that the conflict was one of principle and not so much of personalities. The ghost of Hungary had led to an attempt at checking the process of liberalization. This led also to a proposal to go back to the old system of having political commissars in the Army and other Defence Services. Marshal Zhukov objected to this and would not agree to this reversion to an old practice. In the result Zhukov was pushed out.

7. All this indicates that in spite of the great progress made by the Soviet Union in scientific, technological and other spheres and its tremendous strength today, there is an inner weakness which comes up from time to time.

8. Within a few days the Soviet Union will celebrate forty years of its existence.⁵ These forty years have been remarkable in history and the progress made by the Soviet Union in many directions has also been remarkable. And yet, even now, there is a strange mixture of great progress and backwardness. We

4. For Nehru's talk with the Soviet Ambassador on this development, see *ante*, pp. 662-663.

5. On 6 November 1957.

all know about the scientific and technological advance of the Soviet Union. But perhaps the most striking feature is the development of an educational system which is both extensive and modern. Thus the Soviet Union laid the foundations for progress and actually achieved scientific advances which have staggered the world.⁶ What is more, that very educational system brought out the suppressed seeds of doubt about many matters and the demand for liberalization and less rigidity. A widespread educational system and police rule go ill together. It is this conflict that is going on in the minds of the Soviet people today.

9. It is not the Soviet Union alone that has these internal conflicts. In the Communist countries of Eastern Europe there is the additional urge of nationalism which resents Soviet domination, even though it may not disapprove of the major premises of that system. In China there is also the same spirit of criticism and demand for more liberty of expression. A famous speech by Mao Tse-tung about a hundred flowers and a hundred varieties of opinions⁷ suddenly let loose an avalanche of criticism, much to the surprise of the leaders. They have pulled back and to some extent gone back to the old rigidity. But whether in Russia or China, it is not possible really to go back.

10. In the countries of Western Europe their ghosts have different forms and shapes, but they are equally oppressive, if not more so. Fear is all-pervasive and the recent Soviet success in creating an artificial satellite has added to those fears. Feverish activities are taking place to encourage the men of science to rival or exceed Soviet accomplishments. Political policies based on military strength have failed to find any solution. In Syria it is obvious that the policy of the United States has not been successful and a painful reappraisal of these policies is being made. The United Kingdom, burdened with its own economic troubles, tries bravely to play the part of a great nuclear power⁸ and even France wants to join this select group.

11. The state of France today is most extraordinary. On the one hand, France has made tremendous progress industrially during the past few years. Production is at its highest and yet the economic situation is at its lowest. What is more, no Government has appeared, or is likely to appear, which can deal with this situation. The ghost of Algeria overshadows everything. In France today it is said that the

6. On 4 October 1957, the Soviet Union launched a man-made satellite into space, a first by any country.
7. Addressing the Supreme State Council of China on 27 February 1957, Chairman Mao Tse-tung spoke of : "Letting a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend."
8. Britain exploded a nuclear warhead at Maralinga, South Australia, on 9 October 1957. The warhead was the third and final one in a series of atomic explosions.

crisis is not merely governmental but a *crise de regime*, that is, a crisis of the regime itself.⁹ Many people in France and outside fear that the outcome of this type of crisis may well put an end to the great democratic traditions of France and lead to an authoritarian regime, probably of the fascist type. Any such development in France is bound to have powerful repercussions all over Europe and indeed the world.

12. And so, I can refer to other countries also with their internal troubles and political crises and behind all these a deeper trouble which can only be termed as the crisis of the spirit. Is all this due to the imbalance caused by prodigious scientific and technological progress and the mind of man and his social conditions not keeping pace with it? Is there some fundamental moral lack in the world today? I ventured to say some weeks ago that we shall have to find the solution of these problems in some other way by an incursion into the fourth dimension, that of the spirit.¹⁰ However we may put this, the fact seems clear that the methods of solving these crises are not adequate and we shall have to find some new way which will rid us of these ghosts that shadow and frighten us. This is not a conflict between communism and anti-communism because on both sides one finds this deep malaise, although it takes different shapes. Can we in India help in finding a way out for ourselves or must we get entangled in this blind struggle which leads nowhere?

13. We have called our international policy one of non-alignment, and we have laid down the Five Principles or the Panchsheel. That is some attempt, even though it might be rather a negative one, to disentangle ourselves from these world conflicts and try to think on new lines. But the approach has to be a much more positive one. Are we capable of that? Looking round at the Indian scene, one is not impressed and one sees the pettiest of conflicts based on narrow-mindedness and rigidity of outlook. There is certainly a powerful idealism in the Indian people and we express it in resounding words. But our actions or indeed our thinking does not fall in line with that idealism. Here, as elsewhere, there is this conflict of the spirit.

14. These are basic problems. But, for the present, we have to deal with our immediate difficulties. There is the question of food and a perverse fate has again destroyed all our hopes of a good harvest and created conditions of serious drought over vast areas in northern India as well as elsewhere. Kashmir, after

9. The French Government resigned on 30 September on the issue of a bill through which certain constitutional changes in Algeria were to be introduced. A new Government headed by Felix Gaillard could be formed only on 29 October 1957.

10. See Nehru's speech at a reception given by the Indian community in Hong Kong on 14 October 1957, printed in *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 39, pp. 628-631.

the floods, has had the heaviest fall of snow it has ever known in the month of October. This has destroyed such of the crops or fruit as remained. We are being compelled to import more food from abroad in spite of the additional burden that this will result in. But, even if we are prepared to pay the price for it, we cannot get much more rice from abroad, because it is simply not available. We have, therefore, to husband our food resources and, more particularly, rice so that we can make the best use of what we have. I think that the wheat-eating areas in India should, for the time being, give up the use of rice, leaving this for those whose main article of diet is rice. We must avoid all wastage of food in weddings, in parties and the like. The situation is a difficult one, but it is by no means such that we cannot deal with adequately with an effort. There is no reason why we should have cold feet and lose our nerve. That does no good. While, therefore, we should do our utmost to face this situation, we should not spread a feeling of pessimism among our people. But, we shall have gradually to try to change some of the food habits.

15. Our Finance Minister, on his return, has reported about his mission. His visit to various countries was in some ways very successful, and all credit is due to him for this. The actual results for the time being are not remarkable, though some relief has been obtained. It may be that further relief will come in the course of the next few months. But we have to realize that mere dependence on relief from outside will not help and might well produce a feeling of weakness in us which will be bad for our future. We have ultimately to depend upon ourselves, and the first thing is to have adequate food production. It is not possible to pay too much stress on this aspect of our economic problem, for all our progress depends upon it. We must always remember that our food production per acre is terribly low and can be increased greatly. We have to increase it without demanding further heavy expenditure which we cannot afford. The community development schemes are now especially responsible for this work of food production. In this matter, the relevance of Vinobaji's movement becomes even more evident. If each village and each family could undertake a certain target of production which will meet its own needs and have a surplus, then the total production will increase greatly. I hope to write to you separately about the *gramdan* movement and the necessity of co-ordinating it, insofar as possible, with our community development schemes.¹¹

11. Nehru wrote to Chief Ministers on this subject on 23/24 January 1958. See G. Parthasarathi (ed) *Jawaharlal Nehru: Letters to Chief Ministers, 1947-1964*, Vol. 5 (New Delhi, 1989), pp. 15-16.

16. We have paid a great deal of attention to huge schemes of development in a number of river valleys and for industries like iron and steel, fertilizers, etc. These were essential. At the same time, I feel more and more that we should concentrate in future on small schemes spread out all over the country. This fact impressed itself upon me in Japan. The economics of big production are obvious, but there are many other factors to be taken into consideration, apart from our resources. There is the question of transport, and there is the question of more or less even progress in various parts of India. For the future, we are not thinking in terms of huge river valley schemes, but rather of small projects. In the same way, I think that we should think more in terms of smaller industrial plants spread out all over the country.

17. At present, there is not much choice about this, as our main concern is to carry out the hard core of the Second Five Year Plan. Even that is not easy. But, anyhow, we can hardly add to that. But, it is important to remember that in thinking of our present difficulties, we do not forget the future. Planning means thinking of the future, and the future is not limited to a Five Year Plan, but goes beyond it. Our Five Year Plan is really the base for the succeeding ones. It would be a tragedy if we forgot this and did not think of our third and fourth Plans from now onwards and prepare for them insofar as we can.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

II

New Delhi
26 November, 1957

My dear Chief Minister,

I have written to you several times during the last few days¹ and, perhaps, I have burdened you too much. I have written chiefly about the food situation and not my usual letter which is supposed to go every fortnight, though I am afraid it seldom does so.

2. While we have our own troubles which naturally fill our minds, the major issue for the world, and a very terrible issue, is that of war and peace. I do not mean that there is any danger of war in the near future. I do not think so. But

1. After his letter of 1 November (the preceding item), Nehru wrote two more letters* to Chief Ministers. See *ante*, pp. 155-159 and pp. 165-168.

the situation deteriorates, and we drift almost inevitably, like the last act in a Greek tragedy, to some horrible fate.

3. The immediate cause for this further deterioration is the reaction in many countries, and especially the United States, to the Russian earth satellites, the Sputniks.² Normally any great advance in human knowledge and man's power over the elements should have been welcomed. This would have opened out new and wonderful spheres of advance for humanity. There has been, no doubt, in scientific and other circles, high appreciation of this remarkable event. But this, as many other things, is so closely associated with the cold war that this advance is looked upon more from the point of view of an evil power let loose upon the world. It is a tremendous power, which can be used for good or ill. The frightful consequences that might flow from its evil use serve as a deterrent, but a deterrent which is based merely on fear and hatred is not something one can rely upon. Fear and hatred can never lead to any good result. When the atmosphere is surcharged with these evil passions and their brood, governments may well be swept away into dangerous courses. Even if governments behave and restrain themselves, no one can guarantee that some foolish or mad person in authority in the armed forces might not commit some act which would step by step lead to catastrophe. How slender then is the thread on which peace depends, and if there is no peace, the very survival of the human race is threatened.

4. We have had for many years what is called the armaments race. This becomes more and more feverish and eats up a vast quantity of human resources. While hundreds of millions of people suffer hunger and the lack of primary necessities of life, the god of war grows fat. If there was an armaments race previously, this has now assumed colossal proportions, and almost everything else is dominated by it. Or, perhaps, it will be more correct to say that everything is dominated by fear. The major countries formulate their policy on the basis of fear of world war and imagine that they might be able to prevent that war or protect themselves by developing ever higher scientific techniques of destruction at an expenditure of money and resources and human energy which is almost limitless. Because of the fear of war, they concentrate on preparation for war and thus increase that very fear and that very danger.

5. Surely, it should be obvious that this is no way to avoid war or to save humanity from destruction. If the Soviet Union is supposed to be a little more

2. The launch of the earth satellites by the Soviet Union was described in the USA as a "technological Pearl Harbour". Eisenhower in his broadcast on 7 November feared that the US would "fall behind" in defence "unless we now face up to certain pressing requirements and set out to meet them at once", and outlined a plan for developing missiles and atomic submarines. The British Government also expressed profound shock at the new development.

advanced today in the science of destruction, tomorrow the United States may gain a slight lead. Some other countries might also catch up in this race for death. But whether Russia or America have a slight lead, it is well known that both countries today are in a position to destroy the other and will no doubt do so if war comes. They will not merely destroy each other, but might well spread universal death all over the world. Our passions have outpaced our reason and logic and if this atmosphere of bitter cold war continues, then the passions will grow worse and reason and logic, not to mention tolerance, will practically disappear.

6. And yet, all the peoples of the world and the great leaders on whom fate and circumstance have cast overwhelming responsibility today, passionately desire peace or, at any rate, wish to avoid war. How can we reconcile this curious conflict in the world's mind? It cannot be reconciled by what is called building up strength or speaking from strength. We have passed the stage when either of these Great Powers can ignore or suppress the other. They have either to come to some kind of an agreement or hurl their thunderbolts at each other and destroy not only themselves but others in their sweep. We can only hope that wisdom will come to these great leaders before it is too late. Those countries which might be said to be watching these titanic conflicts from the wings cannot do much, and yet something can be done. The first thing to aim at is not to allow ourselves to be swept away by this flood of fear and hatred. In the desert of destructive passion, let there be at least some oasis of calm thinking and toleration. It does little good to go about cursing and condemning even though there might be justification for that. There is no other way than to recognize peaceful co-existence.

7. Where do other countries stand? There are the great military alliances, but even these seem to be cracking up under various strains. These alliances include in their scope some countries of Asia, but essentially they are dominated by America and Europe and the countries of Asia and Africa do not really count except sometimes as balancing factors. For the last two hundred years or more, Europe dominated world politics and was the centre of world power. The United States came in and took the leadership on the one side and Russia on the other. The old conflicts of Europe continued to dominate the scene and today, in spite of developments in Asia, European statesmen still continue to think that Europe is the pivot of the world. The facts of life are ignored.

8. There is a certain fear in Europe that owing to the compulsion of events, the Soviet Union and America might come to some terms practically dividing the world between them as spheres of influence and bypassing all other countries of Europe and of course Asia. Gradually, it is beginning to be realized that Europe has ceased to be the centre of influence. As a result of this, the movement in

favour of European Union has gathered some strength. It is imagined that this united Europe might preserve some balance between America and the USSR. Without some such balance, it is feared that the States of Europe have little chance of survival. In all this thinking in Europe, Asia hardly comes into the picture.

9. We have thus entered into a new phase of the cold war which is leading every country to an agonizing reappraisal of its policy. The old slogans are losing their force, even the military alliances appear to be cracking up, only the two giants remain. They face each other not so much on ideological grounds but as claimants for world power. They and other countries become ardent devotees at the shrine of science and technology, for it is recognized more than ever that it is this advance in science that gives power to destroy. Everywhere there is an ever greater demand for intensive scientific education. The fear that Russia has outstripped Europe and even America in scientific education grips the other great countries and, thinking only of possible war, they are frightened at the prospect. Education will, therefore, be more and more scientific but not in the spirit or temper of science. It will be concentrated on the development of power to be used, if necessary, for other purposes. There will be less and less of humanism and classical studies and the proud culture built up through hundreds of years of civilized effort will decay. Thus, war may not come, but we shall suffer the agonies of war and the decay of civilization that humanity has built up through thousands of years of travail.

10. This is the prospect before us, and only some mighty upheaval in human thinking can change this drift. The world today faces greater danger than ever before, and the bottomless pit opens out before it.

11. I am writing to you about this subject so that we may realize more fully than perhaps many of us do, the context in which we live and thus see our own problems and the other problems of the world in some perspective.

12. I shall now come to our own problems. What troubles me is not the food situation, or the economic situation, but rather the temper of the Indian people. Are we going to be swept off by the anarchy of thought elsewhere, or can we hold our own in this matter at least? It is far more important to do this than merely to improve our economic or food situation, for if we fail in this primary need, then we fail utterly. I do not think that we shall fail, but we must make a conscious effort to succeed and not allow the disruptive tendencies to grow and overwhelm us. There are these tendencies visible in many spheres of our national life. There are also, of course, powerful tendencies to hold them in check and to maintain unity of our thought and action.

13. I have written to you a great deal about the food situation, and our newspapers and, sometimes, our speeches are full of our difficulties. The difficulties are there, but let us not exaggerate them or become defeatist in our

outlook. I see absolutely no reason for this. Basically, our economy is sound and, I believe, basically our thinking is sound. We have faced greater dangers in the past and overcome them, and we will overcome present dangers also.

14. Our industrial production is going up. The general index of industrial production (base 1951-100) was, in 1953, 105.6; in 1954 it was 112.9; in 1955 it was 122.1; in 1956 it was 133; in the first six months of 1957 this index has increased to 148.8. This might be considered a satisfactory rate of progress. It would probably have been more but for some difficulties that have come in our way because of foreign exchange situation. These difficulties will operate for some time in the future also, but we have seen that we have the capacity to progress, and we shall no doubt take full advantage of it as soon as present difficulties are removed.

15. So far as the food situation is concerned, the latest reports are somewhat better than the earlier ones. In Bihar, which has been one of the worst sufferers, the crop is expected to be about 65 per cent of the normal. In eastern Uttar Pradesh also, the loss is probably less than was thought. In Orissa, the crops were also a little better.

16. I have already drawn your attention to a number of aspects of the food problem. I am convinced that our primary problem now is one of administration and organization. I met yesterday an American of great experience of agricultural conditions in India.³ He had been associated with the New Deal in the United States by means of which President Roosevelt had faced and overcome the great slump of the early thirties. He told me that he was convinced that there were great possibilities of progress in agricultural production in India. This can be seen from the great difference in different areas and different farms. Where work has been done well, production has been twofold or threefold. There is no reason why we should not, given a proper administrative approach, reach this level in other areas. Unfortunately, many of us, including those dealing with agriculture, do not think this feasible and, therefore, do not even try hard enough.

17. I have just been reading the programme for agricultural development of China for the current year. The targets laid down there are high, and it should be remembered that even their existing production is much higher than that of India. From any logical approach, it is clear that we can increase our agricultural production very greatly indeed. Apart from the various aids to it, the basic fact remains that it is the administrative and organizational approach that is going to count. This does not merely mean at the top, although the top is always important, and I have laid stress repeatedly to you on energizing your Department

3. Douglas Enslinger, representative of the Ford Foundation in India.

of Agriculture. There is a widespread feeling, which I think is justified, that the State Agricultural Departments have got into a rut and have ceased to have any semblance of dynamism. The administrative aspect includes the approach to the individual farmer. Indeed, this is the most important aspect of all.

18. The question of land reforms comes up frequently, and I fear that our delay and uncertainty on this subject has come in the way of production. The relatively bigger farmers are afraid of the future, the small ones are equally uncertain about their future for different reasons. They are not sure if prices will hold, and so they tend not to put in their greatest effort. Everyone knows that good seeds are of high importance. Yet, I am told that many States have hardly done anything in this matter. There are so many other aspects which deserve urgent consideration. I would beg of you to shake up your Department of Agriculture and tell them that they must think hard and work hard and not trust to manna dropping from the heavens or from the Centre or from some foreign country.

19. The approach to the farmer is to facilitate his doing better work, to produce a spirit of cooperation in him—this is the problem before us. In this, it is the Community Development movement that must play the leading part.

20. I have had some reports of excellent results obtained by compost made of night soil. Unfortunately, our social habits come in the way. And yet, this compost is not touched by hand. Fertilizers, we should certainly use, but more and more attention should be directed to compost and green manure.

21. From food for the body, let us turn to food for the mind. I am surprised often to see the ignorance of many of our graduates and even those who are successful in our competitive examinations in regard to the heritage of India. Many of them know little even about this great period of India's history which was dominated by Gandhiji and which led to India's freedom. I think this is most unfortunate. How can they serve India properly unless they know what India is and how independence gradually took shape? I do not know what kind of education is being given at present in our schools and colleges. I do hope that one of the essential subjects from the lowest forms upwards will be something dealing with this heritage of India, from the past right up to the present and including, more especially, Gandhiji and the struggle for our independence under his great leadership. That will not only be some kind of a historical account, but will lay stress on the high principles for which Gandhiji stood and the moral and ethical approach to our problems. I would indeed suggest that for our higher competitive examinations, there should be a compulsory paper on this subject.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

III

New Delhi

31 December 1957

My dear Chief Minister,

I returned to Delhi this evening after a ten-day tour¹ which took me first to Santiniketan, where the Convocation of the Visva Bharati University was held next to Calcutta for numerous engagements, Darjeeling for the Himalayan Mountaineering Institute, Gangtok in Sikkim, and Shillong and Gauhati. Although I saw the local newspapers from time to time during my tour, it was difficult to keep in intimate touch with passing events, abroad and in India. It was not easy to have papers sent to me all over the place and, as a matter of fact, I asked that they should not be sent so that I might have some freedom from them for a while. I took enough material with me to keep me busy.

2. Now after my return I have to face an accumulation of work and to pick up old threads. I would have liked to write to you a little later after I had made myself better acquainted with recent developments. But I feel that I must write to you tonight on the eve of the New Year and to send you my greetings and all my good wishes.

3. I spent four days in Darjeeling, facing most of the time the magnificent face of Kanchenjunga. I also paid a visit before dawn to Tiger Hill nearby which gives a glimpse of Everest and from where I saw a very beautiful sunrise over the Himalayan peaks. This brief visit to the Himalayas, though full of engagements and work, had, as it always has, a soothing and invigorating effect upon me. There is something of permanence and calm serenity about these ice-covered peaks which helps in giving a better perspective to what is happening in the world. Day-to-day troubles, of which there is no lack, seem to be a little less important and one begins to think almost in terms of history. My principal reason for visiting Darjeeling was to open a new building for the Himalayan Mountaineering Institute, which was started to commemorate Tenzing's climb on Everest and to induce among our younger generation a love for mountaineering.² The Institute has made fairly good progress during the last three years and a considerable number of young men have gone through courses of training. These are of two kinds, a junior course and an advanced one. After that comes real experience of climbing high mountain peaks. The Institute is a non-official organization, but it is aided very substantially by the Central

1. From 22 to 31 December 1957.

2. See *ante*, pp. 256-257.

Government and the West Bengal Government as well as a number of State Governments. I hope your State will take interest in this Institute and encourage young men to take this course which is bound to do them a great deal of good, whatever their future vocation might be.

4. I paid a brief visit to Gangtok in Sikkim, a lovely place, not far from the borders of Tibet. Indeed, the small State of Sikkim, nestling in the heart of the Himalayas, is very beautiful and there are few more attractive places in India for a visit and a trek. Gangtok is the main artery for our trade with Tibet. This trade had to pass through a high mountain pass, the Nathula, into Tibet and hundreds of mules and pack-ponies as well as porters carry consumer goods from India to Tibet and bring back chiefly wool. The distance is not great, but the journey is a difficult and expensive one. The Government of India have been making a road across these mountains to Nathula and beyond. The idea is that the Chinese Government should make a road on the other side to connect with this, so that there might be a through road. We have made good progress with this road, though the work has been rather slow because of the very difficult terrain. A good part of the road has now been built on our side and it has involved an engineering feat of a high order. Probably we shall finish this road well within the next year. On the Chinese side less progress has been made and we are likely to reach the frontier before the Tibetan road is ready. The construction of this road will facilitate goods traffic.

5. Tibet gets most of her consumer goods still from India. Even jeeps and cars have gone there through India. Few people realize that, from the point of view of communications, Tibet is far more accessible from India than from China. Up to a few years ago, it was easier for a person travelling from Peking to Lhasa, to go via India and Sikkim than directly across the Gobi desert. Now communications have been improved as between China and Tibet and there is also some air traffic. Even so, the main trade route is still through India. A private air company offered to run an air service from India to Tibet, chiefly to carry goods. We have no objection to this, but thus far the Chinese Government have not agreed to it.³

6. I visited Sikkim after five and a half years⁴ and I was happy to find

3. See *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 39, pp. 697-698.

4. Nehru earlier visited Sikkim from 27 to 29 April 1952. On 18 December 1957, he asked his Private Secretary to convey to Apa Pant, India's Political Officer in Sikkim, a few particulars about his forthcoming visit to Sikkim. Nehru, inter alia, wrote, "As for the bed, tell him that he should not waste Government money for asking such questions in a telegram. I can sleep on any kind of bed or on the floor. He should not change any beds he has, for my sake."

considerable signs of development and improvement. There were new roads and bridges and schools and various institutes and State farms. It had a bright and pleasing look. Sikkim, it should be remembered, is not part of India proper. It is what might be described as a protected State.⁵ In fact it is the only protected State of India. The State is small and the population of the entire State is probably not more than five lakhs. This population consists of the original inhabitants, the Lepchas, and the Nepalese settled there and some Tibetans. The ruling family is Tibetan in origin but closely allied to the Lepchas. The Lepchas are rather a fine-looking people with delicate features. But they do not seem to have much vitality and their rate of growth is very slow. The Nepalese on the other hand grow fast and already form the majority of the population which creates some problems. The general background of Sikkim is partly Tibetan and the Lamaist version of Buddhism prevails there. During recent years, a number of eminent Tibetan scholars have migrated to Sikkim. An Institute for Buddhist Research and Studies has recently been established there, with the help of the Government of India.

7. From Gangtok I went to Shillong. I was chiefly interested in finding out what the present position was in the new administrative unit of the Naga Hills and the Tuensang Division which began its career on the 1st of December. The situation in the Naga Hills appears to be on the whole favourable, but to some extent it is still obscure. There can be little doubt that the great majority of the Nagas approve of the steps that have been taken by our Government and want peace, rehabilitation and development. But the hard core of the hostiles are still uncertain of what they should do. They have had many meetings of their own where differing views have prevailed. On their part they have declared a two months' armistice, this period ending about 20th of February. During the last two months, ever since the Kohima Convention, there has been very little violence in these areas. Newspapers occasionally report some petty incident of violence but this has nothing to do with the main conflict. It is either caused by some old tribal feud or is just plain dacoity. The new set-up that has been established in this new unit is working well and is increasing its contacts with the people there.

8. Another problem is that of the Autonomous Hill Districts in Assam. For the past year or two, there has been a claim for a separate Hill State there. We have not favoured this, for any such separate State would be injurious, I think, both to the tribal people and to Assam proper. On the whole, I find that the tribal

5. Until the transfer of power in India in August 1947, Sikkim was an Indian State under British paramouncy. Under a new treaty signed in Gangtok on 5 December 1950, Sikkim continued to be a protectorate of the Government of India, which had special responsibility in respect of the State's defence, external affairs and communications.

leaders were approaching this question more realistically and were not laying much stress on the idea of a separate State. I like these tribal people and we are anxious to help them in every way. Unfortunately, it is difficult to find competent or trained persons among them to undertake responsibilities. A feeling against the Assam Government had grown there and a resentment at an attempt, as they thought, of assimilating them to Assamese ways. And yet the future of these areas is not only geographically but otherwise intimately connected with Assam. Even the common language in all these areas is some kind of Assamese.

9. These Autonomous Hill Districts of Assam have a special status given to them by our Constitution under the Sixth Schedule. It might be necessary to amend the Sixth Schedule somewhat to meet some of the wishes of these people. But it is clear to me that they should remain part of Assam State. As you know, there has been a change of Ministry in Assam.⁶ This change has been on the whole welcomed by the tribal people. The future therefore offers hope of cooperation.

10. The general world situation continues to be very tense and full of danger. And yet, because of these dangerous possibilities, much hard thinking is going on everywhere in order to find a way out. This way out must necessarily be connected with some advance towards disarmament. For the present, the Disarmament Commission has ceased functioning. But, efforts are being made to find some new approach to this question. It is obvious that no progress in disarmament can be made without the cooperation of the two principal powers, namely America and Russia.

11. The recent meeting of the Communist Powers in Moscow⁷ and the statement that they issued has not been very helpful from the larger world point of view. It has given rise to many suspicions, even though it contains some points which have been welcomed. The NATO Conference recently held, it was feared, would increase world tensions.⁸ In this Conference, however, Norway and Denmark, supported to some extent by Canada, threw their weight in favour of moderation.

6. A new Congress Ministry headed by Bimal Prasad Chaliha was sworn in at Shillong on 28 December.

7. The meeting of twelve Communist Parties in Moscow from 14 to 16 November affirming their faith in peaceful coexistence and greater cooperation between Communist countries described the Soviet Union as the "first and mightiest socialist power"; denounced imperialism; and branded the United States as "centre of world reaction". While deprecating attempts at "revisionism and sectarianism" within the Communist parties, it called upon the Communist parties in non-Communist countries to work for a socialist revolution by peaceful means. The Yugoslav League of Communists refused to sign the declaration as "they did not agree with it."

8. See, *ante*, p. 604.

12. During the last few weeks, the language controversy has become more acute, more especially in Madras.⁹ I must say that this development has distressed me. I quite understand the feeling of people in Madras or elsewhere in India against anything being done which puts them, from the linguistic point of view, at a disadvantage. But, what I have regretted is the aggressive manner in which views have been expressed. So far as I am concerned, I have refrained from expressing any views on this subject, to lay down certain principles which should govern a decision. These principles are: (1) that decisions can only be largely by consent and cannot be imposed by a majority over a minority, (2) that every language should be given full scope and, in our Services, nothing should be done which puts a person from a non-Hindi area at a disadvantage. So far as English is concerned, I am all in favour of the study of English being continued and even made more widespread. But I confess that I do not understand how we can lay down for the future that English should be our all-India language. It may continue as such for some time, and even later it will no doubt play an important part. But it seems to me rather humiliating for us to adopt a foreign language as the official all-India language. I say so even though my training and predilection would be in favour of English. In any event, I see no reason why we should hustle any decision or fix strict time-limits in a matter of this kind.

13. I have written to you often about the food situation. But there is one aspect of it which has recently come to my notice and which I should like to share with you. Some years ago, the Nutritional Advisory Committee of the Indian Council of Medical Research indicated what a balanced diet should be in India. According to this balanced diet, they were of the opinion that not more than 14 ozs. of cereals are necessary for an adult consumption unit per day even if we fix the daily requirement at 3,000 calories. The present figure of consumption of cereals in India is over 17 ozs. per capita per day. And yet, we complain of shortage of cereals. It is thus clear that our diet is completely unbalanced and unhealthy. What is required is to add non-cereal articles in order to balance it, and to reduce the consumption of cereals. If we were consuming 14 ozs. of cereals per capita today, we would have a large surplus left over instead of a deficit, which has to be made good by heavy imports from abroad.

9. On 22 December, the Union Language Convention of South India adopted a resolution urging the Government of India to continue English as the official language and amend the Constitution accordingly. On 31 December 1957 and 1 January 1958, the Chief Ministers of Madras, Andhra and Mysore met at Mahabalipuram to discuss the proposed discontinuation of the use of English as an official language after 1965, and described the Language Commission's recommendations as impracticable.

14. This means that we should definitely and deliberately aim at the production of what are called subsidiary foods and encourage people to change their food habits accordingly.

15. It appears that between 1950-51 and 1956-57, the actual consumption per adult unit of cereals has gone up by a little over 3 ozs. per head, that is, from 14.6 ozs. to 17.8 ozs. Protective and subsidiary foods have sometimes actually gone down. This is neither good for the nation's health nor for its economy. Among the protective foods, of course, are milk, sugar, some types of vegetables, fruits, etc. For those who are prepared to eat them, fish and eggs are of great value.

16. There is another aspect of subsidiary foods, which has to be borne in mind. Sweet potatoes, bananas, papaya and tapioca are not only good in themselves, but an acre of land produces much more of them than any cereal. I have seen a detailed consideration of this problem which gives very revealing figures. I do not propose to go into these details here. But the result we arrive at is that we should encourage in every way the growth of these subsidiary foods especially in our rural areas. If a small part of the land was set aside for them, this would enable the village people to have a balanced diet and to have a stand-by in case of a bad harvest. This would also lessen the burden on transport. In Assam, and I have no doubt elsewhere too, there are large quantities of oranges, bananas, papayas and, in season, pineapples. There could be no better food than these, and yet emphasis is laid almost entirely on rice. Bananas can be grown almost anywhere in India. So also, probably sweet potatoes, etc.

17. In Calcutta, I was much interested to see some successful experiments in the use of the ramie fibre. Ramie grows abundantly in some climates like that of Bengal, and the yield per acre is very good. This fibre is much stronger than the strongest vegetable fibre. It has a lustre similar to silk and blends easily with cotton and wool or other fibres. There is great scope for development in the use of this fibre for textiles. Japan has made remarkable progress in this respect.¹⁰

18. Then, there is the sisal fibre, which can also be used for many purposes. Although this plant was introduced long ago in India, little attention has been paid to it, while world production of it has grown from fifty million pounds per year to over seven hundred and fifty million pounds. It is a hardy tropical plant,

10. Agriculture Minister A.P. Jain wrote to Nehru on 27 January 1958 that the Agriculture Ministry had decided to set up a Central Ramie Research-cum-Plantation Institute. He added, "I am told that is necessary to have the planting material of known pedigree and performance and we may have to import cuttings of root stock from other countries, such as the USA and Japan, for multiplying the plant here."

LETTERS TO CHIEF MINISTERS

not easily attacked by pests or diseases. It can grow well on poor and eroded lands where other crops could not easily be grown. It does not even require regular cultivation. Thus, it can be produced on waste and eroded lands and even where rainfall is light. The West Bengal Government have started a one thousand acre sisal plantation and intend using the fibre for many cottage industries. They are using very simple machines copied from the Japanese pattern.¹¹

19. Early in the New Year, we are having visits of eminent persons from abroad. The Prime Minister of Czechoslovakia is coming on January 3rd to Delhi. He will visit some other parts of India also. The Prime Minister of the United Kingdom will reach Delhi on January 8th and spend four days here. He does not intend going to any other part of India. President Soekarno of Indonesia will be coming here for a few days soon unofficially and for rest.

With all good wishes for the New Year,

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

11. As regards the sisal fibre, A.P. Jain wrote that it was already grown in Deccan and some other parts of the country but its further propagation was arrested for want of proper machines for extracting the fibre. He said he was writing to Morarji Desai to take up the question of the manufacture of sisal fibre on a cottage scale. Jain added that the sisal fibre could be used for making ropes, mats, bags, etc., for which there already existed a ready market.

14

MISCELLANEOUS

MISCELLANEOUS

1. Naming Institutions after Nehru¹

From time to time I receive requests for the use of my name in connection with some institution. I shall be grateful if no such requests are made.² I am firmly of opinion that names of living persons should not be utilized in this way.

1. Message issued to the Press, New Delhi, 11 November 1957. File No. 9/30/57-PMS.
2. On 10 November, Fateh Singh P. Gaekwad, Member of Parliament and erstwhile Maharaja of Baroda, had forwarded to Nehru a letter from G.T. Lalwani on behalf of the displaced Sindhis settled in Baroda for permission to name their new colony after Nehru. Nehru wrote to Gaekwad the same day, "It is very good of the Sindhis to suggest that their colony be named after me. But I am rather allergic in such matters." Earlier, on 3 November 1957, not acceding to a request from Kalidas Nag, secretary-general, Institute of Asian African Relations, Kolkata, to name a study circle to discuss the contemporary problems as the Nehru Institute of International Relations, Nehru wrote, "I think it is always better to avoid personal names in such matters. While on the one side, they may have a certain limited value; on the other hand, they have a certain restricting effect also, and a personal touch is given to something that should be impersonal."

2. Suitability of Frank Moraes for Government Assignment¹

I have known Moraes² off and on, though not well, for the last twenty years or more. He is a good journalist, but he has many weak points. Some three or four years ago I had complaints about him to the effect that he was rather pro-Portuguese and had intimate contacts with the Portuguese representatives in Bombay.³ Both the Nationalist Goans and to some extent the Bombay Government drew my attention to this fact. Later Moraes became more cooperative with the

1. Note to S. Dutt, Foreign Secretary, New Delhi, 13 November 1957. JN Collection.
2. Frank Moraes, journalist and author.
3. For Nehru's letter of 1 September 1953 to B.V. Keskar, Union Minister of Information and Broadcasting, regarding Frank Moraes, see *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 23, p. 549.

Bombay Government. The then Chief Minister of Bombay, Shri Morarji Desai, told me that Moraes was functioning better.

He has sometimes rather strongly criticized our policy and has been rather bitter about Shri Krishna Menon. As you know, he wrote my biography.⁴ I did not wish to encourage him too much in that, but nevertheless I agreed to meet him on two or three occasions.

I think that Dr Keskar is taking rather an extreme view of the man. As I have said, it is easy to criticize him and he has many weak points. Personally, I do not condemn a man because he has done the wrong things some times. Therefore, I should not rule him out as beyond the pale. But I think it will not be desirable to give him any post connected with External Affairs. I am not speaking of the distant future. I see no reason why we should not, where we can, use him for some special and temporary piece of work. Even that, I think, for the present might not be considered, because there is a controversy going on about him.⁵ Let that die down.

4. Moraes wrote *Jawaharlal Nehru* in 1956. He wrote another biography, *Nehru: Sunlight and Shadow*, in 1964.

5. See *ante*, pp. 283-284.

3. To Chandralekha Mehta¹

New Delhi

November 16, 1957

My dear Chand,²

Thank you for your telegram on my birthday. You have not written to me at all since you went to Vienna. How do you like the place?

Did you come across the young woman who wrote to me and whose address I gave you?

You know that Anita Bose,³ the daughter of Subhas Chandra Bose, lives with her mother in Vienna. We have created a fund for her held by two Trustees

1. JN Collection.

2. Eldest daughter of Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit. Chandralekha's husband, Ashok N. Mehta, was Indian Charge d' Affaires in Vienna, 1957-59.

3. Anita Bose Pfaff (born in 1942 in Vienna); daughter of Subhas Chandra Bose and his Austrian wife, Emilie Schenk; professor of economics at the University of Augsburg, Germany.

here—Dr B.C. Roy and myself. This amounts to, I think, a little over Rs 100,000. We send her, I think, Rs 500/- a month out of the interest. This is, I believe, sent quarterly. I should like you to meet her and her mother. Anita must have grown now. Try to find out from her if she is in need of more money. If so, we can easily send her a little more than 500 a month.

Your loving
Mamu

4. To Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit¹

New Delhi
November 20, 1957

Nan Dear,

Your letter of the 14th November reached me yesterday. My birthday has become rather a trial and a strain for me. So many people in India and abroad are good enough to send me messages that I am quite overwhelmed by them. It is six days today from my birthday. I have been quite unable even to see these messages except a very few. Huge piles of them remain to be seen. It has taken a number of people here to sort them out and the process continues.

It is certainly gratifying and heartening to have good wishes from a multitude of persons all over the world. But the burden of these messages increases.

I have read your letter with great interest and I have been much surprised especially to read about the amazing tests which take place in the "World of Tomorrow".

I have read the press cutting you have sent about Rossellini.² The account given in it is of course far from correct in many particulars. So far as I am concerned, I have kept aloof from all these troubles except for my initial contact with them and subsequently my meeting Ingrid³ in your house. Some weeks ago I had a visit from Sonali who pleaded for a passport to go for three months to Paris. She told me that life had become unbearable to her here because she

1. JN Collection.

2. Italian film director Roberto Rossellini, during his stay in India earlier in 1957, faced some difficulties because of his affair with an Indian lady, Sonali Dasgupta. For the episode concerning him, see *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 38, pp. 287-296.

3. Hollywood star Ingrid Bergman. She had married Rossellini in 1950.

was being pursued and persecuted by all kinds of people, more especially journalists, and she wanted some quiet time elsewhere. I saw no reason why we should deny her a passport. She struck me as a woman well capable of looking after herself. So we issued the passport and later she went to Paris. I have heard nothing about her or about Rossellini since, till I saw in the newspapers the news of separation of Rossellini from Ingrid.

So far as Betti⁴ is concerned, I do not know what she did. But she was certainly on friendly terms with Rossellini and was angry with Sonali's husband, Das Gupta. When Sonali saw me, she told me in the most determined way that she would have nothing further to do with her husband. I confess that from all accounts the husband does not appear to be a very desirable person. Sonali also gave me the vague impression that she had nothing much to do with Rossellini. But of course I am no judge of these matters.

Parliament has started here. We face a multitude of difficulties. There is the foreign exchange position and internal resources. Above all, we have been hit harder than ever by the drought which has followed floods. This has created a very serious situation on the food front. We shall struggle manfully and I hope somehow or other pull through.

Rita⁵ was here for a few days and looked well.

I received the book you sent me called *On the Bridge*. I had, as a matter of fact, read it previously as somebody had lent it to me. I have passed it on to Padmaja⁶ to read. She is staying here now and will go back to Calcutta in another two or three days.

Love,
Jawahar

4. Krishna Hutheesing, Nehru's younger sister.

5. Youngest daughter of Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit.

6. Padmaja Naidu.

5. To Thomas C. Desmond¹

New Delhi

November 22, 1957

Dear Mr Desmond,²

Thank you for your letter of November 11th. It is good of you to think of me in this connection.³ But, the questions you have put me are beyond my capacity to answer. I am not wise enough or philosopher enough to say anything worthwhile on these subjects. Although I have just reached the age of sixty-eight, I am so busy still with public activities that I have seldom any time to think about myself or what is going to happen to me. I am fortunate enough to be in good health, with a fair measure of vitality. When this vitality grows less, I suppose I shall begin thinking of myself.

Your first question refers to the last phase of the human life cycle.⁴ I presume this means when vitality is becoming weaker and the normal activities have to be toned down. Much would depend, of course, on what the activities of a person are. A writer has no age limit, nor has a good scientist or a philosopher. I think every person, whatever his age, should have some function in life. If that function wholly goes, then life ceases to have any meaning. If the function is there, then he is absorbed in acting in accordance with it to the best of his physical and mental ability. This would be my answer to your question number 2.⁵

As for your question number 3,⁶ my daily regime is almost exactly the same as it has been for many years. Of course, the content of the work may vary. But, I am completely occupied in attempting to discharge the responsibilities that have come to me.

1. JN Collection.

2. Thomas C. Desmond (b. 1887); Member, New York State Senate, 1946-60; Chairman, Committee on Affairs of Cities; Chairman, New York State Joint Legislative Committee on Problems of the Aging.

3. Desmond requested Nehru to send a message for the audience of a public hearing on issues related to aging which the New York State Joint Legislative Committee on Problems of the Aging was going to hold in New York City on 18 December 1957. He also sent a set of five questions, answer to which would be specially relevant. Desmond noted that the Committee had the benefit of the advice and judgement of many renowned public figures, social workers and experts on earlier occasions.

4. The first question was: What purpose is served by the last phase of the human life cycle?

5. The second question was: What advice, from your own vantage point of years, would you offer the millions of men and women who will retire during the next five years?

6. The third question was: What is your daily regime in these later years?

SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

I have no formula for a long life and have never given any thought to this matter.⁷ Life is not merely a question of years, but of what is put into it. If this weakens or fades away then there is not much point in living on. Of course, the advancing years would change the nature of one's activity, mental or physical.

As for your fifth question,⁸ I do not know what most people of advanced years feel about it. The only problem I have to face is something outside myself, and that is not affected much by my age, except in so far as age may come in the way of my discharging what I consider my duties. I imagine, however, that the real difficulty of old folks is boredom which means really the lack of a worthwhile function. If I may suggest something to them, it would be to interest themselves in something which is not only worthwhile in itself, but which draws them out of themselves; it is no good thinking too much of oneself. That is a frustrating experience.

In the present day world, with its revolutionary changes in technology and in other matters, life is ever changing and appears to me to be enormously interesting. I have seen many strange developments in the course of my life. I have no doubt that even stranger things are likely to happen. The chief apprehension I have is that the intellectual, emotional and ethical development of human beings might not keep pace with the technological developments. The gap is already fairly big. If it is not bridged, there might well be disaster. Most people live in this scientific and technological age, and yet are mentally living in some other past age. This produces a conflict not only within the individual, but within the social organism, and few people possess the integrated personalities that should be the aim of life.

With all good wishes,

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

7. The fourth question was: Do you have a 'formula' for long life?

8. What in Nehru's judgement was the chief problem faced by old folks?

6. To Gulzarilal Nanda¹

New Delhi

23rd November, 1957

My dear Gulzarilal,²

I had a long talk with Ram Narain Chaudhary³ today. I told him that I was not going to discuss individual cases that had arisen in the course of his work about appointments or dismissals. What I was worried about was that a man like him who had considerable capacity for doing good work was so difficult to get on with and sometimes actually added to the difficulties. The letter he had written to you some time ago, of which he sent me a copy, had surprised me greatly. The whole tone was improper and objectionable. It was obviously written in a temper.

So in regard to the Bharat Sewak Samaj I was less concerned with individual odd cases but rather with the spirit that prevails there and the procedures that should be adopted for normal working as well as for settling odd problems that might arise. In an organization like the Bharat Sewak Samaj, the spirit was even more important than routine work. If there was no spirit of cooperation, then the work done would be lifeless. The Bharat Sewak Samaj was not a government organization and should not function as such.

Ram Narain Chaudhary accepted most of my criticisms and said he realized his own failings. But he had tried to do his best during the last three years in the Bharat Sewak Samaj. His misfortune had been that you had placed no confidence in him and had not treated him as a colleague to be consulted. You had been kind to him and you had given him a great deal of latitude, but there was no confidence. This led to much misunderstanding and difficulty.

I am writing to you briefly but this was the main purport of our talk. I told him that I would have to go into this matter more later after the Kanpur conference.

I am returning to you some papers that you sent me from your office.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. File No. 2(188)/57-66-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

2. Union Minister for Planning and Chairman, Bharat Sewak Samaj.

3. Information Secretary, Bharat Sewak Samaj.

7. To T.T. Krishnamachari¹

New Delhi

24th November, 1957

My dear T.T.,²

Thank you for your letter of 23rd November about the assessment of Anand Bhawan for purposes of Wealth Tax. I might tell you that I was much distressed to find references to this in the newspapers.³ I enquired from Mathai who said that B.K. Nehru had also advised him to give publicity to this as he thought this would have a good effect on others.

I agree that there is much in what you say about avoiding harassment in this matter.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. T.T. Krishnamachari Papers, NMML.

2. Union Minister of Finance.

3. M.O. Mathai had disclosed to a PTI correspondent on 22 November that in connection with the filing of the Wealth Tax return by the Prime Minister, the Allahabad municipality had assessed the value of Nehru's ancestral house, Anand Bhawan, at Rs 36,000. Since the property was to be valued on the basis of twenty times its annual rent, the municipality had to fix a "notional rent", Anand Bhawan having never been rented out to anyone before. The municipality assessed the rental value of Anand Bhawan at Rs 1,800 per year and the value of the property at Rs 36,000. Press reports stated that when Nehru was told about this, he considered it "a joke and a bad one at that", as the assessed value bore "no relation to fact". He ordered his staff to disregard the Finance Ministry rules on the subject and show the value in his Wealth Tax return at "a minimum figure of rupees one and a half lakhs".

8. To Vazirunnissa Tyabji¹

New Delhi
November 25, 1957

Dear Mrs Tyabji,²

I have not written to you about your husband's death because it is always difficult to write on such an occasion. Today, however, I was talking to Badruddin³ and naturally we discussed his brother, Saif. I told Badr how, during the past few months, Saif had impressed all of us in Parliament by his ability and his integrity. I felt assured that he would play an ever-growing part in our country's affairs. But that was not to be, and the end came with terrible suddenness.

If this was a shock to us, how much more must it be for you. All I can say is that there are a very large number of people to share your grief and sorrow.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. File No. 9/10/57-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.
2. Widow of Saif F.B. Tyabji, who died on 12 November 1957. See also *ante*, p.....
3. Badruddin Tyabji was at this time India's Ambassador in Iran.

9. Stay Arrangements for the British Prime Minister and his Entourage¹

I have not seen the note from the Chief of Protocol² and it is not in my papers. I am therefore only considering your suggestions.

2. No private house is expected to accommodate a large crowd of persons. It is true that my house is something more than a private house. Nevertheless, I see no reason why all these people mentioned in your note should stop in our

1. Note, New Delhi, 28 November 1957. File No. 1(27)-Pt. I/57, MEA. Also available in JN Collection.
2. M.R.A. Baig

house.³ In no event should anyone stop in Indiraji's wing. Some members of the party can stop elsewhere and spend the day here. I do not think it is necessary for detectives to stop here at all. I am not sure if the Private Secretary should stop here. He might, if there is room, otherwise he should stop elsewhere and come here for the day.

3. I do not see why there should be an office for the UK Prime Minister here. The room next to your office will be placed at the disposal of the Prime Minister and that can be used as an office or for visitors or for any other purpose he likes.

4. Any real work which he wants done will probably be done at the UK High Commission. He will be busy all day. In the evening or perhaps at odd times in the afternoon or morning he might see his Secretary to give directions.

5. Of course, food should be provided in our house for any person who works here. I think, however, that the very complicated arrangements that you have suggested are not at all necessary. We cannot convert this house into some kind of a modified 10 Downing Street.

6. Mr Macmillan and Lady Dorothy Macmillan⁴ should be given the two rooms which are occupied by the Pethick-Lawrences⁵ now—both as bedrooms or as they choose. Lady Dorothy need not have a separate room for receiving visitors. She can receive them either in her bedroom, in the verandah or in some other public rooms.

7. I do not know what kind of domestic staff he will bring. When we know about this, we shall think about it. I am quite sure that he does not expect a multitude of rooms for himself and his staff. At the most I think we should

3. British Prime Minister Harold Macmillan and his wife visited India from 8 to 12 January 1958.

4. Lady Dorothy Evelyn Macmillan (1900-1966); daughter of Victor Cavendish, the 9th Duke of Devonshire; married Conservative politician and publisher Harold Macmillan in 1920.

5. Former Secretary of State for India Lord Pethick-Lawrence was on a private visit to India with Lady Pethick-Lawrence (Mrs Duncan McCombie, whom he had married earlier in 1957). In his note of 20 November to Commonwealth Secretary, MEA, Nehru said: "Lord and Lady Pethick-Lawrence will be welcome to stay in my house from the 24th to the 29th November. During their subsequent visits they should stay at Rashtrapati Bhavan." Nehru added: "It should be remembered that Lord Pethick-Lawrence is approaching ninety and obviously we cannot rush him about whether for sightseeing or for other engagements. He should have a quiet time here and his programme should be the lightest possible. His main interest here is to meet some old friends and to see a few places. There need be no official functions..."

provide the two upstairs rooms opposite my bedroom and the room down below opposite yours, in addition of course to the two rooms occupied by Mr Macmillan and Lady Dorothy. No one can expect more accommodation in a house.

8. Sir Norman Brook⁶ should of course be looked after properly by the Secretary General⁷ or the Cabinet Secretary.⁸

9. While we should provide every convenience that we can and every courtesy, it would not be proper to make too much fuss and behave as Maharajas do. We are private people and function as such even though I might be Prime Minister.

10. A copy of this note should be sent to Indiraji and two copies to Shri Mathai⁹ who can forward one to the Chief of Protocol.

6. (1902-1967); British civil servant; Permanent Secretary, Office of Minister of Reconstruction, 1943-45; Additional Secretary to the Cabinet, 1945-46; Secretary of the Cabinet, 1947-56; Permanent Secretary to the Treasury and Head of the Civil Service, 1956-62; became a peer, 1963; Chairman, BBC, 1964.

7. N.R. Pillai.

8. M.K. Vellodi.

9. M.O. Mathai, member of Nehru's personal staff.

10. Death of Maulana Syed Husain Ahmed Madani¹

Deeply grieved to learn of passing away of Maulana Syed Husain Ahmed Madani.² His death is a great loss of a scholar and patriot who played a leading part in India's struggle for freedom. Please convey my deep sympathy to his family and to Dar-ul-Ulum.

1. Message sent to Dar-ul-Ulum, New Delhi, 5 December 1957. File No. 9/10/57-PMS.

2. Nationalist leader and head of the Dar-ul-Ulum, well-known institute of Islamic learning at Deoband in Saharanpur district.

11. Arrangements for Immersion of Madan Atal's Ashes¹

There was a telegram today from Peking saying that Dr M. Atal's ashes will be brought to India on the 11th of this month.² I think they are expected to reach Calcutta some time on the 11th. Arrangements should be made to receive them there. They should be taken directly from there to Lucknow by air, that is, if there is an air service, otherwise by train.

2. I do not think it will be possible for any near relative of Dr Atal to go to Calcutta for this purpose. His younger brother is himself lying ill. We should, therefore, make arrangements for some competent person to take charge of the ashes at the airport and to take them to Lucknow. Probably, it might be possible to arrange some officer of the West Bengal Government to do this on our behalf.

3. Indiraji is enquiring from Lucknow as to what arrangements will be made there for its reception, etc. You might please find out from her.

4. Meanwhile, I think you should write to the Chief Secretary, West Bengal, about it. Subsequently, a telegram can be sent intimating the time, etc., of arrival of the ashes.

5. The Governor, Miss Padmaja Naidu, will not be in Calcutta then, as she will be at the Governors' Conference here.

6. I am writing this note as I am leaving for Madras tomorrow morning.³

1. Note to Foreign Secretary, 6 December 1957. JN Collection.

2. The urn containing the ashes of Madan Atal, who died in Beijing on 1 December (see *ante*, p. 616), was sent to Hong Kong by a special courier from the Indian Embassy in China. It arrived in Kolkata from Hong Kong by an Air India International flight on 11 December.

3. Dr Atal's ashes were taken from Kolkata to Allahabad by G.K. Guha, Assistant Director of Publicity, Government of West Bengal. These were received at the railway station by a number of Congressmen, officials and non-officials, and immersed in the holy waters of the Sangam on 12 December.

12. To Ulla Lindstrom¹

New Delhi

December 6, 1957

Dear Mrs Lindstrom,²

I was delighted to receive your letter of the 21st November and to read all the good things you have said there.³ I am happy that you found the reading of my books interesting. Those books were written many long years ago under peculiar circumstances. I fear there are many mistakes in them from the factual point of view.

I have the most vivid and pleasant memories of my visit to Sweden, and I am happy to learn that, as a result of your elections, you are now a member of a full socialist cabinet.⁴ Democracy, you say, needs centuries to come to maturity.⁵ I do not know how long it takes, but obviously, it is not merely a matter for legislation. The human being has to grow up into it. So also socialism, which can be brought about in an external way by legislating for it, but the inner content has to be developed.

I hope that some time or other, you will be able to pay us a visit in India. You will be very welcome.

With all good wishes and regards,

Sincerely yours,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.

2. (1909-1999); Swedish politician; Member, Senate, 1946-70; Expert, Trade Department, 1946-54; Minister without portfolio, 1954-66; Member, Swedish Delegation to the UN, 1947-66; Chairperson, Swedish 'Save the Children Federation', 1970-78; Member, National Campaign Committee Against Nuclear Power.

3. Referring to Nehru's visit to Sweden in June 1957, Ulla Lindstrom wrote that Nehru's personality had "fascinated and enchanted the ordinarily cool and reticent Swedes." She also said that she found Nehru's *Glimpses of World History* illuminating as she "needed the wide perspectives of thousands of years and eternal thoughts... to be philosophically unconcerned about the actual squabbling around."

4. Tage Erlander formed on 30 October a new government consisting only of Social Democrats after the decision of the Agrarian Party to leave the coalition government following the rejection of its old-age pension plan in a national referendum.

5. Ulla Lindstrom wrote that Nehru was mistaken if he imagined that Sweden being a democracy with a parliament 500 years old, "the politics there were mature, matter of fact and dispassionate." She said: "We are still very childish and petty in politics. Maybe that will comfort you to know, when you feel impatient and tired of your own gigantic problems and the difficulties to get politicians to agree upon reasonable solutions. Democracy needs centuries to come to maturity."

13. The Importance of Emotional Integration¹

I am glad to learn of the meeting of the Indian Political Science Conference at Poona this month and that this will be inaugurated by my colleague, Shri V.K. Krishna Menon. I am particularly interested in the subjects to be discussed, more especially 'the problems of emotional integration in India'. I am sure that the Political Science Conference can play a distinguished part in giving a lead to our intellectuals in these important matters. I send my good wishes.

1. Message, New Delhi, 13 December 1957. JN Collection.

14. To G.P. Lishman¹

New Delhi

December 19, 1957

Dear Dr Lishman,

Your letter of the 19th November has only just reached me and I thank you for it. *Glimpses of World History* was written nearly a quarter of a century ago. I am happy that it has given you and some others some pleasure. The writing of it itself gave a great deal of content to long years in prison. Perhaps, the dreariest part of prison life is the loneliness of it. But, I was fortunate to fill my days with a panorama of the past and almost I lived in the periods I wrote about. I did not have many books with me. I could keep only six at a time, but I could change them from time to time. I relied mostly on my notebooks. I had developed a habit in prison, which I am wholly unable to keep up outside, of making full notes of the books I read. These notes were of great help.

Thanking you again,

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.

15. To P.N. Katju¹

Raj Bhavan

Darjeeling

December 25, 1957

My dear Pyare,²

Your letter of the 29th November reached me long ago. This was about Sheila's wedding. I am happy that Sheila's³ marriage is going to take place soon and I send you and Bappi⁴ all my good wishes and my blessings to Sheila.

I am afraid it will not be possible for me to attend the wedding. Apart from the fact that Parliament is sitting, it is difficult for me to go anywhere without very elaborate police arrangements, which are very costly. Because of this, I have practically given up visits even in Delhi, much more so outside, except for important official engagements.

I am going to Jaipur on Sunday, the 2nd February, for a day. I shall visit Vanasthali⁵ and then Jaipur. I hope you, Bappi and Sheila will come to see me for a few minutes that evening.

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal

1. JN Collection.

2. Husband of Swarup Katju, younger sister of Kamala Nehru.

3. Daughter of Swarup and P.N. Katju.

4. Pet name of Swarup Katju.

5. A premier national institution for women's education near Jaipur which was founded by Hiralal Shastri, the first Chief Minister of Rajasthan.

16. To Chandralekha Mehta¹

Raj Bhavan

Darjeeling

December 25, 1957

My dear Chand,

I received your letter some little time ago in Delhi and I was happy to have news of you. I have been terribly busy, but now I have just two or three days more or less free in Darjeeling where I reached today. Indu and the children came here yesterday, a day ahead of me. It is very pleasant here though cold.

Vienna is, of course, a delightful place. My first visit to Vienna was in 1910, that is, before the First World War and when the Austro-Hungarian Empire under Franz Josef² was flourishing. I am not at all sure that the old Vienna was better than the new, though of course there was much more pomp and glory in evidence.

I have noted what you have said about Anita Bose. From what you have written, it does not seem necessary to send her any more money. I told her mother once that if she and her daughter wished to come to India for a while, the expenses would be paid out of the fund for her.

Your loving

Mamu

1. JN Collection.

2. By a constitutional arrangement created in 1867, the Habsburg emperors Francis Joseph (1830-1916), until 1916, and Charles, from 1916 to 1918, ruled over the twin Kingdoms of Austria and Hungary. The separate Kingdoms possessed considerable autonomy over internal policy, with overall foreign and financial policy remaining in the hands of the imperial government. Austria-Hungary was geographically the second largest country in Europe after the Russian Empire, and the third most populous (after Russia and the German Empire). The capital of the state was Vienna. The Austro-Hungarian Empire was ultimately destroyed by defeat in World War I.

17. To J.N. Kaul¹

New Delhi

31 December 1957

Dear Dr Kaul,²

On return to Delhi today, I received your letter of the 18th December and the cheque for Rs 2,100.00, both of which were forwarded to me by the Education Secretary.³ I am grateful to you and the staff and students of the Teachers' Training College at Sardarshahr for this contribution for the Second Five Year Plan. The Plan deals with crores of rupees and this contribution may appear small in that context, but I can assure you that it is more welcome than much larger sums.

The Education Secretary has told me of the good work done by your institution and I congratulate you.

With all good wishes for the New Year,

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.

2. Principal, Teachers' Training College, Gandhi Vidya Mandir, Sardarshahr, Rajasthan.

3. K.G. Saiyidain.

GLOSSARY

acharya	:	chancellor of a university, a reverential term for a learned person or for a teacher
bhai	:	brother
Bharat Mata	:	Mother India
bhoodan	:	voluntary donation of land, refers to a movement initiated by Vinoba Bhave
Bhutia	:	an ethnic group of the Himalayas
chacha	:	father's younger brother
chhatrapati	:	literally the chief, head of Kshatriyas; title taken by Shivaji at the time of his coronation
dal	:	a word used loosely for pulses
gram	:	village
gramdan	:	voluntary donation of village
hartal	:	strike
jagirdar	:	holder of jagir
Jai Hind	:	Victory to India
jal nethi	:	a yogic exercise to clean the nasal passage
jayanti	:	anniversary
Jizya	:	a tax levied on non-Muslims by Islamic rulers
jowar	:	a kind of millet
kulapati	:	head of the family
kutchra	:	temporary
lota	:	tumbler
maharaj	:	a term of respect
mahila samajam	:	an association of women
mai-baap	:	literally mother and father; sometimes applied to a benevolent autocratic system of government
maund	:	a unit of weight (about 80 pounds)
muni	:	a sage or saint or seer

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panchsheel	:	five basic principles of international conduct
pandal	:	a pavilion, a large canopy
panditji	:	a learned person, a Brahman
peer	:	a saint
pucca	:	permanent
rabi	:	spring harvest
samiti	:	committee
samyukt	:	composite
Sangam	:	confluence of Ganga, Yamuna and Saraswati rivers
satyagrahi	:	one who offers satyagraha
shanti	:	peace
shirshasan	:	a yogic posture of standing on head
snatak	:	a graduate
swaraj	:	self-rule
talukdar	:	a landowner
talukdari	:	a system of land holdings
tamasha	:	a spectacle, show
tehsil	:	a sub-division of a district
tehsildar	:	a revenue collector in a tehsil
upacharya	:	vice-chancellor
usar	:	sterile, barren land
van mahotsava	:	a programme of planting trees to develop forest wealth
vihara	:	a Buddhist monastery
yagya	:	a religious sacrifice, oblation
yogasanas	:	postures of yoga
yuga dharma	:	duty suitable for a particular age

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This volume covers two months of Nehru's Prime Ministership, from 1 November to 31 December 1957... One of Nehru's major concerns in this period was food scarcity... Intensive cultivation and cooperative farming figured prominently in his prescription for achieving rapid growth in agricultural production...

The Second Five Year Plan recognized the importance of industrial development for India's long-term progress... Though Nehru was not averse to credits from the industrially advanced countries... he wanted greater emphasis on generation of resources internally, and highlighted the importance of the cooperative movement and reliance on self-help.

The recommendation of the Official Language Commission to replace English by Hindi for official purposes caused some apprehension in South India. Nehru was of the view that a decision in the matter of replacing English could only be largely by consent...

Nehru took special interest in the North-Eastern region of India. He realized that the region demanded intelligent interest and help from the rest of India...

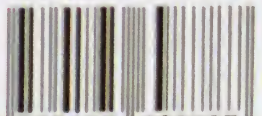
Of special mention is the large number of items in this volume about Nehru's views on children. He wanted the... public institutions to have a motto inscribed on their walls that children must be given the first place in our thinking and in the various things that the family or the group or the State does.

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This volume contains a large number of speeches which throw light on the working of Nehru's mind. One seminal aspect of these speeches is his tireless references to Mahatma Gandhi's leadership during the freedom movement...

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